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

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

Scope of the Encyclopaedia.

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

Subjects and Authors.

Very great care has been taken to make the list of subjects complete, and to
assign each subject to the right author. If mistakes have been made they will be
pointed out by readers and reviewers; and the Editor will welcome every suggestion
that is offered towards the improvement of the succeeding volumes. In order to
avoid overlapping, and yet to have every topic treated with sufficient fulness, the
method has occasionally been adopted of describing a subject comprehensively in one
general article, and then taking one or more particular topics embraced by the
general article and dealing with them separately and more fully. Thus there will
be a general sketch of the Socialistic Communities of America, out of which the
Amana Community has been selected to be separately and fully described. Again,
there are articles on Aphrodisia and Apollonia in addition to the general article on
Greek Festivals; and in the second volume there will be an article on the Arval
Brothers, while the Roman Priesthood will be treated comprehensively afterwards.

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

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

Editors and Assistants.

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

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

After six years' exacting labour this first volume goes forth in the earnest
hope that it will be found worthy of a place among the rapidly increasing number
of books devoted to the study of Religion and Ethics, and that it will help forward
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Owen (MARY ALICIA).
President of the Missouri Folklore Society;
Councillor of the American Folklore Society;
admitted to Tribal Membership with the
Indians, 1892.

Algonquins (Prairie Tribes).

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

MORRISON (WILLIAM DOUGLAS), LL.D.
Rector of St. Marylebone, London; author of
The Jews under the Roman Empire, Crime
and its Causes.
Abduction, Abetment, Admonition.

Moss (Rev. Richard WADDY), D.D.
Professor of Systematic Theology in Didsbury
College, Manchester.

NEWMAN (ALBERT HENRY), D.D., LL.D., Litt.D.
Professor of Church History in Baylor Univer-
sity; author of A History of the Baptist
Churches in the United States, A Manual of
Church History.

Nicholson (REYNOLD ALLEYNE), M.A.
Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cam-
bidge; sometime Fellow of Trinity College.

Nicholson (ROBERT), M.D., F.R.C.P.
Lecturer in Church History at the University of
Missouri.

NÖLDEKE (THEODOR), Ph.D., LL.D. (Edin.).
Professor emeritus an der Kaiser-Willhelma-
Universität zu Strassburg.

Oesterley (Rev. W. O. E.), D.D. (Camb.);
Organizing Secretary to the Parochial Missions
to the Jews at Home and Abroad; Lecturer
to the Palestine Exploration Fund; joint-
author of The Religion and Worship of the
Synagogue.

Owen (MARY ALICIA).
President of the Missouri Folklore Society;
Councillor of the American Folklore Society;
admitted to Tribal Membership with the
Indians, 1892.

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

PATON (REV. LEWIS BAYLES), Ph.D., D.D.
Nettleton Professor of Old Testament Exegesis
and Criticism, and Instructor in Assyrian in
the Hartford Theological Seminary; late
Director of the American School of
Archaeology in Jerusalem.
Ammi, Ammonites.

PATRICK (MARY MILLS), A.M. (Jena), Ph.D.
President of the American College for Girls at
Constantinople.

PEARSON (A. C.), M.A.
Late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge.
Acheulos, Achilleis, Æther.

PETRIK (WILLIAM MATTHEW HINDERS), D.C.L.
(oxon.), LL.D. (Edin., Aber.), Litt.D.
(Camb.), Ph.D. (Strasbourg).
Fellow of the Royal Society and of the British
Academy; Edwards Professor of Egyptology in
the University of London.
Architecture (Egyptian), Art (Egyptian).

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

PLATT (REV. FREDERIC), M.A., B.D.
Tutor in Old Testament Languages and Litera-
ture, and in Philosophy, in the Wesleyan
College, Disbury, Manchester.
Arminianism.

POUSSIN (LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE), Docteur en
philosophie et lettres (Liège), en langues
orientales (Louvain).
Professeur de sanscrit à l'université de Gand;
Co-directeur du Musée; Membre de R.A.S.
de la Société Asiatique.
Adibuddha, Ages of the World (Buddhist),
Agnosticism (Buddhist).

PRINCE (J. DYNELEY), B.A., Ph.D.
Professor of Semitic Languages in Columbia
University, N.Y.; Member of the New
Jersey Legislature; Advisory Commissioner
on Crime and Dependency for New Jersey
Legislative Committee on Education.
Algonquins (Eastern).

REVON (MICHIEL), LL.D., D.Lit.
Late Professor of Law in the Imperial
University of Tokyo and Legal Adviser to
the Japanese Government; Professor of History
of the Civilization of the Far East in
the University of Paris; author of Le
temps de la Paix and Cult of the Dead
(Japanese).

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

ROBERTSON (CHARLES DONALD), M.A.
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.
Ambition.

ROSE (H. A.), I.C.S.
Superintendent of Ethnography, Punjab, India.
Abandonment and Exposure (Hindu),
Akalis.

ROSS (G. R. T.), M.A., D.Phil.
Lecturer in Philosophy and Education in
Hartley University College, Southampton;
author of Aristotele's De Sensu and De
Memoria.
Accidents, Arbitrariness.

SAUNDIN (HENRI).
Architecte du Gouvernement, chargé de Mis-
sions Archéologiques en Tunisie; Membre
de la Commission archéologique de l'Afrique
du Nord au Ministère de l'Instruction
Publique de France.
Architecture (Muhammadan).

SAYCE (ARCHIBALD HENRY), Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.),
LL.D. (Dublin), Hon. D.D. (Edin. and
Aber.).
Fellow of Queen's College and Professor of
Assyriology in the University of Oxford;
President of the Society of Biblical
Archaeology.
Armenia (Early Vannie).

SCOTT (ERNEST FINDLAY), M.A. (Glas.), B.A.
(Oxon.).
Professor of Church History in Queen's Uni-
versity, Kingston, Canada.
Æons.

SHAMBAUGH (BERTHA MAUD HORACK).
Author of Amana: The Community of True
Inspiration.
Amana Society.

SIMPSON (SIR ALEXANDER RUSSELL), M.D., D.Sc.,
LL.D.
Emeritus Professor of Midwifery and Diseases
of Women and Children, and formerly Dean
of the Faculty of Medicine in the University
of Edinburgh.
Anesthesia.

SIMPSON (ANDREW FINDLATER), M.A.
Professor of New Testament Exegesis and
Criticism in the Congregational Theological
Hall, Edinburgh.
Acceptance, Access.

SIMPSON (JAMES GILLILAND), M.A.
Lecturer of Leeds Parish Church; Principal of
the Clergy School; Examining Chaplain to
the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.
Apostolic Succession.

SMITH (KIRBY FLOWER), Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins).
Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins
University.
Ages of the World (Greek).

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

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

SRAWLEY (REV. JAMES HERBERT), D.D.
Tutor and Theological Lecturer in Selwyn
College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain
to the Bishop of Lichfield.
Antiochene Theology.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

STAWELL (FLORENCE MELIAN).
Certificated Student of Newnham College, Cambridge (Classical Tripos, 1892, Part I. Class I. Div. L); sometime Lecturer in Classics at Newnham College.
Abasement, Adoration.

STERRETT (REV. J. MACBRIDE), D.D.
Professor of Philosophy in the George Washington University, Washington.
Antinomianism, Antinomies.

Of Lincoln’s Inn, Barrister-at-Law; Professor of Mental and Social Science in Queen’s College, Cork.
Antidams, Anthropology.

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

STRENG (REV. THOMAS BANKS), D.D.
Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; author of An Manual of Theology; Bamptom Lecturer in 1896.
Abolition.

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

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

Master of St. John’s College, Cambridge; Vice-Chancellor of the University, 1887–1888.
Accidie, Acroste.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THOMSON (J. ARTHUR), M.A.
Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Aberdeen; author of The Study of Animal Life, The Science of Life, Outlines of Zoology, Heredity.
Abiogenesis, Adaptation, Age.

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

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

WALSH (REV. W. GILBERT), B.A.
Recording Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, Shanghai.
Altar (Chinese).

WENLEY (ROBERT MARKE), D.Phil., Sc.D., Litt.D., LL.D.
Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan; author of Contemporary Theology and Theism.
Acosmism.

WHIRLEY (LEONARD), M.A.
Fellow of Pembridge College, Cambridge; University Lecturer in Ancient History.
Amphictyony.

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

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

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

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

WORKMAN (REV. HERBERT B.), D.Lit.
Principal of the Westminster Training College.
Abelard, Ambrose of Milan, Anselm of Canterbury.

DE WULF (MAURICE), Docteur en droit, Docteur en philosophie et lettres.
Profeesor de Logique, de Critério, d’Histoire de la Philosophie à l’Université de Louvain; Membre de l’Académie royale de Belgique, et du Conseil d’administration de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; Secrétaire de Rédaction de la Revue Neo-Scolastique.
Æsthetics.
### Scheme of Transliteration

#### I. Hebrew

**Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>h, bh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ג, גו</td>
<td>g, go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ד, דח</td>
<td>d, dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ו, ו</td>
<td>v, w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ז</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ח or ש</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ת</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י or י</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ק, קח</td>
<td>k, kh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short.</th>
<th>Long and Diphthongal.</th>
<th>Shva.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>א</td>
<td>א</td>
<td>א</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ה</td>
<td>ה</td>
<td>ה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>י</td>
<td>י</td>
<td>י</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ו</td>
<td>ו</td>
<td>ו</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ל</td>
<td>ל</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Composite Shva.**

Composite shva is represented by the letter א.

**Simple Shva.**

Simple shva is represented by the letter א.

#### II. Arabic

**Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ﺎ</td>
<td>(\mathfrak{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>(\mathfrak{t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>ж</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>(\mathfrak{d})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺪ</td>
<td>(\mathfrak{w})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺬ</td>
<td>(\mathfrak{y})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

II. ARABIC—continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>ã</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>au</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>ù</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III. PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI¹

The following in addition to the Arabic transliteration above

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gutturals—k, kh; g, gh; ñ (=ng in finger).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatais—ch (=ch in church), chh; j, jh; ñ (=n in onion).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebrals—t, th; d, dh; n (a sound peculiar to India).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals—t, th; d, dh; n (=n in not).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials—p, ph; b, bh; m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels—y; r; 1; v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilants—s or sh; š or sh; s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate—h.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

IV. SANSKRIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gutturals—k, kh; g, gh; ñ (=ng in finger).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatala—ch (=ch in church), chh; j, jh; ñ (=n in onion).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebrals—t, th; d, dh; n (a sound peculiar to India).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentals—t, th; d, dh; n (=n in not).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labials—p, ph; b, bh; m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowels—y; r; 1; v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibilants—s or sh; š or sh; s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirate—h.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

anunāsika (ɔ); anusvāra, ṭḥ; visarga, h; avagraha (').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a ã or á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i í or í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u ü or û</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y ÿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diphthongal.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e āi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o āu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Lists of Abbreviations

## I. General

**A.H.** = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).

**Ak.** = Akkadian.

**Alex.** = Alexandrian.

**Amer.** = American.

**Apoc.** = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.

**Apoc.** = Apocrypha.

**Aq.** = Aquila.

**Arab.** = Arabic.

**Aram.** = Aramaic.

**Arm.** = Armenian.

**Ary.** = Aryan.

**As.** = Asiatic.

**Assyr.** = Assyrian.

**AT** = Altes Testament.

**AV** = Authorized Version.

**AVm** = Authorized Version margin.

**A.Y.** = Anno Yezadagird (A.D. 639).

**Bah.** = Babylonian.

**C.** = Circa, about.

**Can.** = Canaanite.

**CT** = Compare.

**D.** = Deuteronomist.

**E.** = Elohist.

**Ed.** = Editions or editors.

**Egyp.** = Egyptian.

**Eng.** = English.

**Eth.** = Ethiopic.

**EV** = English Version.

**EVV** = English Version, Versions.

**fr.** = and following verse or page.

**ft.** = and following verses or pages.

**Fr.** = French.

**Germ.** = German.

**Gr.** = Greek.

**Hb.** = Law of Holiness.

**Heb.** = Hebrew.

**Hel.** = Hellenistic.

**Hex.** = Hexateuch.

**Hinny.** = Himyaritic.

**Ir.** = Irish.

**Iran.** = Iranian.

**Isr.** = Israellite.

**J.** = Jahwist.

**J’** = Jehovah.

**Jers.** = Jerusalem.

**Jos.** = Josephus.

**LXX** = Septuagint.

**Min.** = Minyan.

**MSS** = Manuscripts.

**MT** = Masoretic Text.

**n.** = Note.

**NT** = New Testament.

**Onk.** = Onkelos.

**OT** = Old Testament.

**p.** = Priests’ Narrative.

**Pal.** = Palestine, Palestinian.

**Pent.** = Pentateuch.

**Pera.** = Persian.

**Phil.** = Philistines.

**Phon.** = Phenician.

**Pr.** = Prayer Book.

**R.** = Redactor.

**Rom.** = Roman.

**RV** = Revised Version.

**RVM** = Revised Version margin.

**Sah.** = Saharon.

**Sam.** = Samaritan.

**Sem.** = Semitic.

**Sept.** = Septuagint.

**Sin.** = Sinaitic.

**Skr.** =思拉克.

**Symm.** = Symmachus.

**Syr.** = Syriac.

**t.** (following a number) = times.

**Talm.** = Talmud.

**Targ.** = Targum.

**Theod.** = Theodotion.

**TR** = Textus Receptus, Received Text.

**tr.** = Translated or translation.

**VSS** = Versions.

**Vulg.** = Vulgate.

**Vg.** = Vulgate.

**WH** = Westcott and Hort’s text.

## II. Books of the Bible

### Old Testament

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gn</td>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex</td>
<td>Exod</td>
<td>Exodus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lv</td>
<td>Lev</td>
<td>Leviticus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nu</td>
<td>Num</td>
<td>Numbers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dt</td>
<td>Deut</td>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
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<td>Jos</td>
<td>Josh</td>
<td>Joshua</td>
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<td>Jg</td>
<td>Judges</td>
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<td>Ru</td>
<td>Ruth</td>
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<td>1 S</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Ch</td>
<td>2 Chronicles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neh</td>
<td>Neh</td>
<td>Nehemiah</td>
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<td>Pr</td>
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<td>Ec</td>
<td>Ecclesiast.</td>
<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
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### Apocrypha

<table>
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<th>Book</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Es</td>
<td>Esdras</td>
<td>1 Esdras</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Es</td>
<td>Esdras</td>
<td>2 Esdras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tz</td>
<td>Tobit</td>
<td>Tobit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jth</td>
<td>Judith</td>
<td>Judith</td>
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### New Testament

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Mt</td>
<td>Mat</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
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<td>John</td>
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<td>Acts</td>
<td>Acts</td>
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<td>Rom</td>
<td>Romans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Co</td>
<td>Col</td>
<td>Colossians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Co</td>
<td>Col</td>
<td>Colossians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ad.** = Additions to

**Sus.** = Susanna

**Esth.** = Esther

**Wis.** = Wisdom

**Sir.** = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus

**Bar.** = Baruch

**Three.** = Songs of the Three

**Children.**

**New Testament.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>2 Co</td>
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**1 Th.** = 1 Thessalonians

**2 Th.** = 2 Thessalonians

**1 Ti.** = 1 Timothy

**2 Ti.** = 2 Timothy

**Pr.** = Prayer

**Philem.** = Philemon

**1 Ph.** = 1 Philemon

**2 Ph.** = 2 Philemon

**1 Jn.** = 1 John

**2 Jn.** = 2 John

**3 Jn.** = 3 John

**Col.** = Colossians

**Eph.** = Ephesians

**Phil.** = Philippians

**Col.** = Colossians

**Jude.** = Jude

**Rev.** = Revelation
### III. For the Literature

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

<table>
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<td>Baethgen</td>
<td><em>Beiträge zur sem. Religiongesch.</em>, 1888.</td>
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<td>Baldwin</td>
<td><em>Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology</em>, 3 vols., 1901-05.</td>
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<td>Darenberg-Saggino</td>
<td><em>Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.</em>, 1859-90.</td>
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<td>De la Saussaye</td>
<td>*Lehrbuch der Religionssch.*1, 1905.</td>
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<td>Denzinger</td>
<td><em>Enchiridion Symbolorum</em>11, Freiburg im Br., 1911.</td>
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<td>Dougherty</td>
<td><em>Arabia Deserta</em>, 2 vols., 1888.</td>
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<td><em>Lexikon der Bibelsprache und der Talmud</em>, i. 1870 (1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1991 ff., 1897.</td>
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<td>Holder</td>
<td><em>Altchristlicher Sprachschatz</em>, 1991 ff.</td>
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<td>Howard</td>
<td><em>Native Tribes of S.E. Australia</em>, 1904.</td>
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<td>Jubinville</td>
<td><em>Cours de Litt. celtique</em>, i.-xii., 1883 ff.</td>
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<td>Lagrange</td>
<td><em>Études sur les religions sémitiques</em>2, 1904.</td>
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<td>Lane</td>
<td><em>An Arabic-English Lexicon</em>, 1863 ff.</td>
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<td>Lepanus</td>
<td><em>Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien</em>, 1849-60.</td>
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<td>Lichtenberger</td>
<td><em>Enecy. des sciences religieuses</em>, 1876.</td>
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<td>Lidzbarski</td>
<td><em>Handbuch der nordde. Epigraphik</em>, 1892.</td>
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<td>Muir</td>
<td><em>Orig. Sanskrit Texts</em>, 1858-72.</td>
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<td>Muse-Arnott</td>
<td><em>A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language</em>, 1894 ff.</td>
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2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, and other standard works frequently cited.

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<td>AAOJ</td>
<td>American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Archiv für Ethnographie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEG</td>
<td>Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).</td>
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<td>AGG</td>
<td>Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</td>
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<td>AGPh</td>
<td>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.</td>
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<td>AHR</td>
<td>American Historical Review.</td>
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<td>AHIT</td>
<td>Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Houmel).</td>
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<td>AJPh</td>
<td>American Journal of Philology.</td>
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<td>AJP</td>
<td>American Journal of Psychology.</td>
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<td>AJRPE</td>
<td>American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASJ</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATH</td>
<td>American Journal of Theology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMG</td>
<td>Annales du Musée Guimet.</td>
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<td>APES</td>
<td>American Palestine Exploration Society.</td>
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<td>AP</td>
<td>Archiv für Papyrusforschung.</td>
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<td>AR</td>
<td>Anthropological Review.</td>
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<td>ARW</td>
<td>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).</td>
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</table>

The following abbreviations stand for the works in the list below:

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<tr>
<td>Pauly-Wissowa</td>
<td><em>Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</em>, 1894 ff.</td>
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<td>Perrot-Chipiez</td>
<td><em>Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité</em>, 1891 ff.</td>
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<td>Preller</td>
<td><em>Römische Mythologie</em>, 1888.</td>
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<td>Réville</td>
<td><em>Religion des peoples non-civilisés</em>, 1883.</td>
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<td>Riehm</td>
<td><em>Handworterbuch d. bibl. Altertums</em>², 1893-94.</td>
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<td>Robinson</td>
<td><em>Biblical Researches in Palestine</em>², 1856.</td>
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<td>Schenkel</td>
<td><em>Bibel-Lexikon</em>, 5 vols., 1899-75.</td>
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<td>Schürer</td>
<td><em>GJV</em>³, 3 vols., 1898-901 (HJP, 5 vols., 1890 ff.).</td>
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<td>Schwey</td>
<td><em>Leben nach dem Tode</em>, 1892.</td>
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<td>Smend</td>
<td>*Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionssch.*³, 1899.</td>
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<td>Smith (G. A.)</td>
<td><em>Historical Geography of the Holy Land</em>², 1897.</td>
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<td>Smith (W. R.)</td>
<td><em>Religion of the Semites</em>³, 1894.</td>
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<td>Spencer (H.)</td>
<td><em>Principles of Sociology</em>³, 1885-96.</td>
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<td><em>The OT in Greek</em>, 3 vols., 1893 ff.</td>
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<td>Tylor (E. B.)</td>
<td><em>Primitive Culture</em>³, 1891 [1900].</td>
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<td>Weber</td>
<td><em>Judische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandter Schriften</em>², 1897.</td>
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<td>Wilkinson</td>
<td><em>Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians</em>, 3 vols., 1878.</td>
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<td>Zunz</td>
<td><em>Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden</em>³, 1892.</td>
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<td>CE</td>
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<td>CF</td>
<td>Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).</td>
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<td>CCG</td>
<td>Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).</td>
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<td>CI</td>
<td>Census of India.</td>
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<td>CIA</td>
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<td>Classical Review.</td>
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<td>Church Quarterly Review.</td>
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<td>Corpus Inscrip. Graecarum.</td>
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<td>DACL</td>
<td>Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cahier).</td>
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<td>Dict. of the Bible.</td>
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<td>DCA</td>
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<td>Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).</td>
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<td>DI</td>
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<td>DNB</td>
<td>Dict. of National Biography.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>GJV</td>
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<td>Geschichte des Volkes Israel.</td>
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<td>HAI</td>
<td>Handbook of American Indians.</td>
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<td>Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.</td>
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<td>Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).</td>
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<td>NQ</td>
<td>Notes and Queries.</td>
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<td>Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).</td>
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<td>Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.</td>
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<td>Oxford English Dictionary.</td>
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<td>OS</td>
<td>Onomastica Sacra.</td>
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<td>OTJC</td>
<td>Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).</td>
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<td>OTP</td>
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<td>PB</td>
<td>Polychrome Bible (English).</td>
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<td>PC</td>
<td>Primitive Culture (Tylor).</td>
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<td>PEM</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.</td>
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<td>Patrologia Graeca (Migne).</td>
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<td>PJB</td>
<td>Preussische Jahrbücher.</td>
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<td>Punjab Notes and Queries.</td>
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<td>PR</td>
<td>Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).</td>
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<td>PRE</td>
<td>Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).</td>
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<td>PR2</td>
<td>Presbyterian and Reformed Review.</td>
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<td>Proceedings of the Royal Society.</td>
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<td>RA</td>
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<td>Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).</td>
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<td>SBE</td>
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<td>Western Asiatic Inscriptions.</td>
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<td>ZPhP</td>
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<td>ZVRW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.</td>
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[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT¹, LOT¹, etc.]
A AND Q.—1. The meaning of this phrase is expressed in Rev 21st 22ls as 'the beginning and the end' (Acts 2:42, xal &i xal aoe). The conception is to be traced to such passages as Is 44:6 44:6 44:6. And it would appear that the thought was taken from the Hebrew rather than from the Septuagint, for in the former each of the three passages expresses finality (rha), which is in accordance with Rev 21st 22ls; while in the Septuagint the Greek equivalent, though differing in each case, emphasizes the idea of something further (rha ήκεριμα, μερά ταύτα, είς τόν aoi). The point, though a small one, is significant, as it affords a piece of subsidiary evidence for a Hebrew original of the Apocalypse (see below).

2. The origin of the phrase is to be sought in pre-Christian times. Among the Jews, the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet, & & , were used to express totality; thus in Talmud Roshni, fol. 3. 3. 2, where the words of Gn 1:1 'the heavens' (כְּבָנִי n) are commented upon, it is said that & n, which includes all the letters, implies that all the heavens are meant, their beginning and their end; again, it is said that Adam sinned from & to n, meaning that he was guilty of every sin; or, once more, Abraham kept the Torah from & to n, i.e. he kept the whole Law.* There is a well-known Rabbinical saying, 'The seal of God is 'Emeth' (מָתַי חָשְׁו ו; and in Jerus. Sanh. i. 18a, 'Emeth is said to be the name of God, who includes all things: the beginning (n), the middle (c) is approximately the middle letter of the Hebrew alphabet), and the end (n). n.w. might then well correspond to the & n, μερά ταύτα, who is, who was, who is to come,' of Rev 1*. Logically, indeed, the order should be & n, etc.; but to a Hebrew (as the original writer of the book must have been) & n, as being equivalent to μερά (Jahweh), would probably on that account come first. The Hebrew n.w., being a well-known formula expressive of entirety, may therefore have been the prototype of & . It is, however, necessary to state that the phrase 'n and n' is never (in pre-Christian times) used of God in the way that & n.

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

4. Use of the symbol in the Christian Church.—A great variety of objects have been found with this symbol inscribed upon them; it figures on tombstones, as well as on other monuments, on mosaics, frescoes, and bricks, also on vases, cups, lamps, and on rings; it appears also on coins, its earliest occurrence on these being of the time of Constantius and Constantius, the sons of Constantine the Great.† These all belong to different ages and different countries; in its earliest known form (Rome, A.D. 292) it appears as 'ω Α; but this is exceptional, and is perhaps of Gnostic origin. The symbol in its usual form is found on objects.

* See Talm. Roshni, fol. 17. 4, fol. 48. 4, quoted in Schoettgen's Hebrew, Hebraica et Palæstina, p. 296, 167, and Yoma 60b, Sanh. 54a, Jerus. Yeb. xii. 15a, Jerus. Sanh. i. 15a, quoted in J.E. i. pp. 482, 439; also Sanh. 56a.

† See Cabrol's DACL, art. 'ΑΩ'.
belonging to the 3rd cent. in Rome and N. Africa; on objects belonging to the 4th cent., it has been found in Asia Minor, Sicily, Upper and Lower Italy, and Gaul; by the beginning of the Middle Ages it must have become known in most of the countries of Central Europe.

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

Among the Gnostics the symbol was used for figure-jugglery and for mysterious doctrines of various kinds; e.g., when written backwards, Ω and α have the numerical value 801, which is like- wise the sum of the letters of the word πατερέω (‘doe’); therefore, they taught, Christ called Himself α and Ω because the Holy Spirit came down upon Him at His baptism in the form of a dove.† This is doubtless the reason why Ω is found in combination with a dove; not infrequently two doves figure, one on each side of the letters. Examples of this are the two little golden boxes, found in Vatican graves, which have inscribed on them the device Α Ω and a dove (6th cent.).‡ The like device is seen on a silver copseis, found at Trèves, belonging to the 4th or 5th cent.; indeed, this combination would almost appear to have been the normal form of the symbol in Trèves, judging by the frequency of its occurrence there.¶

5. There is one other point that is worth alluding to. In the Apocalypse and Ω is explained as signifying ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος, 'the beginning and the end.' (21) This is the simplest, and no doubt the earliest, form of explanation; in 22 the same form is repeated, preceded by a parable; 'the first and the last;' (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος) these two forms of explanation agree closely with the OT prototype, as seen in Is 44 28; 3; the explanatory clause given in Rev 1; (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος, ὁ παλαιός καὶ ὁ νέος, ὁ παλαιός καὶ ὁ νέος) is unquestionably a development, and therefore a later form. The title with its explanatory clause is applied to Christ, as indicating His eternal Being. Now, it must strike one at first sight as strange that a title should be used for this purpose which contains the idea of finality, the very reverse of eternal being. But on a closer examination of the passages 21-22 it appears that the phrase 'the end' is to be the herald of a new beginning. We have here, that is to say, the echo of the apocalyptic belief that the first times shall be parallel to the beginning. This idea is brought out with great clearness in a passage cited (from some unknown work) in Ep. Barn. 6:4. Behold, I make the last things as the first. (ὅτι ταῦτα ἔσται ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Πάπα Ρομ. He, the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, makes the

* See the exhaustive list of symbols in Cabrol, op. cit. i. pp. 7-23.

† Irenaeus, ad loc. Hier. t. xvi. 6, v. 1, quoted in PRR. In the Egyptian Museum in Berlin there can be seen, on both papyrus and parchment leaves, magical formulae in combination with ΑΩ and a cross; they were most probably worn as amulets.

‡ C. Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, p. 303.

ABANDONMENT.—In considering the ethical and religious uses of this word, we have to remember that abandonment has an active, reflexive, and a passive meaning. It may signify (1) the action of abandoning; (2) self-abandonment, defined by Murray as ‘the surrender of oneself to an influence’; (3) the condition of being abandoned.

1. The abandonment of infants, sick persons, and aged parents, now rightly condemned, was not always prompted by motives of inhumanity. Westernmark (The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, 1906, vol. i. ch. xvii.) has accumulated a mass of evidence which proves that practices regarded by us as atrocious, are largely explained by the pitiful condition of the existence of a wandering life, and the superstitious opinions of ignorant men.” Amongst the testimonies cited, especially important are those which show that the most common motive for abandoning or destroying sick people seems to be fear of infection, or of demoniacal possession, which is regarded as the cause of various diseases. Abandonment often meant death, but not always; exposed infants were sometimes adopted into families, but they were also sometimes saved for a life of infamy. Justin Martyr, in his First Apology, charges (ch. xxix.) those who abandon children with the crime of murder, if the waifs ‘be not picked up, but die; he also dwells (ch. xxvii.) on the wickedness of exposing children to the peril of being kept alive for immoral purposes.

2. There may be an abandonment of self to influences good or bad, holy or unholy. Our language testifies against us when, without saying whether there has been surrender to virtue or to vice, we describe a profligate as an Abandoner, or a harlot as an abandoned woman. St. John (Paraph. xi. 476) calls Judas ‘an abandoned disciple,’ not because Jesus had abandoned him, but because the betrayer had surrendered himself to the evil one.

The Mystics understood by abandonment the complete surrender of the soul to the influences of the Divine Spirit, its entire absorption in the contemplation of the Divine glory, and its absolute devotion to the Divine will. In the dialogue narrated by Doctor Eckhart (Vossian. Monumen, the Mystics, bk. vi. ch. i.), a learned man asks a beggar, ‘Where hast thou found God? and the answer is, ‘Where I abandoned all creatures.’ To the scholar’s greeting, ‘God give thee good morrow,’ the poor man’s response is, ‘I never had an ill morrow.’ Whenceupon the scholar says, ‘But if God were to cast thee into hell, what wouldst thou do then?’ The beggar’s reply closes with the words, ‘I would sooner be in hell and have God, than in heaven and not have Him.’ Doctor Eckhart’s explanation is, ‘I have understood that true Abandonment, with utter Abasement, was the nearest way to God.”

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

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The biographies of devout believers bear witness, however, to a sense of abandonment by some who can reproach themselves neither on account of their departing from God, nor on account of their doubting His faithfulness. Martensen (op. cit. p. 391 ff.) describes this condition as one in which ‘the individual is, in a relative sense, left to himself. In the religious life he distinguishes two states of holiness: one in which ‘the blessing of the Divine grace is perceptibly revealed,’ and another in which ‘grace, as it were, retires and remains hidden.’ The latter state is one of ‘inward drought and abandonment,’ and may be the result of bodily indisposition or mental weariness. At such times ‘we should hold to God’s word, whose truth and grace are independent of our changing moods and feelings; and remain confident that even in states of deepest abandonment God the Lord is with us, although with veiled face.’

A sense of abandonment by the Father was the experience of Christ during the darkness that enveloped Calvary; to this fact witness is borne in the earliest Gospel, for St. Mark records none of the Seven Sayings from the Cross save this: ‘My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?’ (Mk 15:34, Mt 27:46). Professor Schmiedel accepts this as ‘the first of the sayings of the Saviour (Is 53:11),’ and in the Gospel concerning Christ (EBi, 2nd ed. 1831). Bengel (Com. in loc.) lays stress on the preterite tense of ἐξελθομενεον, and renders, ‘why didst thou forsake me?’ In his view, ‘at that very instant the God-blessed God stood alone, in the deepest moment of dereliction He was silent.’ This suggestion need not be pressed; the cry itself testifies to an actual feeling of abandonment by Him whose spirit never lost its faith in God. The mystery is, unrelieved unless He who uttered it was the sinless Saviour, who in His infinite love was bearing ‘our sins in his body upon the tree’ (1 P 2:24). In a lucid exposition of this Word from the Cross, W. L. Walker says: ‘Our Lord felt Himself in this supreme moment forsaken, even by His Father. . . . We here see Christ suffering that which is the last consequence of sin—the sense of separation from God. . . . It is in entire keeping with, and indeed appears as the natural consequence of love’s great Works are often in life as “a ransom for many,” as a sacrifice for sin, or “a guilt-offering”? (The Cross and the Kingdom [1902], p. 138 f.). [See art. ‘Dereliction’ in Hastings' DCG]. J. G. TASKER.

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

1. Exposure.—For the exposure of children there are several causes, which require to be taken the Lord hath from the point of view. In the treatment of the case different causes often bring about the same result.

(1) In most countries the commonest cause of

* The words 'abandon' and 'abandonment' are not found in the RV, but the essential thought is expressed in such passages as are quoted above.

the exposure of infants is shame, the child being the offspring either of an unmarried woman or of a union not recognized as regular by the customs of her country. Less frequently, the shame may be occasioned by some malformation of the infant itself, the parents regarding it as a reproach to them to be associated with a monster. In the legends of most countries an individual is represented as having been exposed to conceal the shame of their mothers. The exposure may be the act of the mother herself, as in the case of Evadne exposing Iason (Pindar, Olympian, vi. 44 ff.; cf. the exposure of Ion in Euripides’ Ion, 18 ff.), or it may be ordered or executed by the parents of the mother. Acraeus, in the fragment of Simonides, sends Danas and Perseus together adrift; in Roman legend, Romulus and Remus, the twin children of Rhea Sylva, are exposed by the shepherds of the enemy, the children of Alaric. In cases of this kind children are exposed without regard to sex.

(2) Children are exposed from fear that the means of subsistence will not be sufficient to maintain a larger population. Here exposure is only
one of many methods of infanticide. The populations among which it is most common are those which live by hunting or as nomad herdsmen. Thus amongst the native tribes of South-East Australia it is usual to kill infants by starvation, first by depriving them of food in the camp, and, when they die prematurely, removing them to a distance and leaving them to die. The death, however, is assigned to 

* The evidence for this, however, is late; *Adian, *Paria Histoira*, xii. 1.

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one of many methods of infanticide. The populations among which it is most common are those which live by hunting or as nomad herdsmen. Thus amongst the native tribes of South-East Australia it is usual to kill infants by starvation, first by depriving them of food in the camp, and, when they die prematurely, removing them to a distance and leaving them to die. The death, however, is assigned to 

* The evidence for this, however, is late; *Adian, *Paria Histoira*, xii. 1.
posed in a ravine called Apothetae near Mt. Taygetus after they had been examined by the elders of the tribe (φωλιά) (Plutarch, Lycurgus, c. 16). A similar procedure is recommended by Plato in the Republic (461 C and elsewhere; see Appendix IV. to bk. v. in Adam's edition). In a state like Sparta, where, as Aristotle remarks, all its neighbours were enemies (Aristotle, Politics, ii. 9. 3), and where the Spartans proper were only a small governing caste amid a hostile population, the need for such a regulation in Roxana is less obvious. But in a less stringent measure the regulation no doubt existed in other States. At Athens, if the father did not celebrate the amphibidromia for his child, it was not reared. No State save Thebes, and this apparently only at a late date, forbade exposure (Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 7). The child was to be taken to the authorities, who disposed of it to a person willing to undertake to bring it up as a slave, and recoup himself for his outlay by the child's services when it grew up.

(8) Luxury and self-indulgence. Although luxury is supposed to characterize only States which are highly civilized, selfishness can be found in all lands. Among the native Australians, where the children are often nursed for several years, it is improper for the mother to have a young child on her hands. Such a child is either killed immediately after birth or left behind when the camp is changed (Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899, p. 51; Howitt, The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 1904, p. 118). In many countries, ancient and modern, an improvement in the standard of living is accompanied by a disinclination to rear children. From the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, this was conspicuous in Greece and formed the theme of discussion for philosophers and satirists. How common the practice of exposure was, may be gathered from the frequency with which the heroines of the New Comedy, who come before us in the Latin versions of Plautus and Terence, are represented as having been exposed. They are, of course, recognized at the critical moment by the trinkets (cretundia) which were attached to the exposed infant. Under the Roman Empire, Masonius Rufus (p. 77, Hense) discloses that all the old under the Emperor Trajan were reared; and Pliny (Ep. x. 74 f.) tells the emperor Trajan as to the legal position of the exposed children reared by others (σπουδάζω) in his province of Bithynia. As the Roman comedy shows, the person to whom the reared exposed child was not moved by philanthropy; their aim was to make them slaves or courtezans (cf. e.g. Terence, Heautontimorumenos, 640; Plautus, Cistellaia, ii. 3. 543-630). Only when a child was exposed for superstitious reasons which made its death desirable, was it exposed where it was not likely to be found. As the Athenians exposed children in a pot (χιτμυρέω, ὑχυμυρέω), and as first-fruits were offered to the household gods in pots, it has been suggested that putting a child in a pot is a form of entrusting it to the gods. This is possible, but there is at present no sufficient evidence to prove it.

Besides these categories, exposure may be due, in isolated cases, to other causes, e.g. domestic persecution. This led to the expulsion of Hagar and her child from the family of Abraham, and her temporary abandonment of Ishmael (Gen 21:10). Temporary national persecution also may lead to exposure, as in the case of Moses (Ex 2:25). But neither is an example of a practice pursued by a nation in ordinary circumstances.

Literature.—Besides the works referred to in the text, there is much on the subject amongst the Indo-Germanic peoples in Schrader's Reassillexion der idg. Alterthumskunde (e.g. 'Aussetzung'), and a very full article in Darmst.; Diet., des Antiquite progres et romaines (e.g. 'Expostulo'). For general treatment of the subject see Platz, Gesch, des Verbrennens der Aussetzlinge (Stuttgart, 1876 [mostly modern tribal procedure]), and Laiimann, Hist. der Kinder der dons und deldten (Paris, 1856). See also Westernmarck, History of Human Marriages (1891), pp. 313-314; Flass, Das Kind (1834), vol. ii. pp. 243-276.

2. Abandonment.—Abandonment of the aged seems to arise simply from dread of the food supply running short, or the difficulty amongst nomad peoples of carrying about with them those who are no longer able to share in the work of the tribe or to shift for themselves. The practice, however, does not prevail amongst all wandering tribes. Among the native Australians the aged and infirm are treated with special kindness and provided with a share of the food (Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, 1899, p. 51). On the other hand, the natives of South Africa in their primitive state abandoned the old. 'I have seen,' says Moffat (Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa, 1842, p. 132), 'a small circle of stake consisted on the ground, within which were still lying the bones of a parent bleached in the sun, who had been thus abandoned.' Amongst the American Indians of the Pacific coast the old are generally neglected and when helpless are abandoned (Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States of America, i. pp. 129, 131, 205, 390, and elsewhere). Among many tribes the duty of looking after the old belongs only to their own descendants. Hence the aged of tribes pray for large families, in order that when old they may have some one to support them (H. Ling Roth, Benin, p. 47). In the Qur'an, Muhammad combines the injunction to be kind to parents with a warning not to cast them out of the house (Qur'an, xxi. 150). Amongst the Indo-Germanic peoples, abandonment of the old is mentioned in the Vedas (Rig Veda, viii. 51. 52 [1020]; Atharva Veda, xviii. 2. 34; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 327 f.). In ancient Persia and Armenia, cripples were left to shift for themselves; and Strabo, who is supported by other authorities, tells us that the Babylonians left the old and infirm to be eaten by dogs; and the Avestan itself recognizes the practice of setting a portion of food by the old, and leaving them to die (Strabo, xi. 11. 3; Vendidad, i. 18 [in this case a person ceremonially impure is thus shut up for life]; Spiegel, Eranische Altertumskunde, iii. p. 683). The Caspians allowed those who had reached 60 of human age to abandon their bodies in the desert to wild animals (Strabo, xi. 11. 3). Still more gruesome stories are told by Herodotus (i. 216, iii. 99, iv. 26) of the Massagetae, of the Padii (an Indian tribe), and of the Issedones. Even among the Greeks the removal of the old was not unknown. Most remarkable was the law of Ceos, which prevented 'him who was unable to live well from living ill.' By it all over sixty years of age were poisoned with hemlock (Strabo, x. 5-6). Amongst the Roman-Babarians are said to have been commonly cast over a bridge (the pons sublicus) into the Tiber ('Sexagenarii de ponte,' cf. Cicero, pro Roscio Amerino, § 100). The northern nations were equally cruel (Gummere, Germanic Orpina, p. 203). When, however, such a custom prevails in a nation from time immemorial, its action is looked upon as natural, and is borne with resignation. And even in Britain, till recent times, severity was regarded as extreme old age, and few reached it. In the New Hebrides, Tanna, the old were buried alive at their own request (Samoa, p. 335), and it was considered a disgrace to their family if they were not. Not infrequently persons in delirium or very ill are abandoned by their relatives (H. Ling Roth, Sarawak, p. 611), no doubt because they are supposed to be under
the influence of an evil power, generally a ghost (Codrington, The Melanesians, p. 194).

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Hindu).—The ancient Sanskrit literature of India appears to have preserved some remnants of the time when the patria potestas gave the father a right to abandon and expose his children, especially daughters. Thus it is stated in the lawbook of Vasiṣṭha (xvi. 11. 44 ff.): also Schrader, Reall. del d. Alterthu- 

ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (American).—1. The practice of infant-exposure was widespread throughout North America. The usual motive, especially in the North, was the lack of food, and the consequent difficulty of supporting a child. The practice became frequent among the Eskimos of Smith Sound in the extreme north-east of the American continent, where all children above the number of two are either strangled or exposed to die of hunger or cold, without regard to sex. Infanticide, both before and after birth, which is but another form of exposure, is also common, as when the women of the Kutchins, an Athapaskan tribe, kill their female children to save them from the misery which their mothers must endure (Ploss, Das Kind, ii. 541, 293). Among the Kusile tribe of the Pacific coast, boys were highly prized, but girls were often taken to the wilderness, where their mouths were stuffed with grass, and they were left to perish. Certain Columbia tribes usually treated both children and infants of both kinds similarly, yet abandoned and even killed them in time of dire need, while exposure was not uncommon among the Yulan tribe of Cochimia in New Mexico (Banerof, Native Races of the Pacific States, San Francisco, 1883, i. 81, 205, 533). That this practice is by no means modern, is shown by the fact that the Indians of Acadia in the 17th cent. frequently abandoned their children for lack of time to take care of them, and in Quebec orphans were often exposed. An interesting case is also recorded of a Huron mother who regarded the circumstances associated with her unborn child as uncanny, and therefore procured an abortion. The fetus proved, however, to be viable and later she took it back, although it grew up to be a "medicine-man" (Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, i. 256, ii. 28, xiii. 196).

Abandonment of the sick and the aged, sparing neither sex, rank, nor kinship, seems to have been common among the American Indians of all times and localities. In Acadia (New France), those who were not abandoned in the age of their parents, were frequently killed, this act being deemed, as it doubtless was in many instances, a kindness. Old men were abandoned to die, especially when sick; but if they did not expire within three days, they were killed by sucking blood from incisions made in the abdomen, and then dashing quantities of cold water on the navel. During this process and at the first desertion the victims wrapped themselves in their mantles and formally chanted the death-hymn. Among the Hurons and Iroquois the sick were left to their fate, and in the Huron tribe the father and wife deserted each other in an illness deemed mortal. Old women were abandoned among the Hurons, and the Ahenakis deserted their medicine-men with equal readiness. The custom of abandon- 

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

A. H. ROSE.

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ABBOT

everything and man nothing. But man thus abased before God
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abbots.
The blessing of an abbess is permitted to a priest by Theodore.

Even those religions—those systems of aspiration and effort—which do not recognize this kind of dependency, would still find room for some abase-
ment in the recognition of the gap between what the individual wants and what God, from the point of view, why should not a man
pride himself on such good as he has already attained? Yet to the religious consciousness of many the presence of this pride would appear to
vitiate all. The theoretic justification for this moral conditionising is no longer made.

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

Some heads of communities have the title abbott general, archabbot, abbot president. The Abbot of Montecassino has the honorific title of
archabbot, and in the Middle Ages, when head of a
congregation, was called Abbas Abbatum. A new title, Abbas Patris, does denote something larger than himself, and, as it is the title of St. Anselmo, Rome (built by Leo XIII.), as presi-
dent of the new union of all black Benedictines.

The government of an abbey or an abbess is strictly monarchical. Before St. Benedict (c. 520) the abbess was the living rule, guided, if he chose, by the traditions of the Fathers of the desert, by the rules of Pachomius, or Basil, or Augustine, or by the customs of Lernins or Marmoutier. From St. Benedict's time (whose Rule was propagated in Italy by Gregory the Great, and became approxi-
mately universal soon afterwards) the abbess' govern-
ment is constitutional, for he is bound by the Rule (Regula, cap. 64), which was gradually supplemented by decrees of popes, and of councils, and by regulations like those in England of Lan-
franc. When a branch congregations were formed as Cluniacins, Cistercians, Camaldolese, etc.) of many
monasteries, or congregations of black monks (as those of Bursfeld, St. Justina, etc.), the Rule was supplen-
ted by constitutiones or commentaries on portions of the Rule, and by the regulations enforced by visitors or governors. All this applies also mutatis mutandis to the govern-
ment of the canons regular. But the supremacy of the abbess was never seriously weakened, and the monarchical character of abbatial government is the distinguishing feature of the older orders as compared with the later friars, clerks regular, brothers, etc.

As it gradually became customary for many monks to be clerics, it also became the rule for abbots to be priests—in the East from the 5th cent., in the West from about the 7th. A council under Eugenius II. at Rome in 639 made this obligatory for the Canons, Conv. iv. 8472, of the Roman Church, and the Canons
of St. Benedict meant the 'ordination', not the 'ordination', i.e.
the blessing of an abbess. St. Gregory the Great speaks of a 'blessing' an abbess (Ep. xii. 9), and also of the
decision as to the ordination of an abbess being made by the other of another monastery (Ep. xi. 7). The latter had changed his mind and appointed another man in the after-
noon of the same day. Gregory orders him to invite a bishop to ordain, i.e. 'the monk and as an ordination of an abbess.' St. Theodore of Canterbury orders that an abbess shall be 'ordained' by a bishop, who must sing the Mass, in the presence of two or three of the bishop's brethren, et domi et sacramento et pontifice. This is the
most correct form of the abbatial blessing, and the blessing of York (753-756) gives a consecratio Abbatiae vel Abbatissae.

There are now two forms provided in the Roman Pontifical for the blessing of an abbess, one for the blessing of an
abbess, the other for a mitred abbess. The former appears to be no longer used.

The latter is largely modelled on the order of consecration of a

The blessing of an abbess is permitted to a priest by Theodore.
ABBOT--ABBOT OF UNREASON

The form in the Pontifical is simple, but many abbesses have had, and still have, the privilege of being invested with ring and crozier. When temporary abbots were introduced in the 11th cent., the bishop was dispensed with, but Benedictine orders severely censured the omission to obtain the blessing on the ring and crozier of abbots elected for life.

At an early date abbots took an important place in ecclesiastical affairs. In the 5th cent. we find 23 abbots signing the condemnation of Eutyches at the council held by Flavian of Constantinople in 445, and these were probably regular members of the patriarch's eudes or envoys. In Spain and Gaul they appear at councils to represent absent bishops, but in 653 ten abbots are found sitting in their own right at a council of Toledo, and they sign before the representatives of absent bishops (Mansi, x. 1229). It became customary throughout the Middle Ages for abbots to attend councils. At the Vatican Council of 1869 only those abbots who were heads of congregations were invited, naturally without a vote.

Abbots, being the administrators of the temporal goods of their monastery, attained considerable worldly importance. They were often envoys of monarchs and of popes. They sat in Parliaments, ranking in England next after barons. In these parliaments abbots were originally called by the name of Parliament at the good pleasure of the king, but by custom a certain number gained the right of sitting. On the last occasion when the abbots as a body sat in Parliament (28th June 1399), 17 were present. At the Parliament of Elizabeth, however, Abbatt Becknam of Westminster had a seat and vote, since that abbey had been restored to all its privileges under Queen Mary.

The worldly grandeur assumed by abbots has been frequently censured,—for instance, by St. Bernard. In England their position as great landowners and peers of Parliament necessitated considerable influence. The sons of this nobility were sent to be brought up under their care. Monasteries were halls of learning, and many abbots entertained in the abbots' hall. The Abbot of Glastonbury administered a revenue larger than that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds had a mint of his own. Yet even this position was not incompatible with personal sanctity, as may be seen in the case of Richard Whiting (Gasquet, The Last Abbot of Glastonbury, 1895, p. 56 f.). This external state of abbots lasted in England into the 19th cent., and to some extent is still to be seen.

Exemption of abbots from episcopal control became the rule only when they were joined together in congregations, but it was not an exclusively English law. The first traces of it are found. A council held at Arles, c. 465, exempted Faustus of Lusina from the Bishop of Fréjus, so far as the government of his abbey was concerned (Mansi, vii. 907; Duchesne, Fautes eccl. i. 124). Westminster is said to have received the privilege from John xxII. (c. 670). Some of the greatest English monasteries were never exempt, as Glastonbury, and only five Benedictine houses had the privilege at the Reformation, apart from the Cluniacs, Cistercians, etc. Christ Church, Oxford, still retains its papal exemption from the bishop. Grants of Pontifical or episcopal ornaments, mitre, ring, gloves, and crozier were made by the pope to the principal abbots (e.g. to Westminster in 1736, to the Prior of the Cathedral Abbey of Ely in 1464). These graces eventually became general, but were limited by a decree of Alexander vii. in 1699. Since then further privileges have been granted or confirmed. In some cases a number of parishes are subject to an abbot, who acts as their bishop, as at Montecassino, Cava, etc. The small diocese once administered by the Abbot of Westminster is still under the dean and chapter, and is independent of the Bishop of London.

In the case of such abbots, who are called Abbatis nationes, they reside at the head of the administration and confirmation. Since the monastic state was anciently equated to the clerical, and the monastic tonsure to the clerical tonsure, it is customary to allow abbots to confer tonsure and minor orders on their own subjects, and this is still in force. The Second Council of Nicaea (787) permitted Abp. Agatound to ordain bishops in their own dioceses. Occasionally abbots were sometimes also allowed to give the subdiaconate, but this is obsolete. The institution of the Innocent vii. to the Cistercian abbots to confer the diaconate is too much opposed to the theological opinions of the period to be probably authentic.

The elections of abbots by their monks were often interfered with by the civil power. St. Benedict permits neighbouring bishops or laymen to interfere if a bad man is elected. Charles Martel gave abbots to his officers; even Charlemagne disposed of them at will. The king's conge d'elsé had to be obtained for an election in England. In France and elsewhere abbeys came to be in the royal gift. The habit of giving abbots to seculars in commendam in the 8th to 10th centuries, unhappily revived in the 15th to 18th. The goods of the community were usually already divided with the abbots, and the latter had nothing to do with the manner in which to receive guests. When these were in the hands of seculars, the monasteries were greatly impoverished, and suffered much in regularity.

The congregation of St. Justina of Padua (382) and St. Hildepode preferred to be governed by priors appointed by the abbot. The general chapter for the same reason. When it had become the rule for all ecclesiasties of good family to possess at least one abbey in commendam, it became customary to presume this in all ecclesiasties, and to address them as abbeys. Hence in France, and to some extent in Italy, even youths in seminaries, not yet in minor orders or not tonsured, are regularly addressed by the title, which in the Middle Ages had been considered only dignified for the superiors of the Carthusians or the Friars.

LITERATURE.—See further under MONASTICISM. For Canon Law, Ferrar, Bibliotheca, &c. 'Abbatt,' 'Abbalas,' and the collections of decrees.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

ABBOT (Tibetan).—The head of the monastery in Tibet is called 'teacher' or k'han-po (the literal equivalent of the Sanskrit upadhyāya). He is superior to the ordinary monastic teacher or professor (lob-pön), and is credited with being endowed, by direct transmission from saints, with the three prerogatives for consecration, namely, spiritual power (dbang), thorough knowledge of the precepts (lung), and capability of expounding the same (krid), which confer on him the authority to empower others. He has under him all the common monks, scholars, and novices, and is the only one entitled to be called a Lama. The lady superior of a convent bears the corresponding title of K'an-mo; the most celebrated of these is the 'Thunderbolt Sow,' a Tibetan creature residing at Samdrubling on the Yangze, and early in the 19th century.


L. A. WADDELL.

ABBOT OF UNREASON.—This title was given in Scotland to one of the mimic dignitaries who presided over the Christmas revels. In England he had the title of Abbé or Lord of Misrule. In France the Abbé de Liecehe held the same office. The Abbé de Liecehe was the chief of a confraternity established at Lille. He was appointed by the magistrates and the people. He wore a cross of silver gilt in his hat, and was accompanied by the officers of his mimic household. A banner of rich silk was carried before him, and his duty was to leave the hall of festivities at Arras and the neighbouring cities at the carnival. Ducasen in his Glossarium says he also bore the titles of Rex Stultorum and Facetiarum Princes.

* It may be noted here that for centuries in Ireland the abbots had all ecclesiastical power, and the bishop was organized not by dioceses but by tribes, and the bishop was in reality a subject of the abbot.

† The 'Abbott' in Buddhism generally will be described under MONASTICISM (Bud.), and the Muhammadan Abbout under MUHAMMADAN.
'ABD AL-QADIR AL-JILANI

At Rouen and Evreux the leader of the frolics was called Abbas Conardorum. Another title was Abbas Juvenum. In certain cathedral chapters in France he was called l'Abbé des Fouz. He was the monastic representative of the Boy Bishop, or Episcopus Puerorum, whose office is recognized in the service "in die Sancti Innocentii" in the Sarum Processionale of 1553. In some cases he was styled Episcopus or Archiepiscopus Faturorum. In churches exempt from diocesan jurisdiction he had the exalted title Papa Faturorum.

In every case these mimic dignitaries represented the clergy in authority in the Church. They masqueraded in the vestments of the clergy, and exercised for the time being some of the functions of the higher clergy. The clergy themselves gave their sanction to the mimic rites: "Deinde episcopus puerorum conversus ad clerus elevat brachium suum diescens hanc benedictionem: Crucis signo vos consigno" (Sarum Process. fol. xiv).

In the York Inventory of 1350 a little mitre and a ring are mentioned, evidently for the Episcopus Puerorum.

These titles are all closely connected with the Festum Natalis Domini, the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, in the medieval Church. There is little doubt that their privileges go back to much earlier times. The standard authority for the whole subject is the treatise Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Fête des Fous written by Tilliot, who was elected Abbot of Lausanne and Geneva, 1741. Du Tilliot, with good reason, traces them back to the Saturnalia, the Libertas Decembria of which Horace (Sat. ii. vii. 5 f.) speaks when he bids his slave Davus exercise his annual privilege of masquerading as master: 'Age, libertate Decembri. Quando ita majores voluerint, utere, narrat.'

Du Tilliot says: "Comme dans les Saturnales, les Valets faisaient les fonctions de leurs Maîtres, de même dans la Fête des Fous les jeunes Cherces et les autres Ministres intérieurs de l'Eglise officiaient publiquement et solennellement, pendant certains jours consacrés à honorer les Mystères du Christianisme.'

The policy of the early Church was to divert the people from their pagan customs by consecrating them, as far as possible, to Christian use. The month of December was dedicated to Saturnus and the Saturnalia were originally held on Dec. 17. Augustus extended the holiday to three days, Dec. 17-19, Marcial (ob. 101) speaks of it as lasting five days. Lucian, in the 2nd cent., says it lasted a week, and that mimics were present. Duchesne (Origines, p. 265) allows that the Mithraic festival of Natalis Invicti, on Dec. 25, may have had some influence in fixing the date of Christmas in the Western Church. He hesitates as to the Saturnalia. Yet the Christianized festivities of the Saturnalia were probably slowly transferred to the Christmas season by the appointment of the Advent fast. A relic of this still lingers on in North Staffordshire, where the farm-servants' annual holiday extends from Christmas to New Year.

The Boy Bishop (Episcopus Puerorum) was elected on St. Nicholas' Day, Dec. 6, and his authority lasted till Chilidernas, or Holy Innocents' Day. Edward I., in 1299, permitted him to say vespers in the royal presence on Dec. 7. The Santa Claus of to-day still keeps alive the tradition of the Boy Bishop and the Abbot of Unreason.

The concessions of the early Church did not succeed in checking the abuses which had been associated with the Saturnalia. The 'Liberty of Drinking' at New Year and Epiphany, covering the whole of the Christmas festival, the 'Misrule' called forth constant protests. Pseudo-Aug. (Serm. 265) condemns the dances, which after- wards became a recognized feature of the Feast of Fools in the inns and inns of the inns, men in white tunics and scarlet waists, singing and dancing, sometimes singing and dancing, sometimes sent to Spanish Sanctuaries to see the feast and take away the relics.

Christianized diocesan and episcopal jurisdictions were continued in the same district to yield to the secular Church. The carnival connected with the Calendae Brumalia and other festivals were condemned in Can. lixi. of the Council in Trullo in 692. The mimetic paganism of bishop and abbot was especially censured in Sessione xxii. of the Council of Basel in 1439:

'Turpem etiam illum abusum in quibusdam frequentationibus ecclesiis quo certa anni celebratioibus nonnulli cum mitra, consulo, ac vestibus pontificibus etiam quotidie beneficientes Alii ut reges ac duces induit, quod festum faturorum vel Innocentium vel puerorum in quibusdam regionibus nuncupatur, ut Alii larvae et theatrales fecerunt.'

Tilliot also mentions the condemnation of these abuses by the Council of Rouen in 1435, Soissons in 1455, Sens in 1455, Paris in 1528, and Cologne in 1536. In England they were abolished by proclamation of Henry VIII., July 22, 1542, though restored by Mary in 1554.

In Scotland the annual burlesque presided over by the Abbot of Unreason was suppressed in 1555. The guisers, who in Scotland play the part of the mummers in the Christmas revels in England, were probably derived from the same Abbot or from the Abbots of Unreason. In fiction, Sir Walter Scott has left a vivid picture of the 'right reverend Abbot of Unreason in the Abbot'.

LITERATURE. — Du Tilliot, Memoires; Ducange, Glossarium; Sarum Processionale, 1655; Sir W. Scott, The Abbot, with historical note; Chambers, Book of Days; Jamieson, Scottish Dict. ; Dict. Larousse.

THOMAS BARNES.
Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani

He married and had many children—thirteen, according to a tradition reported by Depont and Coppolani (p. 298); forty-nine, of whom twenty-seven were sons, according to another tradition, which seems to be legendary. Many of his disciples were among the most notable of the Maqdisi order, to which he belonged in the earlier part of his life. He was during his lifetime, to preach his doctrine in Egypt, Arabia, Transoxiana, and India. He died at Baghdad on the 8th of the month of Rabi‘ ii., 561 A.H. [1166 A.D.]

Legend.—Besides the above facts, the numerous traditions which have been preserved concerning ‘Abd al-Qadir are for the most part of a legendary character. They deal with his austereities, his visions, and his miracles. Among them are the following:—His mother bore him when she was sixty years old. As a nursing he declined to take the breast in the month of Ramadān. When he came to Baghdad to study, the prophet Ḥādrī appeared to him and prevented him from entering the city; he remained seven years before the walls, practising asceticism and living on herbs. When he withdrew into the deserts around Bagdad, he was visited by the same prophet Ḥādrī, and was fed miraculously. He also received cakes, herbs, and water from the heavens, on his pilgrimage to Mecca. In the desert he was tormented by Satan, who came to him under the form of a great light, and fixed time to time his abode in the ruins of Alvān Kīrā, the famous palace of Chosroes (Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, p. 34). One tradition makes him spend eleven years in a tower which even the wind could not lift up. He was also called Burj al-‘Ajamī, ‘the tower of the Persian.’ One day Satan tried to seduce him by a false vision. While he stood on the seashore with a great thirst, a cloud sailed towards him from which fell a kind of dew. He quenched his thirst with the water it contained. A great light appeared, and a form, and he heard a voice saying to him, ‘I allow thee that which is forbidden.’ ‘May God preserve us from Satan, the accursed one,’ replied the ascetic. At once the light gave place to darkness, and the form became smoke. He was asked later how he had recognized the deceitfulness of this vision. He answered: ‘By the fact that God does not advise to do shameful things.’ While he taught, he was often seen lifted up from the ground a few paces through the air and then return to his pulpit. Once, as he was speaking in the Niẓamiya school, a Jinnī appeared in the form of a snake, which wound itself around his body and exchanged a word with him. The river Tigris rose high, and the inhabitants of Bagdad, fearing that it would flood the city, came to implore the protection of the wonder-worker. Al-Jilānī advanced to the bank of the river, planted his stick in the ground, saying, ‘Thus far.’ From that moment the waters decreased. Many of these legends have a close resemblance to those of Christian hagiography.

Works.—Many works, mystical treatises, collections of sermons and essays are ascribed to him. Brockelmann (Arab. Litt. i. 435 f.) mentions twenty-four titles of his books still existing in MS. in the libraries of Europe. The two most important are:—Al-qānūna litābīt tariq al-ḥaqq, ‘Sufficiency for the seeker of the way of truth,’ and the Fudūt al-ghaib, ‘The conquests of the mystery.’ The latter work contains his mystical teaching, collected by his son ‘Abd ar-Razzāq. It was printed in Persian at Lucknow in 1880; in Arabic at Cairo in 1309 A.H. A collection of sermons (fudūt) and letters (ādāb) was printed at Cairo in 1302, a ḥīdab at Alexandria in 1304. In the language of the dervish orders, a ḥīzab is a kind of service composed in great part of passages from the Qur‘ān. Le Châtelier (Combr. Musul. du XIXe s., p. 22, n. 1) cites also a collection of prayers named in Turkish Ewawdī Sershif, printed at Constantinople in 1869 A.D. A word (pl. awrād; Turk. ewrād) is a short invocation. His remaining works include exhortations, prayers, a treatise on the Divine names, mystical poems, one of which is on the author’s being lifted up into the higher spheres. Ibn Taimiya commented on some of his maxims.

Teaching.—His teaching may be gathered from the above-mentioned works (cf. also the Lāwādī al-anwar of ash-Shaṭṭārī, ed. of Cairo, 1315, i. pp. 100-105) and from the tradition of his order. It is that of orthodox Muslim mysticism. None of his disciples, we may add, can be said about his symbolism, his asceticism, or his pattern of teaching. His teaching can be gathered from the above-mentioned works (cf. also the Lāwādī al-anwar of ash-Shaṭṭārī, ed. of Cairo, 1315, i. pp. 100-105) and from the tradition of his order. It is that of orthodox Muslim mysticism. None of his texts can be said about his symbolism, his asceticism, or his pattern of teaching.

It is a custom in Muslim mysticism to ascribe the essence of the teaching of the founder of an order to some anterior personages, by means of a chain of intermediaries who go as far back even as the pre-Islamic past. Thus cited, of al-Jilānī should be the famous ascetic Abū-l-Qāsim al-Junādī (died A.H. 288).

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

Order.—The order, or brotherhood, founded by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilānī bears the name al-Qādiriyah. It has great importance in Islam. After the death of its spiritual director it was divided among his sons and then by their descendants. The majority of his sons became disciples of their father, ascetics, missionaries, and men of learning like him. The eldest was ‘Abd ar-Razzāq (A.H. 328-603), the youngest Yalāyah (350-600). It was ‘Abd ar-Razzāq...
who succeeded his father in the leadership of the order, and who built over the tomb of the founder the mosque with seven gilt domes, once celebrated by historians and poets, but to-day lying in ruins (Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 348 f.). Along with the order the posterity of al-Jalānl's children have spread all over the Muslim world. Branches of the order can be found everywhere in Bagdad, Cairo, Hamah, and Yā'ā in the district of Aleppo. A Western tradition claims that one son of al-Jalān, 'Abd al-'Azīz (532-602), emigrated to Fes; but this is contradicted by another tradition (Qalidid, J. M., 235). According to a further tradition, 'Abd al-'Azīz emigrated only to the province of Jihāl. Bagdad has retained the moral centre of the order. But the jurisdiction of the mother-house does not extend beyond Mesopotamia, Syria, and Turkey. In the other Muslim countries the brotherhood went through a process of disintegration, and the congregations have ceased to be subordinate to the mother-house. The monastery (zāviyya) of Bagdad was destroyed by Shaikh Ismail, and restored by Sultan Sulaimā.

The boundaries of the brotherhood reach out as far as the Farther East, into the Dutch East Indies and Chinese Yunnan. In India there are many kinds of Qadīriyās. The Qadīriyā Akbariyya, the best-known, found at the end of the 16th cent. by Muhammad ibn al-'Arabi al-Kātими, forms a distinct order; the Bi Nawād or bega fiqra, recruited from the inferior castes of Muslims, and connected with the Qadīriyā. In Arabia the brotherhood is powerful. It possesses important zāviyyās in Jiddah and Medina, and has thirty mehrābān (motherhouses of congregations) in Mecca. In Constantinople it owns forty houses (takyas). It is widespread in Egypt, at Cairo, all along the Nile Valley; and its missions have advanced as far as Khartum, Kordofan, Darfur, Wadai, Bornu, and Sokoto. There are zāviyyās at Tripoli and Ghadames. In Algeria and Morocco the order embraces various decentralized congregations whose membership reaches a high figure. 24,000 are reckoned in Algeria (Depont and Coppolani), and in the province of Oraan alone two hundred chapels (gubbas), under the name of Sidi al-Jalān, are to be found (Rinn). The brotherhood makes great efforts to convert the Berbers to Islam.

The shirk of the order is nothing but the Muslim confession of faith: la ilāh illa llāh. 'There is no God but Allah.' But according to a usage, probably instituted by al-Jalān himself, these words are not always pronounced entirely. During the prayer in common, which is accompanied by motions of the head and of the body, and in which the dervishes endeavour to attain a state of ecstatic excitement, after having already pronounced the whole formula, they say only 'Allah, Allah!' and finally, when the rhythm becomes more rapid, they pronounce but la ill, the sound being sustained until loss of breath.

Many orders or brotherhoods have separated from the Qadīrite order. The most famous, besides the above-mentioned Akbariyya of India, are the Rifā'īyya, commonly called the 'Howling Dervishes,' founded by Ahmad ar-Rifâ' (died A.H. 570), a nephew of al-Jalān; the Bada-wiyya, an Egyptian order, and the Isāwīyya. The other orders are those of the Bakkā'īyya, Jabbā'īyya, Jibbutiya, Dāsūqiyā, Mu'āmliyya, Tawīlyā, Dālalya 'Amāmiyya (cf. Muhammadism, § viii.).

LITERATURE.—(1) ORIENTAL: Bahā' al-sarrār, by 'Ali b. Yūsuf ash-Shaṭṭūf (A.H. 647-713), Cairo, 1304; Qalidid al-Ḥuṣaynī, Ḥ., al-Qā'id al-Ṭālī, by Muhammad b. Yāhya at-Tādīfī (died A.H. 903), Cairo, 1308. These two are the most important. Brockelmann (A. Litt. l. p. 485) mentions three other biographies still in MS. Colas translated a MS by Shaikh as-San'ūsī, used also by Rinn. Rinn mentions also the Ansūr ad-ṣalātir, by 'Abd al-laṭif ibn Ḥāshimi. Cf.stairs Qard al-Yāfī (died 1367 A.D.) and Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Qāsīllānī (died 1517 A.D.) collected a number of interesting stories relating to the Qadīrites. The Nafīṣ ad-Dīn (Paris, 1866), lithographed at Fez, A.H. 1509, is translated by T. H. Weir in R.I.S. (1903, p. 156). His further work has not yet been commented on by D. S. Mārgoliouth in J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 297 ff.

On the mystics generally see the Naṣrūd Jāmī, Calcutta, 1859; the Wafqūd al-Ḥaṣan, Paris, 1859 (Eng. trans., Paris, 1842-1871); a recent Turkish work on the origin of the principal Muslim orders and their doctrines is 'Abd al-Qādiriyā wa-dar al-faṣūla (Kouluta, 1897). R. Rinn, Esfirades de Constantino, n.d.


B. CARRA DE VAUX.

'ABB AD-AR-RAZZAQ.—I. Life.—The well-known Sāfī, Kamāl ad-Dīn 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ (GHĀNĪ'IM bi-NAJAM ad-Dīn b. Shulha al-Kashī, al-Kašānī, Kāshānī) was a native of Qāshān (Kāshān). He was born in 1873, and died in 1903; yet his book Nafāḥāt al-uns, Calcutta, 1888, p. 561. On one occasion 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ was accompanying the Amir Iqbal Sīstānī on the road to Sulṭānīya, and asked him in the course of conversation what his shahīd—meaning Ahmad ibn Mustafā Rukan ad-Dīn 'Alā' ad-Daula al-Simnānī—thought of the celebrated Sāfī Muḥy ad-Dīn Iba 'Ārabī. The Amir replied that Rukan ad-Dīn regarded him as a master of mystical science, butbelieved him to be mistaken in his pantheistic doctrine touching the unity of the Divine substance, whereupon 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ retorted that the doctrine in question was the foundation of Ibn 'Arabī's philosophy, that it was the most excellent he had ever heard, and that it was held by all the saints and prophets. These remarks were communicated by the Amir to his shahīd, Rukan ad-Dīn 'Alā' ad-Daula al-Simnānī—thought of the celebrated Sāfī Muḥy ad-Dīn Iba 'Ārabī as abominable and far worse than avowed materialism. 'Abbān has preserved the correspondence which ensued between 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ and his adversary (Nafāḥāt, pp. 558-568).

This dispute enables us to fix the epoch at which 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ flourished, since the shahīd Rukan ad-Dīn, his contemporary, was charged with a political mission to the court of Abū Sa'īd, son of Uljaitu, the Mongol sovereign of Persia (A.D. 1316-1335), and we know, moreover, that he composed one of his works, entitled the 'Istīlā (JA for 1873, p. 133). This book was read by 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ, who addressed to the author a letter on the subject (Nūr Allāh of Shustar in the Maṣā'īl al-mu'āinnīn, ib. p. 135, also British Museum MSS. ad. No. 26,716, fol. 351 vo. and No. 23,541, fol. 364 vo.). This letter, with the answer of Rukan ad-Dīn, is extant in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, by E. H. Palmer, p. 116). Consequently there can be little doubt that the closing years of 'Abb ad-AR-RAZZAQ's life fall within the reign of Abū Sa'īd, and he may well have died, according to the earlier date mentioned by Ḥāfiz Bālī, in A.H. 730 = A.D. 1329-30.

Concerning the outward events of his life we
possess scarcely any information. Jāmī states (Naḥafāt, p. 557) that he was a disciple of šayḥ Nūr ad-Dīn ‘Abd as-Šamād of Naṭanz, through whom, as appears from the articles on that šayḥ and his teacher, šayḥ Najīb ad-Dīn ‘All ibn Burghush (Naḥafdt, p. 546 ff.) he received his spiritual descent to the illustrious šīfā Shihhāb ad-Dīn ‘Umar as-Suhrwārī and Muḥy ad-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī. It is related by Yaḥyā (Raūd ad-rrayāshīn, 106th anecdote: p. 65 of ed. of Cairo, 1315) that one day while ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq was dictating in the mosque at Medīna, a dervish among his audience withdrew into a corner and gave himself up to meditation. On being asked why he did not listen like the rest, he answered: ‘They are hearing the servant (‘abd) of the Provider, not His servant.’

2. Writings.—The most famous work of ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq is his dictionary of the technical terms of the šīfā, Isṭiḥāāt as-Sūfīyya. It is divided into two parts, the first on the technical expressions (maṭālahāt), and the second on the so-called ‘stations’ (maqāmāt). ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq states in his preface that he composed it for the instruction of his friends who, not being šīfā, could not understand the technical terms, at least some in some of his other works. The Isṭiḥāāt was largely utilized by Sayyid ‘Alī al-Jurjānī, the author of the Ta’rīfāt or ‘Definitions,’ a well-known treatise of the same kind, and the first part has been edited by ‘Iyāδ al-Sālīm fi šahādāt aṭīl-šān, of which Thouless has made a useful, is also devoted to explaining the peculiar Šīfistic terminology. Some account will be given below of the Rastalat fi l-qudūs wa l-qabd or Ta’rīf al-Dīn on Free-will, which has been published, analyzed, and translated by Guyard. ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq wrote several books of less importance, such as his allegorical interpretation of the 38th chapter of the Qur’ān (Ta’rīfāt al-Qur’ān) and his commentaries on the Faṣaṣ al-Qaḥkām of Ibn ‘Arabī, on the Thāyiyyat al-Kubrā of Ibn al-Fārid, and on the Manṣūr as-sālīrīn of ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī.

3. Doctrines.—Like the later šīfātīs generally, ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq finds a basis for his system in Neo-Platonic philosophy as expounded to the Musliams by Fārābī, Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), and Ghazālī. He is a thoroughgoing pantheist, in the sense that he considers the whole universe, spiritual and material, to flow from God. From the Absolute Being, who alone exists, and who is known solely to Himself, there radiates a spiritual substance, the Primal Intelligence (al-‘Aql al-Aʿwaḍ) or Universal Reason, which answers to the esoteric Plotinus and the Nēsēs of Philo. This substance contains the types or ideas of all existing things, and by a further process of emanation these types descend into the world of the Universal Soul, the Plotinian ψυχή, where they become individualized and are transmitted to the mortal sphere. Here for his upward movement by which all individual souls are drawn back to the Primal Intelligence and ultimately reabsorbed.

‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq distinguishes three classes of mankind: the slaves of passion (aḥl waḥf) and sense, who are ignorant of God and of His attributes, and say, ‘The Qur’ān is the word of Muhammad,’ but are saved from hell if they have faith, secondly, the men of intellect (aḥl qalb), who attain to the knowledge of the Divine attributes by means of reflexion and meditation, and who, in the tradition (aḥl ratb), who pierce through the veil of plurality into the presence of the eternal Oneness and contemplate God as He really is (Naḥafāt, p. 559 f.).

Much of this doctrine is not peculiar to ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq, but belongs to the philosophical school of Šīfism. His originality lies in the fact that he combined his pantheistic principles with an assertion of moral freedom which at first sight appears to be incompatible with them. His theory on this subject is set forth in the Rastalat fi l-qudūs wa l-qabd, (see above, vii. p. 125 ff.); and may be summarized as follows: Everything that exists in the terrestrial world is the manifestation of some universal type prefigured in the world of deities (qaddā), i.e. in the Primal Intelligence, and that gives rise to creation, development, and destruction which is pre-determined in every particular. How then, we may ask, is it possible for men to have any power over actions emanating from a Divine source, and governed by immutable laws? What is the use of commands and prohibitions, of rewards and punishments, if there is no liberty to choose good or reject evil? ‘Abd ar-Rāzzāq, diverging at this point from Ibn ‘Arabī, solves the difficulty by declaring that all actions are the result of direct or indirect causes, themselves predetermined, on which is Free-will itself. In other words, it is foreknown to God and inevitably decreed that every human act shall be produced by the united operation of certain fixed causes, in a certain form; but it is also decreed, no less inevitably, that the agent shall exercise his free choice (iṣṭiyār) in the production of the act. Therefore every act is at once fatal and free. The Qudarīs (Muʿtazilites), who maintain that men are the authors of their own actions, regard only the proximate causes; while the Jābarīs, who hold that all actions are created by God, regard only the remote causes (cf. MUHAMMADANISM, ii.).

Moreover, the distinction of good and evil is essential to the perfection of the Divine scheme, which demands all possible varieties of aptitude, disposition, and endowment. If the beggar were a sultan, and if the ignorant knave were wise and virtuous, the harmony of the universe would be destroyed. God is responsible for creating a world of mixed beings, some deserving, others undeserving, in which He is eternally punished and in whose case He adds the saving clause, ‘unless God will otherwise.’

Literature.—See, in addition to the references in the article, Tholuck, the specialising Tractatelecture on the ‘Aṣāsīyāt of the Library of the University of Leyden, vol. i. pp.
ABDUCTION—ABBLARD

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ABDUCTION.—In English law abduction is a term usually, though not exclusively, applied to the taking away or detention of a girl under fourteen or a woman against the will of her parents or guardians; or the taking away and detention by force of a woman of any age with intent to marry or carnally know her, or to cause her to be married or carnally known (Criminal Law and Procedure, p. 100; Legalizm, vol. ii. p. 186).

Hence the name by which he was called, Peripateticus Palatinus (John of Salisbury, Metal, ii. 10). In such cases the prosecution is upon the Crown, and the penalty is imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

The growth of the ethical conception of marriage as a matter of free will and mutual consent on the part of persons who have arrived at the age of maturity, necessarily led to the repudiation of abduction as a matter of force and has given rise to a new form of pleading the abductees as those deprived of their liberty. The practice in law is attached to it by the criminal jurisprudence of civilized peoples. See also MARRIAGE, WOMAN.

ABELARD.—I. Life.—Master Peter, surnamed Abelard,* the commanding figure in the intellectual movements of the 12th cent., was born at Le Pallet (Palatinus)† in Brittany, a castle 11 miles S.E. from Nantes, about the year 1079. His parents were nobles, whose piety led them in later life to enter the monastic life. Abelard, though the eldest son, renounced his claims, that he might the better devote himself to learning. I prefer, he said, 'the style of a soldier to the trophies of war.' After studying for a while under the extreme nominalist Roscelin, probably at Lominiè near Vannes, and trying, though without avail, to learn mathematics under Theodoric of Chartres (Poole, Manuel..., etc., p. 366), he was introduced to the Notre Dame of Paris by the fame of its master, William of Champeaux, whose crude realism soon provoked Abelard, though not yet twenty, to open combat. The duel, protracted through years, resulted at length in the overthrow of the older man's reputation and the installation for a while of Abelard as an independent master. When expelled from the Notre Dame by the cathedral, authorities, at the instigation of William, Abelard took refuge first at Melun, afterwards at Corbeil, and finally at Sees. In this last situation he was the centre of the most intense attraction of the cathedral. This abbey of secular canons of somewhat lax life thus became the headquarters of philosophic teaching at Paris, round which gathered the next generation the famous University (Rashdall, Univ. in M. A., i. ch. 5).

The next encounter of Abelard with authority was even more revolutionary. Desirous of attaining distinction not merely, as hitherto, in dialectics, but also in theology, perhaps under the influence of the religious revival which marked the papacy of St. Lucina, whom he visited at this time, to withdraw from being a tolerated custom, descended to the position of a crime. In

See Ducange, s. v. "abiete" (Jouvenel, loc. cit., 366; and the pun on the Fr. abîte below). Of also Éménard, op. cit., 14 s.

* Hence the name by which he was called, Peripateticus Palatinus (John of Salisbury, Metal, ii. 10).

† This spelling would seem more nearly to correspond to the original form (see Poole, op. cit., 157 n.). For its proposed derivation see Ducange, s. v. "abiate" (Jouvenel, loc. cit., 366; and the pun on the Fr. abîte below). Of also Éménard, op. cit., 14 s.
into a nunnery, Abelard, at the age of thirty-four, put himself under the most famous theologian of the day, Anselm of Laon (c. 1113, Deutsch, op. cit. 30 n.). The venture, whether due to religious impulse or to ambition, was not a success. A few lectures convinced Abelard (that he would find little else from them) to go to the most famous theologian of the day, Anselm. ‘Anselm,’ continues Abelard, ‘was that sort of man that if any one went to him in uncertainty, he returned more uncertain still. It was too fearful to hear, but at once failed if you challenged him. He kindled a fire not to give light, but to blind the house with smoke.’ (Hist. Cal. cit. 3, 5).

Abelard soon shocked his fellow-students by expressing the opinion that educated men should be able to study the Scriptures for themselves with the help of the ‘glosses’ alone. (As a matter of fact, the ‘glosses’ in normal use was his tigna, Anselm’s amended form of the Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo (c. 849) (Poole, op. cit. 135 n.). In proof of his view, he gave, at their request, a series of lectures on Ezekiel. Such was his success, that we may accept his own statement, that it was only by expelling him from Laon as an unauthorized teacher, as in theology he certainly was, that the authorities were able to check the rush to his class-room. ‘Anselm,’ says Abelard, in a characteristic sentence, ‘had the impudence to suppress me’ (Hist. Cal. cc. 3, 4).

On his return to Paris, Abelard resumed his lectures, whether in the cathedral or in St. Geneviève’s college. Scholars from every land (Peto, Ep. de et. hom. 1, 81. PL clxxvii. 371, gives an interesting catalogue) hastened to sit at the feet of the wise of the age—philosopher, poet, musician, and theologian in one. The Church smiled on his success, and appointed him, though not yet a sub-dean, a canon of Notre Dame (Poole, op. cit. 145 n.; Rémuas, i. 39 n.). Abelard had reached the zenith of his fame. Henceforth the story of his life is one of calamity, not the least element in which was his own moral downfall, the conscious deliberateness of which, however, in our judgment, he characteristically exaggerates in his later reminiscences (Hist. Cal. c. 6; cf. Rémuas, i. 49, as against Cotter Morison, St. Bernard, 263). Into the romance of his connexion with Heloise a canon of Laon (Rémuas, i. 39 n.) was not admitted. The repetition of this well-known story distracts attention from the real greatness of Abelard in the history of thought. In spite of the protests of Heloise that ‘Abelard was created for mankind, and should not be shut like a fig-tree in a garden,’ Abbot Ayoul privately married the woman he had seduced, and, when the secret was out, removed her to the convent of Argenteuil, the discipline of which was very lax. In Abelard’s opinion, as reported for us by one of his students, marriage was lawful for such of the clergy as had not been ordained priests (Sententias, c. xxxi.; cf. Poole, 147 n.). We draw a veil over the story of the revenge of Fulbert, his wife’s uncle. Abelard in an agony of soul and body retired to St. Denis to seek his peace. The demand, tried to transfer her passions to more spiritual objects, and took the veil at Argenteuil, choosing, as she did so, a verse out of Lucan’s Pharsalia (c. 1119). Their boy, to whom the parents had given the curious name of Astrolabe, was left with Abelard’s sister, Denys (Hist. Cal. c. 8. For his career see Rémuas, i. 269).

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be either to the Trinity, or to the Son alone' (Hist. Cal. c. 11). Abelard maintained strict order among his flock is shown, however, by a curious surviving fragment of verse (Rémusat, i. 111).

In 1125, Abelard was invited to be the abbot of the lonely monastery of St. Gildas de Rhuys, near Vannes, the oldest monastery in his native Brittany. He accepted, either urged by his fears of further councils (for Clairvaux, the monastery of the ever vigilant St. Bernard, was not at a great distance from Paraclete; while he dreaded also an attack from Norbert of Magdeburg, the founder of the Premonstratensians), or in one of his frequent illnesses. 'God knows,' he writes, 'that at times I fell into such despair that I proposed to myself to go off and live the life of a Christian among the enemies of Christ.' His life there for the next six, or possibly eight, years (Poole, 185 n.), was one of almost unrelieved misery. The abbot was poor in resources, shameless in its depravity; the monks unscrupulous in their determination to get rid of any reformer. They tried to poison Abelard, first in his food, then in the cup of the Eucharist. He was almost already a victim, but Abelard succeeded in flight. But Paraclete was no longer open to him. In 1129 he had formally handed it over—with the added sanction (Nov. 28, 1131) of a Bull, which he had obtained from Pope Innocent III.—as one of the overcrowded Benedictine houses, as the Paraclete was, to Heloise, 'the princess, and the other sisters in the oratory of the Holy Trinity.' Heloise had been expelled from Argenteuil in 1128 (Recueil, xii. 218) by the mingled rapacity and reforming zeal of Suger, who had made good at Rome the claims of St. Denis to the convent.

The movements of Abelard for the next three or four years are a little uncertain, the more so as he seems to have maintained the rank and title of abbot of St. Gildas. Probably he lived near Paraclete, engaged in collecting and publishing his writings, including his Historia Calamitatum, and in resolving for Heloise the various problems which arose in the establishment of Paraclete as a monastery. To this period belongs also his famous correspondence with Heloise. To pass from these impassioned letters to the scholastic trifling of many of the Problemata Heloissae is chiefly of interest as a study in repression. He resumed also his teaching at St. Geneviève, though perhaps in company with the enthusiasm with which John of Salisbury in 1136 we learn that the master had lost none of his power (Metalogicus, ii. 10, 'contuli me ad peripateticum palatinum'). But for this mention, Abelard's history at this time would be almost a blank. We know, however, that about this date Arnold of Brescia attached himself to Abelard.

When next Abelard appears before us, he is at fatal theological strife with St. Bernard, whom he had first met at Montrigui in quest of the papal grant of the Paraclete. The differences of the two men were fundamental, of the kind that no argument or personal intercourse can remove. That Bernard was a realist goes without saying. Realism in those days was as the supreme representative of the age of all that was best in the old faith; a reformer in morals and life, a rigid conservative in creed and ritual. Abelard, profoundly religious in his way, was the representative of a creed full of dry light sub-matter of that, but destitute of spiritual warmth; and which had shown, both at St. Denis and St. Gildas, little power in turning men from their sins to the higher life. With all his narrowness of intellectual vision compared with Abelard, put St. Bernard down at St. Gildas, and that abode of loose livers would have felt at once the purifying power of his zeal. Bernard's was that baptism with fire which not only cleanses but warms. The intellectual religion of Abelard knew little or nothing. To Bernard—'Faith is not an opinion but a certitude. 'The substance of things hoped for, says the Apostle, not the appearance of empty conjectures. You hear, the substance. You may not dispute on the faith as you please, you may not wander here and there through the wastes of opinion and the byways of error. By the name 'substance' something certain and fixed is placed before you; you are enclosed within boundaries, you are restrained within unchanging limits' (Tractatus de erroribus Abaelardi, iv. 9).

Abelard, on the contrary, argued that reason was of God, and had, as philosophy showed, found God. He argued that 'he that is lusty to trust is light-minded' (Sir 19). Conflict between the two was inevitable; it had already broken out. In one of his letters, Bernard inveighs with his customary rhetoric against: Peter Abelard disputing with boys, conversing with women; even as Moses did, towards the darkness in which God was, but advances attended by a crown of disciples' (Bernard, Ep. ccxxxi.). On his part, Abelard had attacked the saint for preferring the usual form of the Lord's Prayer to that in use at Paraclete, 'I want,' he wrote, 'nothing but the things which your translators call Agnus Dei, which Abelard translates supersubstantiam; see Abelard, Ep. x. in Migne, op. cit. col. 327).

Nor would the attachment to Abelard of his former pupil, the daring revolutionary Arnold of Brescia, tend to lessen the suspicions against him.

The two representatives of systems whose conflict from the nature of things is as inevitable as it is unending, were now to meet in fierce combat at Sens, in the province of whose archbishop both Paris and Clairvaux lay. The challenge to have come from Abelard; for we may dismiss as fiction the statement of Bernard's biographer, Geoffrey of Auxerre, that Bernard privately visited Abelard and secured his repentance (Recueil, xiv. 370). Abelard felt the need of publicly clearing himself from the charges of heterodoxy brought against him by William of St. Thierry in collusion, as some think, with Bernard himself (Bernard, Ep. ccxxvii.). In this challenge Abelard once more shows that neither misfortune nor years had abated the energy and desire to assert his authority where authority was supreme—in a general council. At issue with the deep devotional spirit of the age, he chose his time when all minds were excited by the most solemn action of devotion—the Crusade; he appealed to reason when reason was least likely to be heard (Milman, Latin Christianity, iv. 355). His one advantage would appear to have been that Henry le Sanglier, the archbishop of Sens, had a grudge against Bernard (Rémusat, i. 210—211). Perhaps for this reason Bernard waited till any threats were come to the duel. Such contests, he pleaded, were vain; the verities of faith could not be submitted to their decision (Ep. clxxxix. 4). At length Bernard yielded to the representations of his friends and the summonses of his metropolitan, and set out for Sens. Whitsonide 1141 (for date, not 1140). Poole, Rémusat, see Deutsch, Die Synode v. Sens, Berlin, 1889). Hardly had the council opened (June 4), and Bernard demanded the recital of Abelard's heresies, than Abelard, whether from characteristic irresolution, fear of authority, or desire to prove nerve, or revulsion of feeling, appealed from the very tribunal he had chosen to the judgment of the Pope, and left the assembly to mumble out over its wine-cups its condemnamus, already decided upon, it seems, on the previous day (Baranger de Poiri, Apologeticus pro Magistro in Migne, P.L
The folly of Abelard's appeal is shown by the haste with which (July 16, 1141) Pope Innocent II. ratified the sentence of Sens, largely as the result of the invectives of Bernard against 'the French heresy.' 'Goliath's weapon-bearer, Arnold of Brescia' (Eppl. clxxviii., cxxxvii.), eccles. xlvii., cccxxvii., Poole, 166 n.), who seems, in fact, to have appealed to the Pope, even before the condemnation of Abelard—a matter scarcely to the credit of Bernard (Rémusat, i. 325). For the condemnation see Migne, PL clxxiii. cols. 515-517. The records of Sens have not been preserved.

Abelard had appealed unto Caesar, but it was before a different tribunal that he was to stand. After lingering some days in Paris, he set off for Rome, but on his way old age came upon him suddenly; so in the monastery of Clugny, 'renouncing the tumult of schools and lecturers, he awaited the end.' Through the efforts of the abbot, Peter the Venerable, Abelard was reconciled to St. Bernard (see possibly his confessor Migne, op. cit. 105). His increasing weakness led to his removal to the dependent priory of St. Marcel at Clialons-sur-Siône. There, in the spring of 1142 (April 21), as the abbot wrote to 'his dear sister,' the sorrowing

Heloïse:—

'The advent of the Divine Visitor found him not sleeping, as it does many, but on the watch. . . . A long letter would not undo the humiliation and devotion of his conversation, nor impress it among us. If I mistake not, I never remember to have seen one so true in manners and habit. Thus Master Peter Serial said, his days, and he who throughout the world was famed for his knowledge persevered in meekness and humility, and, as we may believe, he praised to the Lord (Peter the Venerable, Ep. ad Heloisam, Migne, PL clxxiii. col. 347 ff.).

His body was secretly conveyed by Peter to the Paraclete, and buried in the crypt of the church. Before his death he had written to his deathbed near him; not, however, until Nov. 6, 1817, did they rest together in Père Lachaise ('de exequ. leguœ'), Rémusat, i. 268.

2. Influence. Abelard was no heretic, nor was he a deathbed repentance. He always maintained that he was the devoted son of the Church. He was, in the verdict of Peter the Venerable, 'ever to be named with honour as the servant of Christ, and verily Christ's philosopher' (Petrus Ven. ut supr.). It was Peter's duty to help Peter. Abelard did not know that he was 'not an Aristotle if this should keep me away from Christ' (Migne, PL clxxviii. col. 375).

He owes his importance not to his heresies, but to his demand for reverent, thorough, methodical analysis. He had made some excellent remarks in Fairbairn, Christ in Mod. Theol. 120 ff., on the contrast; cf. also Deutsch, op. cit. 172). It is the clear perception of this last that the true greatness of Abelard lies. Abelard's work, like Bacon's, was written as a preparation to memory to the next age, that age which he had done more than any man to usher in. The school in which he taught developed within a generation into the greatest university of Europe, largely through his influence. With Abelard also closes the first period of Scholasticism. In the next generation James of Venice translated the works of Aristotle, hitherto for the most part unknown, into Latin. Henceforth the 'New Logic,' the basis of which in many ways was the same as that which Abelard created, is the foundation of the Christian philosophy to the place of St. Bernard we have Aristotle as the only canonized leader of the Church.

In nothing is Abelard's influence more visible than in his scholars. Of his pupils, twenty-five, it is said, became cardinals, including Pope Alexander III., and more than fifty were bishops. Through Peter Lombard's Sentences, founded on the model of Abelard's Sic et Non, Abelard swayed and moulded the theology of the next three hundred years. As Abelard was the inventor of that spirit claiming for itself the freedom of thought, so in his pupil Arnold of Brescia we find the leader in the new claim for freedom of will in an ideal Christian republic. Another pupil, William of Conches, made a firm though ineffectual protest

The preface to his Sic et Non—a collection of contradictory opinions from the Fathers on all the leading disputes of theology, the prologue of which was probably written not later than 1121 (Deutsch, 462)—he lays down a defence of all criticism: 'By doubting we are led to inquire, by inquiry we perceive the truth.' Of those who argued that we must not reason on matters of faith, Abelard asks:

'How, then, is the faith of any people, however false, to be rebutted, though it may have arrived at such a pitch of blindness as to confess some idol to be the creation both of heaven and earth? As, according to your own admission, you cannot reason upon matters of faith, you have no right to attack others upon a matter with regard to which you think you have been unassailed' (Intro. Theol. ii. c. 3, Migne, op. cit. 1050).

The dilemma of unreasoning pietism has never been better exposed. The circumstances of the times flung Abelard into conflict with Bernard. Intellectually, the only foeman worthy of his steel would have been Anselm of Canterbury. At first sight there seems to be between these two philosophers an impassable abyss, unconsciously summed up by Anselm in the preface to his Our Deus Homo. Some men seek for reasons because they do not believe; we seek for them because we do believe! 'This is my belief, that, if I believe not, neither shall I understand (credendo ut intelligam). This is the exact opposite. He argues that men believe not because of authority but because of conviction. Doubt is his starting-point, reason his guide to certitude. But a deeper study reveals that the differences between the two may be exaggerated, as in Abelard's own generation they certainly were. Abelard owns that the highest truths of theology stand above the proof of our understanding; they can only be hinted at by analogies, as, for instance, the great favour of the seal and the Trinity. But through knowledge faith is made perfect (Deutsch, op. cit. 96 ff., 433 ff.). Anselm was no less anxious to satisfy reason than Abelard, only he wanted to make sure of its limits before he began. Thus the difference between the two great thinkers was one rather of order of thought than real divergence. If the chronological order be regarded, Anselm is right; if the logical, Abelard. In the order of experience faith precedes reason; In the matured had pleaded:

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against the growing neglect of literature (Johm of Salisbury, Metal. i. 24 in Migne, PL clxxviii. col. 856).

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

(a) Inspiration.—He limits inspiration to matters regarding faith, hope, and charity, the same not being suited for the ordainment or enlargement of the Church (see his Prol. in Ep. Rom., Migne, op. cit. 785). Even 'prophets and apostles may err' (Prol. in Sic et Non, Migne, op. cit. 1345), while a place may beyond this be found in the lineage and doctrine of revelation given to the heathen philosophers, especially Plato (Theol. Christ. lib. ii. passim, e.g. Migne, op. cit. 1179. Of epit. Theol. Christ. c. 11).

(b) The humanity of Christ.—This he claims to be essentially real. He goes so far even as to claim that it includes 'humana infirmitas veros defectus' (Epit. Theol. Christ. c. 23). In his emphasis on the real humanity of Jesus, Abelard is a complete contrast to his age.

(c) He claimed that the sin lies in the intention, the evil deed itself being an action which is not of itself evil. Virtue cannot be attained except by conflict. Ignorance in the case of the unenlightened does not constitute sin, and the Jews who ignorantly crucified Jesus must be judged accordingly. (A doctrine of the early church may now be best gathered from his Sitio te ippena, esp. cc. 2, 3, 13. Its very title shows the emphasis he places on self-knowledge or intention). Original sin is thus the penal consequence of sin and not its self. It is inconceivable that God should damn a man for the sin of his parents' (Epit. Rom., Migne, op. cit. 866 ff.).

(d) From this it is an easy transition to Abelard's moral theory of the Atonement—Christ's creating within us His passion a love which itself delivers from sin (Expo. Rom. in Migne, op. cit. 836, 839). He rejects totally any theory that makes the Atonement a redemption from the right of the devil (Epit. Theol. Christ. c. 23).

Abelard's influence in the field of Loge was very great, amounting almost to a revolution. He brought to the attention of the day the Conceptualism, midway between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the crude Realism of William of Champeaux. He held that we arrive at the general from the particular by an effort of thought. Thus a concept of the world and that these also of the universals, in so far, that as they were the necessary creations of the intellect. Abelard thus returned to the position of Aristotle, probably without any direct knowledge of Aristotle's arguments (Poole, 142 n.). Hence the reputation of Abelard in dialectics in the following centuries, when Aristotle had become dominant. (For a full discussion see Remusat, vol. ii., or von Prantl, or Ueberweg, i. 592 f.).

Abelard's versatility was very great. In dialectics and theology he was the master without a rival; he also lectured on the great classical lawtexts (Rashdall, i. 63 n.). His vernacular songs have perished; the religious hymns (in Migne, 1759 ff.) give little indication of the great power that he exercised in this matter. As a humanist, his qualifications, as also in the case of the Heidegger, have been exaggerated. His knowledge of Latin literature was considerable, of Greek slight, and of Hebrew nil (Remusat, i. 50; Deutsch, 68 ff.). Of all modern authors his influence is greatest. His citations from the Fathers are extensive (Deutsch, 69 ff.), as the reader may see for himself by turning over the pages of Sic et Non, though many no doubt are second-hand. His eloquence, wit, and charm of manner, added to a culture that sovered almost the whole range of knowledge as then conceived, were acknowledged by his enemies. To this we have the witness of his epitaph:—

'Est satiis in titulo: Petro hic jacet Abaelardus Hulc soli patuit scilicet quidquid erat.'

(Poole, 145 n.; for different and inferior reading, Migne, 138; Remusat, i. 258 n.).

But the truest estimate of Abelard's greatness is that unconsciously given by William of St. Thiiery in his invertebrate against himself.

14 His books pass the seas, cross the Alps. His new notions and dogmas about the faith are carried through kingdom and province; they are preached before and publicly defended, insomuch that they are reported even to have influence at the court of Rome' (Op. Bernard, Ep. ccxxvii).

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

LITERATURE.—A. The chief source for the life of Abelard will be found in his autobiographies, the Historia Calamitatum. In addition, we have some references in Otto of Freising's de Gestis Frederici (ed. Pertz, v. 29), esp. pp. 147-48, with reference to Synod of Mainz. The first life of Abelard's is the Abendlande (in Migne, PL v. 139, or Bouquet, Renouf, xiv), and, of course, the Letters of St. Bernard. We may add the A. b. Thierni (in Bouquet or in Remusat des Hist. des Gaules, xiv.), and Suger's de rebus in admin. sua gestis (in Duchesne's Script. Franc. iv.) which is the best sketch in English is by R. L. Poole in his Hist. of Hist. of Med. Thought (1884); Abelard's connexion with the University is considered in H. A. C. Littledale, in Theology and Philosophy of the Middle Ages, and in the edition of his works of Remusat. In German: Peter Abelard (1861) is the work of a partisan; the chapter on Abelard in Bernard (many eds.) is not altogether satisfactory. In French we have the admirable Abelard, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845), of Charles de Révus. In German: Peter Abelard (1865), has given us a thorough criticism of Abelard's theology which may be compared by the reader. H. H. deubert has added much to our knowledge of Abelard's closing years by his Die Synode von Berlin (1870). Adolf Hans-\footnote{Hans-Peter Abelard (Leipzig, 1869), had added much to our knowledge of Abelard's closing days by his Die Synode von Berlin (1880).} be's Aberalder als umstandsarener (Berlin, 1880). Of the works of Abelard we have the following editions:—Migne, PL v. clxviii. (1865), but without the Textus de Sententiarum, first published in 1849. On p. 276 of Migne's edition there is an amusing suppression of what would shock Catholic ears. Migne's edition contains the Sentium first edited in full by Hanke and Lindenau (Heidelberg, 1861), as also all the works of Abelard, for the first editing of which are indebted to Victor Cousin: Überzeugungen insbesondere: Leben und Wesen des Abelard (Paris, 1873); and, more especially for his Logic, von Prantl, Gesch. d. Logik im Abendlande (4 vol., Leipzig, 1860-1876).

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ABEMENT.—In its most general sense 'abemtment' means encouragement, countenance, aid; but the word is now used almost entirely in a bad sense as encouragement, counsel, and instigation to commit an offence and to plot the offense, and to instigate any one 'directly or indirectly counsels, procures, or commands any person to commit any felony or conspiracy which is committed in consequence of such counselling, procuring, or command,' he is described in English law as an accessory before the fact (cf. Stephen, Digest of the Criminal Law). In most criminal codes an abettor or accessory is usually described as a person who has in some manner led to, or facilitated the execution of, an offence or who renders material or moral assistance. Without being present at the actual perpetration of a crime or an injustice, a man may be useful to the perpetrator of it by assisting him to plan it, or by placing information before him which will facilitate the offence or enable him to escape. Or an abettor may aid in the forces of the plan by whom any one could be guilty of counselling the perpetration of murder receives the same punishment (nämlich, dekaptention) as if he had committed it. (Cf. Letourneux, L'Evolution juridique, p. 169). In Roman law, in ancient German law, in old French law, and in
English and American law, no distinction is made, in cases of serious crime, between an accessory and a principal. ‘Each in English law may be indicted, tried, convicted, and punished as if he alone and independently’ (Stephen) had committed the offence (C.F. Post, Ethnological Jurisprudence, 1894, ii. 296 f.) In ancient Jewish law, any one inciting or seducing the people to commit idolatry was ordered to be stoned to death (Dt 13:1-11). Idolatry was regarded as an act of supreme treason against the theocracy, and every sort of incitement to commit it was visited with the severest penalties. In primitive penal law, abetment does not appear to have been a punishable offence (Post), and in Talmudic jurisprudence no cognizance is taken of incitement by thoughts or words (J.E., i. p. 54).

In recent years, certain Italian jurists (e.g. Sighele, Teoría positiva della complicita, Torina, 1894) have contended that no distinction should be made between accessories and principals, on the ground that a crime committed by persons acting in concert is more dangerous in character than an individual crime committed by a single individual, and that men united for the common purpose of committing a crime ought to share the responsibility for it in common. Habitual offenders, it is contended, frequently act together, even in a moral sense, and the possession of the facts shall be the actual perpetrator; therefore all of them ought to be held equally responsible. The supreme object of the law should be to strike at the association, and not merely at the individuals of which it is composed. It is the association that is the danger.

W. D. MORRISON.

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

There was considerable rivalry from the outset between monks at this establishment and those at the much older Mahâ Vihâra (the Great Minster), founded 217 years earlier. The rivalry was mainly personal, but developed into differences of doctrinal opinion. Of the nature of these latter differences there is no exact knowledge, and these were probably not of much importance. On one occasion, in the reign of Mahâsena (A.D. 275-302), the Great Minster was abolished, and its materials removed to the Abhayagiri. But the former was soon afterwards restored to its previous position, and throughout the long history of Ceylon maintained its pre-eminence.


T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

ABHIDHAMMA.—The title of the third (and last) group, or pītaka, of the Buddhist canonical books; a name also for the specific way in which the Dhamma (doctrine) is set forth in those books. It is in that specific treatment, and not in any distinctive subject-matter, that the real use and significance of these books for early Buddhism are to be found. A myth grew up among 19th cent. Indologists, that the Abhidhamma pītaka was the repository of Buddhist metaphysics. Acquaintance with the subject is to know one’s of the Alâtipalled notion. There is, no doubt, an abstruse and abstract suggestiveness in the titles and opening sentences of the books and their divisions, giving a fictitious suggestion of originality and profundity. But, besides this, there is an ancient tradition of superior erudition and higher standing attaching to those of the Buddhist order who were Abhidhammikas, or experts in Abhidhamma. Thus, in the Mihintale rock inscription, dating from about the commencement of our Middle Ages, tithes from 12 villages or towns are allotted to the cave-rectories there who were Abhidhammiaks, as against tithes from 7 and 5 respectively allotted to experts in Suttanta and Vinaya (that is, in the Doctrine and in the Rules of the Order). And whereas mastery of these two was held to establish the expert in sīla and samâdhi respectively (that is, in conduct and meditation), knowledge of Abhidhamma involved the development of pāññā, — constructive imagination and comprehension,—which ranked among the highest virtues. Once more, in the ancient book translated as The Questions of King Milinda, the acquisition by the youthful genius Nāgasena of the contents of the Abhidhamma is acclaimed with wonder and delight in earth and heaven, while his rapid attainment of the remaining pītakas excites no such commotion. Finally, the title itself may have helped to mislead Western, and even Eastern notions. Abhi can mean sur, super, and hence suggests an analogy with Aristotle’s Physics and Metaphysics. But as the title, gives ati (‘beyond’, ‘above’, ‘to excess’) as the equivalent of the prefix, inasmuch as Abhidhamma goes beyond the Dhamma, and is distinct from it. But he proceeds to explain that this distinction is due not to any superior method, or nature of subject-matter, but to the more detailed analysis given to points of doctrine in the Abhidhamma as compared with the Suttanta methods. There was a legend in his day that the Abhidhamma was composed and dictated by the Buddha in the Tâvastima heaven, whither he had transported himself to preach the Dhamma to his deified mother and hosts of devas. It is not consonant with the Buddhist standpoint, that such an audience should be held capable of benefiting by disquisitions on philosophical problems which had been withheld from the stronger intellects of the Buddha’s chief disciples, whom he instructs in the Suttanta. In fact, the legend sprang probably from the orthodox anxiety to involve the disappointed, not inferior to that of the two earlier pītakas, a series of compilations which are manifestly of later date, and the work of elaborating scholiasts.

Let it, then, be clearly understood that our present knowledge of the philosophy which is held in the Buddhist Pâli canon would be practically undiminished if the whole of the Abhidhamma pītaka were non-existent. That philosophy is all to be found in the Sutta pītaka. The Abhidhammikas may nevertheless be held to have surpassed his Suttantika confrères in two ways. It should always be remembered (and the usually wearisome form of the Abhidhamma books never lets the reader forget it) that the canon was compiled, and an unceasing generations learnt, as an encyclopaedia. In the first two pītakas the memory is aided by episodes giving occasion for the utterance of rule, doctrine, or discussion, and also by frequent verse. The Abhidhamma gives no such aids. It helps only by catechism; in its last and longest books, not even by that. Hence the call for sustained reconstructive and reproductive effort must have been more severe. And, further, since the work is mainly a recount, with analysis and elaborations and comment, of Suttanta doctrines, the Abhidhammikas might be expected to involve a knowledge of the gist of the Sutta pītaka.

The burden, then, of Abhidhamma is not any positive contribution to the philosophy of early Buddhism, but analytic and logical and methodological elaboration of what is already given. As
such it might have almost equalled, in value to the
world, the contents of the discourses. As a fact it
is an anomaly of formalism. It is impossible to
estimate the extent to which the
exaggeration of the Indian temperament and the
temperance of the Greek temperament were due to
the absence and presence respectively, during
the lifetime of each, of the written book. Nor
where as in India do we find imagination so
elastic and exuberant, running riot through time,
space, and the infinite; and nowhere else is seen
such determined effort to curb and regulate it.
Abhidhamma training was one of the most
energetic and effective efforts that have ever been
made in this direction. It was specially calcu-
lated (according to Buddhistha, Athatsalini, p.
24) to check those excesses over the normal mind
(dhammachitta) which, in the Buddha's words,
tended to loss of balance, craziness, and insanity.
The chief methods of that training are: first, the
definition and determination of all names or terms
entering into the Buddhist scheme of culture;
secondly, the enumeration of all doctrines, the-
etorical and practical, as formulas, with co-
dordination of each as legal logical interrelated;
and finally, practice in reducing all possible heterodox
positions to an absurdity—a method which is con-
fined to the somewhat later fifth book, the Kathā-
vatthu. Even in these lofty aims, however, the
want of restraint, helped by the cumbrousness of
paradigm, tends to defeat the very objects sought.
The logic of definition is not the same as we have inherited, and the propositions
yield strings of alternatives that have often little
or no relation to facts.

Of the seven books of the Abhidhamma pitaka, the first five
have been published by the Pali Text Society, viz. Dhamma-
mandala, Pitakko-piṭaka, and Kathavatthu; the sixth, or Yanaka, is not yet edited; the seventh,
the Pathāna, in [1907] in the press. The first book has been trans-
lated by the present writer under the title, A Buddhist Manual
of Psychological Ethics, London, 1900. Besides these seven,
there still survive, in Chinese or Tibetan translations, other
seven books, which form the Abhidhamma literature of the
Sarvāstivādins—a school which split off from the original nucleus
of Buddhist culture, a very full index to the contents of these
seven is given by Professor Takaicus in JPTS, 1906. But the
books themselves have not as yet been edited or translated.
Their unsettled, or they are certainly
earlier than the Christian era. These works form the basis of
the celebrated, but as yet undiscovered, Abhidhamma-kosa, or
Dictionary written in Sanskrit, as well as of its Commentaries, and other cognate works, some of which
were in Sanskrit and others in Chinese or Tibetan versions,
and which carried on the development of Abhidhamma down
the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D. Professor Buncy Nanjo, in his
course on the Buddhism of India, has said (see above),
the titles of no fewer than thirty-seven of these works still
exist. In the later developments of Buddhism in India, none
were called the so-called 'Great Vehicle,' the use of the term
Abhidhamma gradually died out. But in other Buddhist
countries, where Pali has retained the literary language,
books on Abhidhamma have continued to be written down to
the present day, the best known being the Abhidhammatha-
sagaka, published in 1884 by the Pali Society.

C. RYIE. DAVIDS.

ABHIDHARMA KOSA VYAKHYA.—One of the most important Buddhist texts preserved in
Nepal. It is a commentary, written by a scholar
named Yasomitra, on a classical account of Bud-
hist metaphysics: Abhidhāma-kosā, the ‘treasure
of Abhidhāma’. The Sanskrit original of the Kosā
seems to be irrecoverably lost; but there still exist
Chinese and Tibetan versions, which the Chinese
are the oldest. The earliest of these is the work of a Buddhist monk, Paramārtha, dated A.D. 563–567;
the second, being a revised translation, was made
by Hiuen-tsiang, the celebrated pilgrim, A.D. 651–
654. The author of the Kosā is Vasubandhu, one of
the most illustrious doctors of the Buddhist
Church, who flourished about the end of the 5th
cent. A.D.

The Kosā itself consists of two parts: (1) a
summary account of the doctrine in 606 verses (śākica);
(2) an illustrative commentary (ṣārīti) on these
verses. The subject-matter is discussed in eight
subjects, viz.: the principles (abhisamīya), the senses
(indriya), the worlds (lokā), the inclinations
(ansāsya), the saint (ārya pudgala), the science
(jñāna), the trance (samādhi), the individuality
(pudgala). Vasubandhu belongs to the school of
the Sarvāstivādins, who affirm the existence of
 elastic things—a school of the Hinayāna, or 'Little
Vehicle.' The Kosā has nevertheless been admitted
as an authority by all schools of Buddhism; the
author of the Vyākhya, Yasomitra, is a Sau-
trāntika, and Chinese and Japanese Mahāyānists
make frequent use of it as a text-book. It was
principally intended as a treasure of the literary
and critical culture of Buddhism.

SYLVAIN LÉVI.

ABHISEKA (literally ‘pouring upon’ [from abhi+sihū]).—A compound which, without
definite ceremonial implications, occurs several times in
the Aṭṭhārva Veda, but not in the Rig or the Śāma.
In the White Yajur Veda, and in the third Sadhīta
of the Black Yajur Veda, as well as in several Brāhmans and the śrauta ritual of all the four
 Vedas, we find abhishekaṃyai as the name of a rite
included in the rājasāyana, and the last book of the
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has abhiseka itself for its main
topic.

The ceremonial sprinkling, anointing, or
baptizing of persons and things is a usage of such
antiquity and universality, that its origin and
significance could not methodically be made
the subject of an inquiry confined to India (see also
ANOINTING). If the earliest anointing was with
blood, and the object of it to confer vigour, the
evidence for the former truth must be sought out-
side India; and although an invigorating power
is in fact ascribed, we (see above, 2. 2.) to the rite, the Brāhmānical theologians were
quite capable of arriving at such a conclusion
without the help of an old tradition.

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

A. 1. Subjects of the ceremony.—The persons who
underwent the rite of abhiseka were in the first
place emperors. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii. 15)
states that the object of the rite the attainment
of paramount power, which it names with a
great amplitude of synonyms, and it annexes a
list of the famous rulers of India, who had been
so distinguished (vii. 21–23). In the Mahā-
brāhara we have two abhishekhas of Yudhiṣthira:
the first (Sabha Parvan, cc. 33, 45, esp. 45) is
preceded by victorious expeditions in all directions and
celebrated as part of the bhātāyya in the presence of
 subordinate kings, while the second (Sati Prayopaya,
c. 40) follows the conclusion of the great war.
The Buddhist emperor Aśoka was not crowned
until four years of conquest had followed his access-
in (Mahawamsa, Turnour, p. 52), and in the case of
ABHISEKA

Harsa Silādiṭya of Ujjain there was a similar postponement (Huen-tsiang, Si-Yu-Ki, tr. Beal, i. pp. 219-213). An imperial abhiseka occurs also in Kālidāsa’s Rāhuṣaṇa, sarga ii., and the inauguration of Naravāhandaättata in the different versions of the Bhṛhatkāthā (Ksemendra, xvii.; Somadeva, xv. 110, esp. v. 89) is that of a universal emperor; cf. also Epigraphia Indica, ii. 4; v. 16.

We have less testimony for the practice in the case of ordinary mahārājas or kings. But no doubt it would be usual with these also, so long as they retained any measure of independence. For in the first place, the line between kings and emperors would be very hard to draw, and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii. 14) plainly contemplates also the abhiseka of mere kings. Secondly, the Kauśika Sūtra of the Atharva Veda (xvii. 11–13, ap. Weber, ‘Ueber den Rājaśatra,’ p. 141) distinguishes the abhiseka of a simple king (śarājaṇa) from that of a higher (varṣyaṇa). The Mahābhārata (Śantī Parvan, v. 2486, ap. Goldstücker, s.v. ‘abhāsā,’) p. 280) speaks of the abhiseka of a king as the most essential matter for any country. The father of Harsa Silādiṭya, Pratāpaśrī, underwent the rite of abhiseka, although he was no universal emperor (Harsa-Charita, ed. Bombay, 1892, i. 132, ii. 9, 10).

See also Jātaka, Nos. 456 and 458; Jacobi, Erzählungen aus Mahābhārata, p. 56; Somadeva, iii. 112, 107 ff.; the various Rājābhisekaśuddhathās and prayogas, and esp. Brāhmaṇa Nīkantha’s Nītayāyukha, where a full rite is given (sub init.).

We may mention here that the Atharva Veda includes a coronation (svājāna) hymn (iv. 8).

The anointing of an heir-apparent (yuvārāja) by his father is supported by several examples from the Epics (Goldstücker, op. cit., p. 282), to which we may add the references in the Harsa-Charita, ed. Bombay, 1892, i. 91–94, and three in the Bhṛhatkāthā (Ksemendra, vii. 259; Somadeva, xv. 34, 107 ff.); Epigraphia Indica, iv. p. 120, l. 2, and Kalpasūtra (ed. Jacobi), p. 74, § 211.

The case of Rāma in the Rāmāyana, of which the Athyodhā-kāṇḍa (cc. 1–17, with Yuddhā-kāṇḍa, c. 119) supplies the fullest account of the state and circumstance of a royal inauguration, is peculiar in two respects—the inauguration was initiated as a yuvārājaabhiseka, though completed after Rāma’s accession, and an example of the pugyābhiseka, which we find fully described in the three texts, namely, Atharva Veda Parisiṣṭa, No. 4, the Brhaspatihīṭa of Varāhamihira, c. 48, and the Kālikā Purāṇa, c. 98. The special feature of this rite is that it took place at the conjunction of the moon with the asterism pugya (December-January), at which time, we are informed, Indra originally conquered the demons (Rāma, ii. 14, 46), while, according to the Buddhists, both the anointing of an heir-apparent and the abhispākramaṇa (cf. the Jaina ncmikābhiseka in Bhagavatī, ix. 33, p. 819, a ref. due to Prof. Leumann) of a Bodhisattva befal at the same hour (Mahāvam, vol. ii. pp. 158, ii. 2–4). This date is many times cited in the passages in the Rāmāyana (e.g. 2, ii. 10, 3, 39, 4, 40, 14, 46, vi. 112, 56, 70); which also mentions a specially adorned chariot (pugyārathra), described by Hemāḍri, i. 283, 284 (cf. Sīsūppalavadha, iii. 22, and Epigraph. Ind. ii. 71), and no doubt identical with the pjarva or pjarva (cf. Jātaka [Nos. 376, 445]). Taking the pugyābhiseka or pugyāṣaṇa, as described in the Kālikā Purāṇa and Brhaspatihīṭa, presents some very interesting features,—it is by no means confined to the inauguration of sovereignty,—and would probably repay anthropological investigation.

Anointing was also practised in the case of certain ministers of state. The Harsa-Charita speaks of ‘anointed counsellors of royal rank’ (mūrdhābhī ṣākta amātāya rājaṁanaḥ, p. 198, ll. 13, 14); and for the purohiṇa, or state priest, there was a special ceremony called bhṛṣaṇatiśaṇa connected, though somewhat indefinitely, with the vajapeya (Eggeling, Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii. p. xxv). The account of the purohiṇa, which in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (vii. 24 ff.), and Kauśika Śatapatha āranyaka, still follows abhiseka, seems not to include a mention of sprinkling. As regards the senapati, or commander-in-chief, Goldstücker has given (op. cit. p. 285) quotations from the Mahābhārata (Śalya Parvan, adh. 46, and elsewhere). These and other sources may we cite the case occurring in Prof. Jacobii’s Erzählungen aus dem Mahābhārata, p. 17, l. 29.

The anointing of images at the time of their inauguration (pratīṣṭhā), on occasion of festivals or of distress, or regularly, is a custom still prevalent among the Hindus in India and the Buddhists in Nepal. Rules for it are given in many manuals (Pāṇḍīvīdi’s and Pratīṣṭhāvīdi’s); an earlier allusion to it may be cited from the Harṣa-Charita, ed. Bombay, 1892, i. 171, l. 2). The fluid mentioned in this case is milk; but a variety of other substances, including water of various kinds, cow-dung, earth from an anthill, etc., etc., are named by the authorities whom Goldstücker cites.

Finally, the name abhisekabhaṇṭi is given by the Buddhists to the last of their ten bhūmis or stages of perfection (Mahāvastu, i. 124, 30). And further, the word abhiseka was applied to any ceremonial bathing, such as has always been, and still is, practised by Hindus at sacred fords, tanks, etc. etc. For abhiseka of neophytes, see Agnipūrāṇa, c. 90, Pousin, Études, 208 ff., and Rājendralal Mitra, Notices de Sanskrit BSS, No. 1568; of barren women, etc., Hemāḍri, Pratākṣāṇiā. 2. Ritual and occasion of the ceremony.—This is not the place for enlarging on the varying details of the inauguration ceremony as described in the Sanskrit literature. The reader will find in Goldstücker’s Dictionary, s.v. ‘Abhiseka,’ ample material, extracted from the Mahābhārata (Śantī Parvan, c. 40), Rāmāyana, Agnipūrāṇa (c. 209), and Mānasāra. Although in these works the special priestly aspect of the ceremony is little developed, Goldstücker (op. cit. p. 280) that the details as given in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana show ‘that the vaidik ceremony had undergone various modifications at the time of their composition,’ while (p. 282) ‘the inauguration ceremony at the Paurāṇic period has but little affinity with the vaidik rite; it is a series of proceedings which are founded on later superstitions, and reflect scarcely any of the ideas which are the groundwork of the ceremony of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.’ Such changes are, of course, far from unnatural; but there may also have been special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old śravaṇa ritual, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to kṣatriya rites.

The general features of the ceremony seem to be as follows: Prior to the rite (e.g. on the previous day) the king undergoes a purification, consisting of a bath, etc., no doubt analogous to the Vedic dīkṣā. Essentials are—(1) appointment of the various ministers of state (cf. Jātaka, Nos. 376, 445). The ceremony before or in the course of it: (2) a chariot, or the other royal ratnas, a queen, an elephant, a white horse, a white bull, a white umbrella, a white chowrie or two, etc.; (3) a throne (bhadrāsana, simhāsana, bhadrāpūṭa, parvamaṇa) made of gold and covered with a tiger-skin (4) a place * See Rāmāyana, i. 16, 15–12; Ksemendra, xvii. 38 ff.; Somadeva, xv. 119. 65 ff.; Jacobi, op. cit. p. 28, 11 ff.; Śantī Parvan, c. 40.
golden vessels (or one of them golden), filled with water of various special kinds, honey, milk, clarified butter, and other very miscellaneous ingredients. In the actual ceremony the king is seated with his queen on the throne, surrounded by his chiefs, and he is sprinkled not only by the *purohit*, but also by other priests, by the ministering *devis*, by the *sumaves*, and in the Mahabharata, Krsna is the first to sprinkle Yudhisthira, representing perhaps the *rajakartr* mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. The rite is performed with prayer to Indra, or after the manner of Indra's inauguration as king of the gods. The consecration, the king makes presents (cf. Harṣa-Charita, ed. Bombay, 1892, c. ii. p. 132, ll. 9, 10), and, of course, the officiating Brāhmaṇas receive their *daksinas*. According to the Agni Purāṇa and the Mānasūra, the king concludes by riding pradakśina-wise round his city. The liberation of prisoners mentioned by the Agni Purāṇa is an incident known in other connexions (e.g. the birth of a prince, Harṣa-Charita, i. p. 142, ll. 15, 19).

3. Time chosen for the ceremony and substances employed.—In the case of the recorded *abhiseka*, the temporal restrictions seem to have been, except as explained above, merely such as were necessary in order to ensure auspicious conjunctions: for details see Goldstücker, *op. cit.* p. 285. For the various substances and the order of placing there were, as we shall see, fixed periods in the year.

The substances, which varied in the different ceremonies, are mentioned under the several heads (*vid. supra* and *infra*). Water, milk, curds, and honey generally recur.

B. I. Turning now to the sacred literature, we find that only one Vedic work gives rules for a royal consecration as such. This is the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where we find distinguished two forms of *abhiseka*, namely, *punarabhiseka* (viii. 5–11) and *mahabhiseka* (viii. 12–20). As the former, which takes place after a sacrifice, has apparently no relation to the installation of a sovereign and refers probably to the *rājāśīya*, we may reserve it for consideration in that connexion.

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certain order oblations from the surd-cup and pronounces a prayer for progeny of oxen, horses, and men.

3. The rājāsīya is an elaborate ritual prescribed for a kṣatriya king desirous of paramounctcy. It is brought into connexion with Varuṇa, the first emperor, and after him named Varuṇavatana. Like the punarābhisēka, it was applicable to an already consecrated king, although very likely the two ceremonies may have been susceptible of combination. The essential difference between the two is that abhisēka was a necessary act of State, including priestly rites, while the rājāsīya was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a certain object, and including a ceremony of consecration. In Sanskrit inscriptions the kings sometimes glory in having performed the rite, which they mention in connexion with the vajapeya, akṣamedha, etc. (Epigraphy Indica, iv. p. 196, l. 3).

Weber holds ('Über den Rājāsīya,' pp. 1-6) that the rājāsīya, like the rajaśeṣa, was originally a simpler popular institution, which subsequently found adhesion, with many elaborations, into the śrauta ritual, and Hillebrandt (Veitliche Oger und Zeremonien) agrees with him. On the analysis of the devahāna we may explain the word as meaning 'the rājāsīya ceremony (the word rājāsīya occurring in the ritual, see Weber, p. 51, and conclude, in accordance with primitive notions, that the inherent vigour of a king needed from time to time a reinforcement (see above, under punarābhisēka). In that case the rājāsīya may have been a regular repeated (e.g., annual), or an occasional quickening rite undergone by kings.

The actual rājāsīya consists of seven rites (pavātra or abhyāvahāra, abhisēkeni, daksāpeya, keśavapaniya, vyuṣṭi, dvairātra, kṣatriadhyayi), to which some authorities add (after daksāpeya or after kṣatriadhyayi) an eighth (saṅrāmani). Concerning the pavātra we need only say that it must be the day over the process of purificatory ceremonies, beginning in the month Phalguṇa (Feb.-March), and extending over a whole year. It is stated that according to the Māṇavas the rite took place in autumn. The keśavapaniya is the formal cutting of the king's hair, which remains unshorn for a whole year after the abhisēkeni, and the vyuṣṭi, etc., need not detain us. Of interest here are only the abhisēkeni with its preceding ratnāhavāni and the daksāpeya. With the month of the year commence certain introductory rites (stārīya, paṁchavāsīya, indratura, apāmārathaka, trīṇiyunakta ratnāhavāni), of which the last and most important is a series of sacrifices on 12 successive days in the houses of the king and his relatives, to which, as the whole of the above, are variously enumerated. The abhisēkeni, commencing on the first day of the month Chaitra (March-April), occupies five days. After the completion of the seven days ratnāhavāni comes the proclamation of the king by the priest, who, grasping his right arm, pronounces a mantra referring to Savitṛ, Agni, Brhaspati, Soma, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., and stating the name of the king, his father, and his kingdom. Next are the saṃrubā, mainly 13 forms of water, together with honey, embroiled water of a calving cow, milk, and clarified butter, each in a separate vessel of udumbara wood, and having sun-motes mixed with them. These are then transferred into a single udumbara vessel, which, together with four other vessels, of palāda (Butea frondosa), udumbara, nyagrodha, and abovatha, is set down before one of the altars. Next a day a tiger-skin is placed in front of the four vessels, into which the consecration liquid is poured. This is specially arrayed, with bow and arrows, and then announced to gods and people: to avert evil, a piece of copper is put into the mouth of an eunuch standing by. After taking a step towards each of the four points of the compass and also upwards (to signify universal dominion), the king kicks away from the tiger-skin a piece of lead; as he stands on the skin, a gold plate is put under his foot, and another, with 9 or 100 holes, upon his head, and he is made to hold forth his arms facing eastward, while with the four vessels severally he is anointed by the purohitā or adhvaryu, a king-man (brother), a friendly kṣatriya, and a vaisya. At this point (according to one account) is related to him the story of Sunāharma (a reminiscence of human sacrifice). He then rubs himself with the consecration fluid, after which he takes three steps (reminiscent of Viṣṇu's trīvikaḍāma) upon the tiger-skin. The remnant of the liquid, poured into the pālaka cup, he hands to his dearest son. The latter holds on behind to the adhvaryu, who pours the remnant upon the sacrificial fire, mentioning, and once intentionally confusing, the name of the king and his son. There follow: (1) a symbolic seizure of a cow, one of a hundred, belonging to one of the king's relatives, the king driving against them in a war-chariot and ultimately returning to the sacrificial edifice, where, after assuming of pig-skin, he dismounts; (2) enthroning of the king upon a seat of kāḍāra (acacia catechu) wood, placed upon the tiger-skin; (3) beating of the king (who holds five dice) by the priest in order to expel his sins, after which he is proclaimed as Brahmān, Savitṛ, Indra, and Rudra; (4) a symbolic game with dice, in which the king, his brother, his sūta (panceregist or marshal) or athepati (police magistrate), according to the Vedic ceremonies (village-headman), and a relative take part; (5) various minor ceremonies. On the seventh day of Chaitra the king takes place the daksāpeya, a ceremony in which 100 persons, including the king, drink in the same group of 10 and purificatory ceremonies are performed, the qualification being that each must be able to cite 10 generations of soma-drinking ancestors. A year later comes the keśavapaniya, etc.

The above account of the rājāsīya is taken chiefly from Egelgell's tr. of the Sūtraṭhapt Brahmāna and Weber's translation and exposition of the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra ('Über den Rājāsīya'), which, as representing the part of the operant priests, is naturally the fullest Sanskrit authority. The śrauta ritual is the subject of a very learned and able treatise by Prof. Weber, in the main the punarābhisēka of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, though it has many common features, is distinctly simpler. But it does not follow that the additional matter of the rājāsīya is newer; its rastra (ritual of the above) are various forms of the rite appears from the Aśvalayana Śrauta-sūtra, which employs a plural—atha rājasīyaḥ, ib. 3. 8. 1. Weber, who has elaborately discussed the various incidents, regards the references to Varuṇa and Savitṛ as, from the point of view of Indian religion, remnants of antiquity. Similarly ancient must be the mimic tree-planting expedition, game of dice, and daksāpeya. A general anthropological interest attaches to (1) the association of the Puruṣa and the rains, and with the rain-water, (2) the notion of quickening the royal energy by means of the rite, (3) the reminiscence of human sacrifice in the legend of Sunāharma, which, in connexion with punarābhisēka, is also related in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Śāṅkalyāna Śrauta-sūtra.

4. The vajapeya, which is mentioned in the Atharva Veda (xi. 7. 7) and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (iii. 41. 1), and fully described in the śrauta ritual of all the Vedas, also includes a form of consecration. At the outset it presents itself with difficulty as to the object with which it was to be celebrated. The Aśvalayana Śrauta-sūtra (ix. 9. 1) prescribes it for 'one desiring supremacy' (dāhi-patyakāma); the Śāṅkāyana gives, instead, 'one desiring abundance of food' (annādya), explaining
ABILITY

The word vajapeya as meaning ‘food and drink’; the Lātyāyana requires it for one promoted by brāhmans and kings’ (yām brāhmaṇā brājaṇā chā puruṣakurvarān sa vajapeyā yajeyā), and forbids those who have celebrated it to rise before, salute, etc., those who have not; the ritual of the White Yajur Veda states that who sacrifices with the vajapeya wins Prajāpati, and so wins everything. According to Āsvalyāyana (ix. 9, 19), it is reserved for kings and brāhmans; Śankhāyana (xvi. 17.1–4) allows it to the three highest castes, the bhṛgaspati-saṅgamas following in the case of a brāhman; Lātyāyana (vii. 1.12) mentions a case that it might be preceded and followed by the bhṛgaspati-saṅgama; while Kātyāyana (xiv. 1.1), confining it to kṣatriya and vaisya, orders it to be both preceded and followed by the bhṛgaspati-saṅgama. According to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (v. 1.1), the rite originated with Indra and Brhaspati, who, both by the aid of Saviṭṭa, ‘won Prajāpati.’ The rank of the rite also is variously estimated: Āsvalyāyana (ix. 9.19) would make it a preliminary to the rājaṣiṣṭha (for a king) or bhṛgaspati-saṅgama (for a priest), while the White Yajur definitely places the rājaṣiṣṭha to follow, explaining that the latter is inferior, as the effect is to constitute a king, while by the vajapeya an emperor is constituted.

The most reasonable solution seems to be that of E. F. W. Thomas, that the vajapeya is originally general for all the ranks, which severally had more special rites, the rājaṣiṣṭha, bhṛgaspati-saṅgama, sthāpaṇa-saṅgama, grāmāṇa-saṅgama, etc. etc. The features of the vajapeya itself seem to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

The most prominent of these features are (1) ēśī, a mimic race; (2) roha, mounting a post; and (3) the recurrence of the number 17.

The vajapeya takes place in autumn. There are preliminary divine sacrifices, etc., 17 cups of soma and 17 of surā being provided; and the gifts to the priest include 1700 cows, etc., 17 slave-women, 17 elephants, and so on. At the midday ceremony on the final day a racing-car is rolled into the sacrificial area, and to that the horses, which receive a specially prepared food. Sixteen other cars are arranged outside. Seventeen drums are beaten; the course is marked off by 17 arrow-shots, and an Udumbara branch serves as goal. The race takes place the sacrificer winds the horses of all the cars are fed and, with the cars, presented to the priest. After certain libations, the wife of the sacrificer is brought in and specially dressed. A ladder is placed against the sacrificial post, and the sacrificer, after calling to his wife, 1 comes, wife, ascend we to the sky; mounts until his head overtops the post; he looks forth in all directions, salutes the earth, and descends, alighting on a gold plate placed upon the ground or upon a gold skin. A coordinate priest covers a seat of udumbara wood with a cloth, and to it the wife’s arm, seats him thereupon, saying, ‘This is thy kingdom.’ A mixture of water and milk having been prepared in an udumbara vessel and poured in libations, the offering is sprinkled with the remainder, and thrice proclaimed with the words, ‘This man is Sāmrāj. ’ There follow 17 mantras of victory (uṣṭi).


For the 1. Lātyāyana, Asvāmيطiya Brāhmaṇa, vili. 5 f.; Mahābhārata Sahā Parva, 33–45; and Sāmkhyas. For the 2. Lātyāyana, 11. 3–13; Rāmaśaṅkha, in c. 18; and Athavādakārya, c. 139; Ātita Pāṇiniśastra, ii. 16; Upāpteśvara, ii. 16; and other works cited above, pp. 134–144; Goldsticke, Dict. der Sanskrit- und Zend-Inschriften, Berlin and London, 1856, s. n.; Rajendralāla Mīrā, Ind. Archeol. J. of G. W., i. 1–15, iv. 2–15, 10.

For the 1. Lātyāyana: Vajapeyasānī Sahākhād (xxi. 35–x. 34), Kātyāyana-S. (ibl. 6. 1–15, iv. 2–15, 10).

ABILITY.—Ability (Lat. habilitat-em, habiles) in its historical usage has two meanings. 1. It signifies material power, wealth, estate, or resources. In this sense it occurs in both the OT and the NT; e.g.: ‘They gave after their ability unto the treasure of the work’ (Ezr 29); ‘Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief’ (Ac 1129). Similarly, Shakespeare has—

‘Out of my lean and low ability
I'll lend you something’ (Twelfth Night, m. iv. 351).

In the same sense, the term is used in 16th cent. Poor Law statutes. Thus, by the Act of 1555 the lord magistrates were directed to ‘take in taking order of all of an overburdened parish by its wealthier neighbouring parishes, are directed to consider the estate and ability of every parish.’ The Act of 1601, too, provides for the taxation of every inhabitant of the parish ‘ according to the ability of the parish’—‘ability’ being interpreted to mean property. Later on, however, ‘ability’ or faculty came to be measured not by property, but by income or revenue. This is the measure adopted in Adam Smith’s celebrated maxim: The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State. ’ (Wealth of Nations, bk. v. ch. iii. p. 2.) And since Adam Smith’s day, the adoption of the utilitarian idea of ‘equity of sacrifice, and the application of the ‘law of diminishing utility’—that the more wealth, cetarius paribus, a person has, the less, beyond a certain point, is the utility to him of successive equal increments. Consequently, the less the distality of the decrements caused by taxation—have led to income being accepted as the criterion of ability, for the purpose of taxation, subject only to exemptions and abatements at the one extreme, and progressive or graduated taxation at the other (cf. J. S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy, bk. v. ch. ii. §§ 2, 3; E. K. A. Seligman, Progressive Taxation). But, apart from this quasi-technical use of the term in economics, in all, taking in, giving, contribute, or ‘to pay’ is understood, the use of ‘ability’ is abandonment in the sense of wealth is obsolete, the latest literal instance being probably that in Goldsmith’s Vicar of Wakefield, ch. xiv.: ‘ A draft upon my neighbour was to me the same as money; for I was sufficiently convinced of this principle. ’

2. It signifies personal power, cleverness, physical or mental, and sometimes a special power of the mind, a faculty (usually, however, in the plural). This usage is also found in both the OT and the NT; e.g. such as ‘wisdom in them’ (Dn 11). If any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth ’ (1 P 4). So with Shakespeare—

‘Though it be fit that Camio have his place,
For, sure, he fills it up with great ability’ (Oth. m. iii. 347).

Again—

‘Your abilities are too infant-like for doing such alone’ (Cor. i. I. 2).
The use of 'ability' as denoting physical strength is now obsolete, save in Scotland; and, in its use with reference to mental power, 'ability' denotes active power, as distinct from 'capacity,' which signifies rather latent power or resources. In general, also, natural ability is to be contrasted with acquired skill. 'For natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning by study' (Bacon, Essays: Of Studies'). The distinction is important in Economics, in which natural ability is regarded as yielding an income of the nature of rent, while acquired skill yields profits. 'Any general ability, natural or acquired, is often contrasted with specialized technical skill. With the growing complexity of industry and the increasing use of machinery, general ability, which is easily transferable from one trade to another, is yearly becoming a relatively more important factor in industrial skill (cf. A. Marshall, Principles of Economics, 1898, pp. 284–281, 331–342, 657).

In Theology, the terms 'ability' and 'inability' refer to mental power, or want of power, to do the will of God. 'Man by his fall into a state of sin hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation' (Westminster Confession). Here the opposition is to be noted between one of 'origins,' as based on the Scriptures, and the 'plenary ability' of the Pelagians, the 'gracious ability' of the Arminians, and the 'natural ability' of the New School (or Edwardian) theologians (cf. A. H. Strong, Systematic Theology, 1898, pp. 342–345).

ARCH. B. CLARK.

ABIENESIS (I.).—Abiogenesis (from Gr. ἀβιοσ, 'without life,' and γένος, 'birth') is the theory of the origin of living from not-living matter. It was propounded by the 16th-century illustrious scholar Francesco Redi (1626–1689), and, like other methods which have led to momentous results, were simplicity itself. Observing how readily dead flesh, exposed to the air, swarmed with maggots, he put some pieces of meat into a jar which he covered with fine gauze, leaving other jars open. The maggots soon appeared, while, in the other, they were as numerous as usual. The inevitable conclusion was that the maggots were hatched from eggs deposited by blowflies on the dead stuff. A temporary reaction against Redi's disquisitions was brought about by Needham (1713–1781) and Buffon (1707–1788), who adduced the case of animalcules which, after a certain lapse of time, appeared in infusions boiled and hermetically sealed. But it was not until 1792 that the opinion that the air had not been wholly excluded from the infusions, the animalcules in which, by reason of inadequate heating, remained undestroyed. The discovery of oxygen (by Priestley, in 1774), the presence of which is essential to life, compelled the repetition of experiments 'under conditions which would make sure that neither the oxygen of the air nor the composition of the organic matter was altered in such a manner as to interfere with the existence and development of life.' The interrelation between living and lifeless matter is a fundamental canon of the theory of Evolution, which recognizes no break in continuity, and which also recognizes the ultimate mystery investing all phenomena, whether be defined in terms of mind or of matter. 'All our philosophy, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, and Raphael—are potential in the fires of the sun,' said Tyndall; and Huxley, while holding abiogenesis to be unproved, added that 'if it were given him to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions which it can no more pass again than a man can recall his infancy, he should see evolved by a widely different living protoplasm from not-living matter' (Coll. Essays, viii. p. 256).

Hence, both physicist and biologist reject the theory of 'Vitalism,' or the existence of a vital principle or energy distinct in kind from other cosmic energies. The problem of abiogenesis is therefore narrowed to this—Given the origin of life from the not-living, do the conditions which resulted in that still prevail, or have they so far passed away that life is now derived only from pre-existing life?—as the phrase has been phrased by M. 30

Belief in spontaneous generation was unchallenged for above 2000 years. It was on the Ionian seaboard that speculation arose about origins and laws governing phenomena, hence scepticism as to the validity of old cosmogonies and legends. Anaximander (B.C. 610–547), the friend and pupil of Thales, appears to have been the earliest to speak of life as a product of 'the moist element as it was evaporated by the sun.' Aristotle (B.C. 384–322) accepted abiogenesis with limitations, applying it to parasites, certain invertebrates, and a few vertebrates, as cels (the mode of generation of which was, until recent times, a mystery), but not to animals in which sexual organs are apparent. Lucretius (c. B.C. 95–51) speaks of 'many living creatures, everywhere springing out of the earth and taking form by the rains and the heat of the sun' (de Rerum Natura, v. 795, 796).

It was not until the latter half of the 17th cent., nearly fifty years after Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, that the doctrine of spontaneous generation was assailed, and that the only effective weapon—experiments. These were started by an Italian scholar-naturalist, Francesco Redi (1626–1689), and, like other methods which have led to momentous results, were simplicity itself. Observing how readily dead flesh, exposed to the air, swarmed with maggots, he put some pieces of meat into a jar which he covered with fine gauze, leaving other jars open. The maggots soon appeared, while, in the other, they were as numerous as usual. The inevitable conclusion was that the maggots were hatched from eggs deposited by blowflies on the dead stuff. A temporary reaction against Redi's disquisitions was brought about by Needham (1713–1781) and Buffon (1707–1788), who adduced the case of animalcules which, after a certain lapse of time, appeared in infusions boiled and hermetically sealed. But it was not until 1792 that the opinion that the air had not been wholly excluded from the infusions, the animalcules in which, by reason of inadequate heating, remained undestroyed. The discovery of oxygen (by Priestley, in 1774), the presence of which is essential to life, compelled the repetition of experiments 'under conditions which would make sure that neither the oxygen of the air nor the composition of the organic matter was altered in such a manner as to interfere with the existence and development of life.' The interrelation between living and lifeless matter is a fundamental canon of the theory of Evolution, which recognizes no break in continuity, and which also recognizes the ultimate mystery investing all phenomena, whether be defined in terms of mind or of matter. 'All our philosophy, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, and Raphael—are potential in the fires of the sun,' said Tyndall; and Huxley, while holding abiogenesis to be unproved, added that 'if it were given him to look beyond the abyss of geologically recorded time to the still more remote period when the earth was passing through physical and chemical conditions which it can no more pass again than a man can recall his infancy, he should see evolved by a widely different living protoplasm from not-living matter' (Coll. Essays, viii. p. 256).

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bridge, who stated that, as the result of experiments made with radium bromide (which appears to have a destructive effect on micro-organisms) and sterilized beef-gelatine in sealed tubes subjected to a temperature above the boiling point of water, there had appeared minute 'cultures' or growths of globe-shaped bodies, which, on reaching a given stage, Mr. Busk inclines to the conclusion that they are organisms on the border lines between microbes and crystals, and, provisionally, he names them 'radio-biotes.' But their organic character is not established to the satisfaction of Huxley. Mr. Busk
troleum identity of the living and the not-living being admitted (proof of advance thereto being furnished by the production of organic compounds from inorganic matter in our chemical laboratories, there is no warrant for the contention that abiogenesis is impossible in the present or the future. All that can be said is that the experiments which appear to favour the theory do not wholly exclude doubt as to complete sterilization, and consequent exclusion or destruction, of life-producing germs. In either case, they most probably are these micro-organisms in their innumerable myriads that has given impetus to antisepptic and prophylactic methods whereby unspeakable benefits have accrued to man and the lower animals. Louis Pasteur (1822-1906) was the benefactor not only of France, but of the world, in his application of remedies for diseases in plants and animals which threatened large industries with extinction. In the case of chicken cholera, he reduced the death-rate from ten per cent. to one per cent.; in that of anthrax or wood-comber's disease, which had killed off millions of cattle, the economic gain has been enormous; while perhaps his greatest victory was won in the treatment of those dread evils, rabies and hydrophobia. Lord Lister has acknowledged that Pasteur's germ-theory of putrefaction furnished him 'with the principle upon which alone the antiseptic system can be carried on.' Armed with antitoxins, the physician battles successfully with human ills, and one by one reduces the number of diseases hitherto ranked as inevitable and incurable. See also next art., and Biogenesis. LITERATURE.—Redd, 'Esperienze intorno alla Generazione dei' Incidenti' (1668); Huxley, 'Biogenesis and Abiogenesis' (1870); Collected Essays, vol. viii.; Bastian, The Modes of Origin of Lower Organisms (1871); The Beginnings of Life (1872); The New Genesis (1874); Living and Non-Living (1892); Meidola, The Chemical Synthesis of Vital Products (1904); Butler Burke, 'The Origin of Life,' Fortnightly Review, Sept. 1905. EDWARD CLODD.

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

(2) Preyer and others have suggested that germs of life, confessedly unlike any we now know, may have existed from the beginning even in nebulous masses, and that the origin of life is as futile a question as the origin of motion. It was not, indeed, the protoplasms we know that was encrusted in the fire-mist; it was a kind of knowledge, a particular dance of corpuscles, different in its measures from inorganic dances. But there does not seem much utility in discussing a hypothetical kind of organism which could live in nebule; our conception of organic life must be based on the organisms we know. It is interesting, however, to note that Preyer strongly opposed the view that organic substance could arise or could have arisen from inorganic substance, the living from the not-living; the reverse supposition seemed to him more tenable.

(b) As far back as 1865, H. E. Richter started the idea that germs of life are continually being thrown off from the heavenly bodies, and that some of these found lodgment on the earth when it was ready for them. He also could not think of life beginning; his dictum was, 'Omne vivum ab aterrima e cellula.' To Helmholtz (1854) and to Sir William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) the same idea occurred, that germs of life may have come to the earth en-boseomed in meteorites. 'I cannot contend,' Helmholtz said, 'against one who would regard this hypothesis as highly or wholly improbable. But it appears to me to be a wholly correct scientific procedure, when all our endeavours to produce organisms out of lifeless substance are thwarted, to question whether, after all, life has ever arisen, whether it may not be as old as matter, and whether its germs, passed from one world to another, might find favourable soil. . . . The true alternative is evident: organic life has either begun to exist at some one time, or has existed from eternity.' On the other hand, we may note that the word 'eternal' is somewhat irreligious in its tenor. The hypothesis is, in the notion of such complex substances as proteins (essentially involved in every organism we know) being primitive is quite against the tenor of modern theories of inorganic evolution; and that, though we cannot deny the possibility, it is difficult to conceive of anything like the protoplasms we know surviving transport in a meteorite through the intense cold in space and through intense heat when passing through our atmosphere. The milder form of the hypothesis associated with the name of Lord Kelvin was simply one of transport; he wisely said nothing about 'eternal cells' or any such thing; he simply shifted the responsibility for the problem of the origin of living organisms off the shoulders of our planet.

So far, then, the suggestions are (a) that the physical basis of life is as old as the cosmos, and (b) that germs of organisms may have come from elsewhere to our earth. Apart from an abandonment of the problem as scientifically insoluble,—apart, that is to say, from the view that living creatures began first—there is the whole field of speculation to which it is hoped to formulate in terms of the scientific 'universe of discourse,'—there is but one other possible view, namely, that what we call living evolved in Nature's laboratory from what we call not-living—a view to which the whole trend of evolutionist thinking attracts us. There are few living biologists who doubt the present universality of the induction from all sufficiently careful experiment and observation—omne vivum e vivo; Dr. Bastian is practically alone in believing that creatures like Infusorians and Amoebae (highly complex individuals in their own way) can now arise from not-living material; but it is quite another thing to say that abiogenesis may not have occurred in the past or may not occur in the future.

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

One of the few concrete suggestions is due to the physiologist Pflüger (1875), whose views are clearly summarized in Verworn's General Physiology. Pflüger suggested that it is the cyanogen radical (CN) that gives the 'living' proteid molecule its characteristic properties of self-decomposition and reconstruction. He indicated the similarities between cyanic acid (HCNO) — a product of the oxidation of cyanogen — and proteid material, which is admitted to be an essential part, at least, of all living matter. 'This similarity is so great,' he said, 'that I might term cyanic acid a half-living molecule.' As cyanogen and its compounds arise in an incandescent heat when the necessary nitrogenous compounds are present, they may have been formed when the earth was still an incandescent ball. "If now we consider the immeasurably long time during which the cooling of the earth's surface dragged itself slowly along, cyanogen and the compounds that contain cyanogen- and hydrocarbon-substances had time and opportunity to indulge extensively in their great tendency towards transformation and polymerization, and to pass over with the sun's heat of oxygen, and lastly into that self-destructive proteid, living matter.' Verworn adopts and elaborates this suggestion. Compounds of cyanogen were formed while the earth was still incandescent; with their property of producing on other hydrocarbon mixture and other such compounds had been brought into existence by those processes which culminated in the development of the first protoplasm, and it seems therefore likely enough that the first protoplasm, at that upon these antecedent steps in its own evolution.

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

It must be admitted that, in spite of these and other concrete suggestions, we are still far from being able to imagine how living matter could arise from not-living matter. In postulating possible processes which may have occurred long ago in Nature's laboratory, it seems desirable that we should be able to back these up with evidence of analogous processes now occurring in Nature. In the usual mode of argument in evolutionist discourse, —but these analogies are not forthcoming at present. It is usual to refer to the achievements of the synthetic chemist, who can now manufacture artificially such natural organic products as urea, alcohol, grape sugar, indigo, oxalic acid, tartaric acid, salicylic acid, and caffeine. But three facts should be borne in mind: (1) the directive agency of the intelligent chemist is an essential factor in these syntheses; (2) no one supposes that a living organism makes its organic compounds in the way in which many of these can be made in the chemical laboratory; and (3) no one has yet come near the artificial synthesis of proteids, which are the most characteristic substances in living matter.

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

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

Not content, however, with indicating the difficulty which the believer in abiogenesis has here to face, Professor Japp went on to say — perhaps, in so doing, leaving the rigidly scientific position: 'I see no escape from the conclusion that when life first arose, a directive force came into play — a force of precisely the same character as that which enables the intelligent operator, by the exercise of his will, to select out one crystallized form from an amorphous mass.' After prolonged discussion, and in view of various suggestions of possible origins, he wrote: 'Although I no longer venture to speak of the inconceivability of any mechanical explanation of the production of single optically active compounds asymmetric always in the same sense, I am as convinced as ever of the enormous improbability of any such production under chance conditions.'

Apart, then, from the fact that the synthesis of proteins seems still far off, apart also from the fact that there is a great gap between the very simplest organism and the simplest organism, we have perhaps said enough to show that the hypothesis of abiogenesis is not to be held with an easy mind, attracted as we may be to it by the general evolutionist argument.

In thinking over this difficult question, there are two cautions which should be borne in mind. We must not exaggerate the apparent simplicity of the animate from the inanimate, nor must we deprecate it. On the contrary, we must recognize that modern progress in chemistry and physics has given us a much more vital conception of what has been labelled as 'dead matter'; we must not belittle the powers of growth and regrowth which we observe in crystals, the series of form-changers
through which many inorganic things, even drops of water, may pass; the behaviour of fermentative processes and many other dynamic phenomena. At the same time, we must not forget that we have to deal with phenomena of a totally different nature, such as some characteristics of living beings too, that are the fainest degree of life, serve to lessen the gap which seems at first so wide.

On the other hand, it is the verdict of common sense and exact science alike that living creatures stand apart from inanimate systems. The living creature feeds and grows; it undergoes ceaseless change or metabolism, and passes through a cycle of changes, yet has a marvellous power of retaining its integrity; it is not merely a self-stocking, self-repairing engine; it has a self-regulative development; it gives effective response to external stimuli; it profits by experience; it co-ordinates its activities into unified behaviour, it may be into intelligent deeds and rational conduct; even in very simple animals (such as copepods) there are hints of mind. Allowing for the gradual realization of potentialities in the course of evolution, we cannot but feel that if the living emerged from the not-living then our respect for not-living matter must be greatly enhanced. It is a matter of fact, however, we cannot at present re-describe any vital behaviour in terms of physical and chemical categories, and the secret of the organism has to be admitted as such whether we advance to a vitalistic statement of it or not.

Finally, let us suppose that some bold experimenter in the border-land between chemistry and biology, a man like Prof. Jacques Loeb of Chicago, succeeded this year or next year in making, not merely a corpse of proteid, but a little living thing, by some ingenious synthesis. That there are hints of mind, we may believe cosmic evolution to have been,—and the artificial production of a living creature would not enable us to make this assertion. What simplification of descriptive formula the future has in store for us no one can predict. We may have to simplify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing animate behaviour, and we may have to modify the conceptual formulae which we use in describing inanimate sequences, but at present the two sets of formulae remain distinct, and they would so remain even if a little living creature were discovered to-morrow. (c) If we discovered a method of artificially producing an organism, as Loeb has discovered a method of inducing an egg to develop without fertilization, it would render the hypothesis of abiogenesis more credible. We would then know, what present knowledge allows, however strongly he may believe it, that what we call not-living has in it the potentiality of giving origin to what we call living. But the hypothetical discovery would in no way affect the dignity and value of living creatures, or of our own life. (d) If it came about that we were able to bring materials and energies together in such a way that living creatures of a simple sort resulted, we should still have to remember that we had acted as directive agents in the synthesis. (e) Finally, if the experiment succeeded, we should not have arrived at any explanation of life, and we should be able to say that given appropriate conditions, certain consequences ensue, but we should still be unable to answer the question how or why. We should have a genetic description of an occurrence, but no explanation of it. For that is what science never supplies.

In conclusion, the author quotes Principal Lloyd Morgan, ‘Those who would concentrate the mystery of existence on the pin-point of the genesis of protoplasm, do violence alike to philosophy and to religion. Those who would single out from among the multitudinous differentiations of an evolving universe this alone for special interposition, would seem to do little honour to the Divinity they profess to serve. Theodore Parker gave expression to a broader and more reverent theology when he said: “The universe, broad and deep, and high, is one great mimic. He is the mysterious magic which possesses” — not protoplasm merely, but “the world.”'


J. ARTHUR THOMSON

ABIPONES.—A tribe of South American Indians, of Guaycuruan stock, who formerly roved from the head waters of the Rio Grande in Bolivia to the Vermejo in Argentina, although their central habitat was the Gran Chaco, west of the Paraguay River, in Northern Argentina and Paraguay. About 1780 the tribe numbered some 5000, but it is now supposed to be extinct, like the kindred Cadoves, Payaguins, Lenguas, and their own destroyers, the Mocovis (J. Deniker, Races of Am. Ind., London, 1892). Practically the only information concerning them is that given by Martin Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit missionary who resided among them for seven years. They are described as tall and well formed, while in their native costume they looked very well clad, and were fond of adornment and of painting themselves. Both sexes were tattooed by pricking the skin with thorns and smearing the bleeding wound with fresh ashes, thus leaving an indelible black outline. The males were tattooed with a cross on the forehead, and the women with the cross, as well as an ornamental design, on the face, breast, and arms. This operation was performed at the age of puberty, and was designed to render a girl sufficiently attractive to win a husband. In old age (for in those days it was considered old at the age of seven) the women wore labrets, the most esteemed being of brass or (for the chiefs) of a sort of gum. These adornments came down to the breast; and both sexes distended the lobes of the ears until they almost reached the shoulder. Dobrizhoffer ascribes to them an ethical system of singular attractiveness. Their chastity was remarkable, and they observed the uttermost decorum and modesty in dressing, deportment, and conversation. Their courtesy was invariable; captives were treated with all kindness, and the torture of prisoners was unknown, although for trophies they cut off the heads or skinned the faces of those slain in war. Annual feasts in honour of victories were celebrated with merrymaking and copious indulgence in wine made of alfarooba or
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honey, the only vice of the Abipones being intoxication. In temperament they were somewhat phlegmatic, not being reckless in war, despite their undoubted bravery. Their superb physique was due, in great measure, to the fact that consanguineous marriages were forbidden, and that early parental care was said to be unknown, while men did not marry under the age of thirty, or women under twenty. At the birth of a child the father practised the couvade (q.v.). Infanticide and abortion were common, each woman killing her children but two. The custom of infanticide was increased by the sucking of infants for three years, during which time the husband was denied all marital rights, and consequently often married again—marriage being terminable at his will. On the other hand, polygamy was rare, and even when practised the wives were not required to live together lest they should become jealous. Fidelity in marriage was almost invariable. A curious deviation from the ordinary usage of infants is found in the fact that girls were killed less often than boys, since parents received large sums for giving their daughters in marriage, while sons were required to pay heavy dowries to the parents of their brides.

Dobrizhoffer states that the Abipones had little taste for meditation, speculation, or reasoning, although they were cunning imitators. According to him, they had no word for God, but reverenced an ‘evil spirit’ (who seemed, to have the Abipones essentially evil). This deity was called Aharagichi or Quevec, and also ‘grandfather’ (Groaperike), and it was he who gave the Abipones valour and the Spaniards riches. Aharagichi was represented by the red deer, and the Abipones feared his touch. When disappeared from the horizon, the Abipones thought him sick and in danger of extinction; so they celebrated the rising of the Pleiades in May by feasting, dancing, and singing. The cult was maintained by priests (keebet), to whom Aharagichi had given supernatural power. These ‘jugglers,’ as the good Jesuit calls them, were much feared, since when angry they could transform themselves into invisible and invulnerable tigers. To the malice of the keebet was added delirium; an old man quately said that it were not for the keebet and the Spaniards, they would never die.

Thunder and lightning were supposed to be obsequies of a dead keebet, and bones and other relics of these men were also carried by the Abipones in their wanderings. In addition to thunder and lightning, comets and eclipses of the sun and of the moon were objects of terror. Besides the keebet, old women, who gathered in bands to perform secret rites with wailing and discordant drumming, were dreaded, especially as they were able to conjure up the dead.

Immediately after death, the heart and tongue of the deceased were boiled and given to a dog to eat, in order that the keebet who had caused the dissolution might himself reap his reward. All friends shaved their heads in sign of mourning, and the women wailed for nine days and nights, the nocturnal lamentations being restricted to those who were specially invited for the purpose. A woman might also wail whenever she remembered a dead ancestor, whereupon all other of her sex who heard her were expected to unite with her in howling lugubriously. All mention of the name of the dead was avoided; his house was destroyed, and his relatives and friends changed their names. The soul was believed to survive the body, although the Abipones had no clear idea of its fate. The ghosts of the dead, however, were the objects of intense dread, and were supposed to enter into small ducks called wildice, which fly in flocks by night, and have a doleful hissing note. On the grave were placed, for the use of the dead, a water-pot, a garment, weapons, and the bodies of his horses and cattle which had been killed at the time of his death. The graves of ancestors were venerated,—thus clearly implying the existence of ancestor-worship, which was often repeatedly exhumed by the Abipones in the course of their wanderings, and carried from place to place, until they could finally be buried in the family burial-ground which contained the bodies of their kin.


LOUIS H. GRAY.

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

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

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

* In a fuller discussion of this part of the subject, attention would have to be directed to the difference between what are termed respectively the ‘mean’ and the ‘mode’ of any series.
mechanically, or yet again, the result may be due to an indirect cause in turn determined by interference with nutrition. Again, (b) the nutrition, and the quantity and quality of the food, are alone capable, if altered, of leading to deviations from the ordinary course of events, sufficiently marked to come within the definition of abnormality. Cases of such an overgrowth, or gigantism, or their reverse, under this heading. (c) In other cases, no such obvious interference can be detected or held accountable. And among these, even if those examples are eliminated in which by analogy there is a reason for the production of the phenomenon itself, we still find it impossible to invoke causes of this kind. Pending the discovery of a more intelligible explanation, the only course open to biologists in such cases is to recognize in living matter an inherent power, or capability, of producing abnormalities, or, as they are sometimes termed, 'sports.'

2. Transmission from parent to offspring.—The transmission of abnormalities from parent to offspring is inconstant and uncertain. The study of this question is inseparably connected with that of the transmission of those more constant features which distinguish the normal individual. The discussion of this problem is beyond the scope of this article, and it will suffice to state that abnormalities can even be classified according as they are constantly transmitted, or not so constantly transmitted, from parent to offspring. It is thus possible to distinguish the former, or constantly transmitted varieties, from the latter, or the 'mutations,' from the latter, not so constantly transmitted, now called 'fluctuations.' The importance of this distinction depends on the relation of this subject to the problem of the origin of the species met with in organic nature. In nature the occurrence of abnormalities, and the difference (just remarked) concerning their transmissibility, are facts of observation concerning which there is nothing speculative. But, granted the production of abnormalities as the greater capability for propagation of some (through inheritance), with, at the same time, the lesser tendency to persistence shown by others, the ground is cleared for the erection of a theory of the origin of organic species through transmissibility. This seems to depend further upon the postulate that certain kinds of abnormality confer upon the individual exhibiting them an advantage not shared by his congeners. Hence, were the advantage to be maintained, the abnormal stock might in time outnumber the original stock. But the latter would then no longer be the normal stock, for by definition the normal must be in a majority, so that the type of the organism would have changed. Such a process, if it occurred on a large scale, would lead to the production of forms so different from their ancestors that they might well be classified as new species. It is not proposed to embark upon an examination of this position here, the main object in view being to draw attention to the importance of the study of abnormalities in biology.

LITERATURE (selected works in chronological order).—Darwin, Origin of Species, etc., 1859; Mendel, Experiments on Plant Hybridisation (tr. by Bateson in Mendel's Principles of Heredity, 1895); Darwin, Variations of Animals and Plants under Domestication, 1868; Bateson, Materials for the Study of Variation, 1894; Dr. Vries, Species and Varieties, their origin by Mutation, 1895; Punnett, Mendelism, 1907; Lock, Reversals in the Study of Heredity, and Evolution, 1906.

W. L. H. DICKWORTH.

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

Congenital mental defect is wholly or in part correlated with the development of the physical organism, and this is evident from the fact that mental faculties are practically absent. There remains at the most a species of local memory, applicable to simple the brain. Studies of the nervous imperfections, it is acknowledged on all hands that the more grave the mental defect, the more numerous and the more grave are the physical malformations.

Besides the physical stigmata, there are certain well recognized mental stigmata, such as epilepsy, hysteria, alcoholism, chorea, and the various tics and obsessions which are the outward manifestations of underlying defects in the nervous system, and especially in the brain. Although we know that every functional peculiarity must have an underlying organic basis, we are still very far from a knowledge of the intimate correlation between structure and function. The most important attempt to correlate mental power with the structure of the cortex cerebri has been made by Dr. J. S. Bolton, writing in Mott's Archives of Neurology for 1903. His observations, as yet unconfirmed, show that the pyramidal layer (second layer) of nerve cells in the pre-frontal cortex varies inversely in depth with the degree of dementia present in each case. This is the only layer that appreciably varies in depth in normal brains; the degree of its development in normal infants and in congenital amentas (idiots) varies directly with the mental endowment of the child, and the degree of its retrogression in demented patients varies directly with the amount of existing dementia.

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

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

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

(a) Complete Idiocy.—The great majority of the members of this group manifest scarcely any signs of psychical life. Their intelligence is of a very low order, and all the ordinary mental faculties are practically absent. There remains at the most a species of local memory, applicable to simple
habitual wants, and to the requirements of the moment. There is no will-power and no faculty of initiative. They have no command of articulate language, but some of them are able to make their few desires known by signs, cries, or sounds under- standing only by these in immediate attendance upon them. The presence of the ordinary instincts and sentiments is not revealed by such cases. Many of them do not appear even to be conscious of their own existence, much less of the ordinary feelings of pleasure, pain, fear, or love. In the great majority of instances the sexual desire is absent. The only instinct they exhibit is that of hunger, and it is expressed only when food is presented before them.

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

2. Intellectual Imbecility. — It is often impossible to detect in early childhood any outstanding difference between normal and abnormal children. In many instances it is only when education begins to be communicated that a radical difference shows itself in the greater inaptness of the feeble-minded to assimilate ordinary elementary instruction. As imbeciles approach the age of puberty, many defects become more apparent; besides being slow of apprehension and dull-witted, they are deficient in ordinary interest, in judgment, and in common-sense. Listlessness, inattention, and a tendency to become absorbed in subjective thought—commonly called ‘day-dreaming’—are frequent symptoms of their intellectual feebleness, in addition to the symptoms which result from imperfect cerebral development. In a certain sense it may be said of them that they are at most a few years old, and when they approach adolescence they do so without any appreciable increase of responsibility. They remain childish, easily satisfied with trifles, and display an interest and curiosity in things which have long been usual to interest people of the same age. The sexual instinct is early developed, and often manifests itself as an exaggeration or perversion of the normal condition. Mental conceptions, the association of ideas, and power of initiative are slow and difficult. Within their somewhat limited sphere of reasoning, which never passes into abstraction consideration, they think and act in a normally logical manner; yet they lamentably fall either in foreseeing the consequences of their actions or in understanding the more complicated actions of their fellow creatures. The moral aberrations are as pronounced as the intellectual. Imbeciles are prone to be egotistic, vain, and sensitively proud. Family ties are apt to be loosely felt; the ordinary affection for relatives is generally feeble, and, although they may be capable of forming strong attachments to individuals, such feelings rapidly yield after short periods of separation. Religious and altruistic ideas as well as moral discrimination are not, as a rule, based upon conviction so much as upon habit and the discipline exercised by other people. Most imbeciles are untruthful and unreliable, more especially in small matters such as the appropriation of trifling articles, the property of other people. They are often irritable, and are subject to out-
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bursts of rage or excitement, for inadequate reasons. Many imbeciles are able to earn a somewhat precarious livelihood by ordinary manual labour, or by working at some trade which they may have learned indifferently well, but the technique of which they are able to execute only imperfectly. Whatever work they do requires the active supervision of others, and the greater part of it is of a somewhat leisurely character.
The physical characteristics of imbecility are neither numerous nor important. The subjects are usually well developed, and their outward conformation is exempt from any of those deformities which in any way expose them as individuals. The facial expression, however, usually indicates a want of mental power; and certain speech-defects, such as lisping, stammering, and imperfect pronunciation, are common, to which may be added a tendency to misapplying the meaning of certain words, and to missing and misunderstanding the grammatical use of certain parts of speech, such as adverbs and the infinitive mood of verbs. The physical resistance is lowered, and the activity of the various bodily functions is much less vigorous than in normal individuals. Hence it is that imbeciles succumb more easily to bodily diseases, especially such as are of infectious origin, and that a considerable number of them die of phthisis.

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

In the more pronounced forms of moral imbecility without apparent mental defect we find a wayward and impracticable temper, an absence of social instincts and of normal affection, which may even express itself as a positive aversion to relatives and friends. Such persons are incapable of appreciating the value of truth, and become so notorious in this respect among the people who know them, that their statements on the most ordinary matters of fact are never believed. They steal systematically without shame, the only restraint being the fear of being found out. Perhaps their most prominent characteristic is their cruelty. It is not so much that they are ruthless in the pursuit of objects which they desire, as that they go out of their way to inflict pain presumably for the pleasure of witnessing suffering. They are, however, apt to be extremely resentful of injury to themselves, and seldom forget to avenge an insult. They are also vain, proud, and supercilious. They yield to the worst impulses of their lower nature without any evident desire to resist them, and they never express sincere contrition for any action. As might be expected, they cause endless grief and anxiety to their relatives, and their lives are lamentable failures; from the moral point of view of fully successful. Their intellectual faculties, often very acute, are exercised in the gratification of their selfish desires or in the justification of their conduct, rather than in the pursuit of any continuous honest endeavours. As a rule, their affiity for evil courses leads them to indulge in habits which tend to accelerate their degeneration and to terminate life prematurely.

In the case of children and young adolescents it is unsafe to pass too hasty a judgment, for it may happen that the moral sense is not absent but only tardily manifested. In such cases the children may be bright, intelligent, quickly receptive, often emotionally impressionable,—perhaps to a morbid degree,—but lacking in the very elements of moral perception. Many of these individuals, as they begin to mature, are possessed of such clear reasoning powers and self-control, that they successfully conceal their moral defect or irregularity.

Pathology.—In congenital mental defect, especially in its more pronounced forms, such as idiocy, the brain convolutions present a simple arrangement suggestive of a tendency to revert to the type of the higher mammals; thus they may either present few secondary folds, or be small, slender, and curling (microgyri). Arrested development of certain convolutions is frequently observed, especially in the frontal and parietal regions, which gives to the brain a peculiar and irregular appearance.

The size of the cerebrum relative to that of the cerebellum may be deficient, so that the latter is not covered over by the occipital lobes, as is the case in the carnivora and higher herbivora. Parts of the brain, most frequently the corpus callosum, may be absent, and many inequalities in the development of the two hemispheres have been recorded.

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

JOHN MACPHERSON.

ABOR, ABOR-MIRI.—A title applied to a group of hill tribes of the Mongolian type, on the N. frontier of the Indian province of Assam. The word Abor or Abor seems to mean 'barbarous' or 'dependent.' The Miris, according to Dalton (p. 22), are so called because of a custom of meditating on the more isolated Abors; and he suggests (p. 29) that the word is identical with the mira or mitia of Orissa, which, according to Notis, has acquired the title applied to the Mariah victims of the Kandha (which see). But this is more than doubtful; and Dr. Grierson, to whom the question was recently referred, with more probability suggests that the word is Miri, of which the first syllable in Tibetan means 'man,' and the whole compound may possibly mean 'nobleman' or 'gentleman.'

The Abors or Abars occupy a tract of country on both banks of the Dihang river, which is the upper course of the Brahmaputra. To the W. of this is the Miri country. Most of the Abors live outside British territory, within the Tibetan border, only 321 being recorded as British subjects at the Census of 1891, 53 as Buddhist, and the remaining 261 as Animists. Of the Miris, 46,720 persons were enumerated within British territory at the same Census, of whom about half represented themselves as Hindu and half as Animist. They seem, like the tribes which occupy the hills on both sides of this group, the Mishmis (wh. see) to the E. and the Daphilas (wh. see) to the W., to be little affected by either Hindustan or Buddhism, and to be in the main Animist in no small degree. The dead child has when the children are lost, probably being kidnapped by the Mishmis, the Abors attribute their disappearance to the wood-spirits, in whom they firmly believe, and to each of whom some particular department in the hunting and man is assigned. Each disease has a spirit of its own, and, as they have no medicine for the sick, the only remedy is a sacrifice to the spirit to whom the illness is attributed. The favourite haunt of these spirits is a mountain called Rigam, which is held in awe by all, and no one can return from it, hence its mysteries have never been disclosed. They acknowledge and adore one Supreme Being as the father of all, and have some vague belief in a future state; but their ideas on the subject are vague and confused. After death, Dalton, who was one, inferred that a Judge of the Dead under the name of Jom, who is clearly the Hindu Yama, reasonably inferred that much of this belief had been borrowed from Hindu sources. Needham (Assam Census, 1901, i. 48) adds that the chief of the malignant spirits whom it is the main object of their religion to propitiate, is called Apom or Epom, and his younger brother Pomsa, both of whom inhabit the rubber tree, and must be propitiated in times of sickness. This is a most maligned and uncanny spirit, who resides in unclean places, attacks people after dark, and causes stomachic pains and headaches. He is generally propitiated with an offering of some dry bones and spirits. Kula Delo, who represents the male and female earth spirits of the Dravidians (wh. see), live underground, and other field produce. A sacrifice of two cooked fowls, rice, and other delicacies must be offered to them under the farm granary. Nipong is an evil spirit to whose malignity all female diseases are attributed, and he attacks with rheumatism and colic, which cause the sufferer to roll about like a woman in travail. He is said to live in plantation groves or amongst stinging nettles, on the seeds of which it is believed that he exists.

Dalton notices one peculiarity in their sacrifices, that, when an animal is offered to the spirits, no one is allowed to have a share of the meat except the old and infirm, who may be regarded as being provided for in this way. They have no hereditary priesthood, but there are certain persons called toddars who gain the position after many years, from their superior knowledge of the science of omens. These officials practise divination by observing the entrails of birds and the liver of a pig.

One of these men informed Dalton that the whole human race is descended from a single woman, who lived under a bold hunter, the younger a clever craftsman and his mother's favourite. She married the Assamese chief of the W., taking with her and all the household utensils, arms, and implements. The people of the land who remained behind thus lost all knowledge of arts and handicrafts, and from them spring the present Abors. The Western nations, including the English, are descended from the younger.

The beliefs of the hill Miris closely resemble those of the Abors. But those who have migrated to the Assam plains have, to a large extent, abandoned the more savage beliefs of their kinsmen. They have now come under the influence of the Order of Gussins (wh. see) or of Brahman priests, who have induced them to adopt, in some degree, the ordinary Hindu beliefs; but they have not been weaned from their impure manner of living, such as eating fowls, pork, and beef, the use of intoxicating liquor, and a neglect of caste rules in the preparation of their food—all gross offences in the eyes of the Hindu, and much more dangerous than any heretical belief. Allen records that some Abors asserted that they believed in a future life, but that they were careful to add that they had never heard of a dead man who returned to this earth. Their belief in the survival of the spirit is shown by the care taken that the body shall be shipped for a long journey—with food, cooking utensils, arms, and ornaments suitable to his position in life, so that his rank may be made manifest to the Judge of the Dead. They also attach great importance to the burial of the corpse near the graves of its ancestors, and if a man of rank dies in the plains of a disease not regarded as contagious, they take pains to send his body to the family cemetery in the hills.

Literature.—Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 21 st.; JASB xiv. 429; Galt, Census Report Assam, 1891, i. 221; Allen, 19. 1901, i. 471; Peal, JASB xii. 27; Hodgson, 28. xviii. pl. ii. 927; Robinson, 19. xviii. pl. i. 207.

W. CROOKE.

ABORIGINES.—In the article ETHNOLOGY it is pointed out that the four main divisions of mankind have not then possessed their respective original homes, but have been subject to great fluctuations during historic times. But no rigid parting-line can be drawn between the historic and the prehistoric ages, which everywhere tend to merge imperceptibly one in the other. Hence the remark may confidently be extended to all times since early man first began those migratory movements by which he has replenished the earth. We know, for instance, that, during the Stone Ages, Europe was occupied by both long-headed and short-headed races, and Señor C. Outes has now shown that the same two types had already reached Austral-America in Pleistocene times (La Edad de la Piedra en Patagonia, 1908). It follows that the two primary divisions (wh. see) have always been intimately associated together for countless generations, and consequently that there are no more any pure stocks, except perhaps a few isolated groups, still surviving in some remote and hitherto inaccessible corners of this world, such as the Andamanese Islanders, the most civilized of the Toálas of Celebes, and the Fijian Kai-Colos.

The term 'Aborigines' is therefore generally to be taken in a purely relative sense, and the
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Claim often made by them to be regarded as true and unassailable must be unhesitatingly rejected. They are normally 'mestizos,' in whom the physical and psychic characters of two or more races are intermingled in varying proportions. But the psychic character of primitive peoples finds its chief expression in their religious concepts, since these races are almost exclusively controlled by their views regarding the unseen world. Put in this way, the statement that their religious systems have been influenced by foreign contact follows of itself, and the inference that, as there are no longer unmixed races, so there are no longer unmixed religions, becomes almost a truism. The inference is certainly not quite obvious at first sight, although the analogous somatic mixtures, as between whites and blacks, are often self-evident. But that is only because mentally are necessarily more subtle and elusive than material phenomena. The savage may hide his inmost thoughts regarding the supernatural, as he often does to casual visitors; but he cannot hide the constituent elements of his outward form from the more instructed observers and the missionaries.

1. Thus the main physical features of the Australian aborigines have long been determined, while the source of many of their religious ideas is still the subject of heated discussions between the Spencer, Gillen, Langas, Frazers, and other serious students of primitive psychologies. The Nurreri people of South-East Australia have a 'god' or mythical being, Nuruneri, who dwells in a shadowy Elysium in the far west; and to reach this abode of bliss the souls of the dead have to pass under the sea and over a fiery pit into which the wicked fall while the good escape. But such abodes of bliss and misery form no part of the genuine beliefs of the natives, who do not distinguish between morally good and wicked people; and moral inquiry has now shown that these are merely distorted reminiscences of the heaven and hell preached to the Nurriryeri tribe by the early missionaries.

The same god Nuruneri (Ngurrundere) plays a great part in the myths of the Ngarinyin and Wallagga people of the Lower Murray River, and also affords a curious illustration of the way in which the Biblical stories get perverted in the minds of the natives.

This great King of Yirr (Heaven) had two wives, who caught a fish, kept it, and gave it to him, and the little one. Discovering the fraud, he was very angry and said, 'You shall die for this, and all Tangamarn shall die; and there shall be fighting and sickness, and evil spirits until then.' Ngurrundere had created and done everything for them, giving them knowledge and skill in hunting, fishing, and fighting. But after the sentence of death for the trick played upon him by his wives, he took away their knowledge and sent them to the land of the dead. They became ignorant and blind, and lived like the beasts of the field for a long time, till a virgin was born a good and wise maiden Wyungara. She gave them back their lost wisdom and power, and taught them sorcery; and when he had regained his trinity, he took them to the heavens by Ngurrundere, and now reigns there as second King. And when a Tangamarn dies, Wyungara takes his spirit up to heaven, and gets him crowned in that place, through his influence with Ngurrundere. This might be called the Australian version of the doctrines of the Fall and the Atoneement.

The native account of the Creation of the first man is more detailed than that of Scripture. The people of the present Melbourne district say that Punji, Creator of all things, made two male blacks by cutting three large strips of bark with his big knife, and on one of them kneading a quantity of clay to the shape of a man; then he carried some of the dough to another of the strips, and began to mould it into a man, beginning at the feet and working upwards to the head. This he repeated on the third strip; and being well pleased with his work, he danced round about the two figures. He next made two female blacks, one for man and one for woman; and for the other; and, being again pleased with his work, once more danced round about them. After smoothing their bodies with his hands, he laid them on the grass, and blew hard into their mouths and nostrils until they stirred, when he danced round them a third time. He then made them speak and walk about, and they were finished.

The Dieris tell it differently. In the beginning Mora-Mora, the Good Spirit, made a number of small black lizards, and being pleased with them, promised them power over everything. He divided their fingers, and with his forefinger added nose, eyes, mouth, and ears. Then he stood one end on, but it toppled over; so he cut off its tail after which the lizard walked about like a man. He did the same with another, which happened to be a female, and so the race was perpetuated. After the first two were changed into numerous and wicked, whereas Punji, being angry, raised storms and fierce winds, which shook the big trees on the hillsides. And Punji went about with his black marafils again and way and that day, and men, and women, and children he cut into very little pieces. But the pieces were alive, and wriggled about like worms, whereupon great fear came over them about like snowflakes. They were wafted into the clouds, and by the clouds born five and fifty over all the earth, and they was mankind dispersed. But the good ones were carried upwards and became stars, which still shine in the heavens.

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

It should be noted that all these Creation myths have been gathered from tribes which have long been in association with the whites, either at their own request or at the missionaries' urging. The local colouring would gradually be supplanted as the stories passed from tribe to tribe.

2. Similar Biblical legends are widespread among the Masai of East Africa, and here the parallaxes are so striking that Captain Merker can account for them only by supposing that the Masai nomads are a Semitic people who dwelt originally with the kindred Israelites in North Arabia, whence they migrated some 8000 or 9000 years ago, to their present domain east of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Surprising coincidences are pointed out between the traditions, myths, legends, and religious observances of the two nations. The Masai el-Eberi is equated with Eber (Gen.10:8); Haa, 'Great,' with Jahweh; Nob, with Abél; Narabá with Abraham; and it is shown that the Masai have also their ten commandments, the first of which is: 'There is one only God; heretofore you called Him E'magalamu, or Almaim; wateh, now you shall call Him Nga'; just as in Ex 6:3 Shaddai is replaced by Jahweh. Here we have unquestionably many Jewish religious notions superimposed on the primitive Masai animism. These were not, however, brought from Arabia thousands of years ago, but are of themselves and the Judaizing Falashas of the neighbouring Abyssinian uplands (cf. M. Merker, Die Masai, Berlin, 1904).

3. In Senaarr there is a curious intermingling of Muslim and animistic beliefs, which corresponds completely with the Negro and Semitic interminglings of its Punji inhabitants. These pass for fairly good Muhammadans; practise circumcise, make the pilgrimage to Mecca, have zealous faqirs and dervishes (who act as teachers and scribes in the towns), and conform very much to the other Qur'anic precepts. Yet beneath this thin skin they venerate these Negroid natives are still sheer pagans, firmly believing in the gross superstitions which are associated with the wer-wolf notions referred to, in art. ETHNOLOGY. Their much-dreaded sibkha (magicians) are credited with the power of transforming themselves at night into hyenas and hippopotami, which roam about seeking to destroy their enemies, and inflict injuries even on the most devout Mussalmans. The marafals, as the metamorphosed human presents itself, is called, hold unhallowed cannibal feasts in the recesses of the woodlands, indicating their presence by their terrible howlings, just as wayfarers were stricken with awe by the midnight roar of the transformed human jaguars amongst the Aztecs of pre-Columbian times. In the daytime the marafari again
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assume their human form, but are still dangerous, since a glance from their evil eye suffices to wither the limbs, the heart, or the entrails of their victims, who thus perish in the most horrible torments. To counteract these dire machinations, the scribes wrote upon slips of the Qurān or slips of paper, which are then burnt, and the amulets prepared by those who suppose themselves threatened by the hostile sāhīras. It would be difficult to imagine a more complete fusion of higher and lower religious forms than this inrush of Qurānic texts against evil influences opposed to dravidic teachings (see E. Marno, Reisen im Gebiete des blauen u. weissen Nil, 1874).

Featherman aptly remarks that 'Muhammadanism, introduced by the Arabs, has been adopted by some of the Nigritian nationalities of higher mental capacities, but they are Muhammadans in their own way. Christianity has also made some converts in isolated localities, but they are Christians only in name' (Social History, etc., i. p. 12).

In some places, as in the West Sudan, the primitive pagan substratum has been partly overlaid by both of these higher religions, with the curious result that, for instance, some of the Senegal Wolofs have charms with texts from the Qurān which they cannot read, while others are superstitiously afraid and scapulars of the 'Seven Dolours,' or of the Trinity, which they cannot understand. Other violent contrasts are seen in the lofty conception of Zukhtar, 'god of justice,' associated amongst the most brutish Senewers with toying with images as the 'lizard, for whom the daily milk-bowl is set apart. Here again the fusion of higher and lower ideals is obvious enough, and so it is throughout Negroland, wherever the seething masses of both have been touched by higher influences.

4. Turning to India, in this fathomless ocean of heterogenous elements we are at once confronted with perhaps the saddest tragedy ever witnessed anywhere in the whole history of human development. Here are seen, not so much gross anthropomorphic systems leavened by contact with superior ideals, as the very reverse process of these ideals being themselves gradually contaminated and utterly debased by submersion in the great flood of savage beliefs and idolatries, which has elsewhere shown (East and West, April 1905) that the whole of the peninsula, from the Himalayas to Ceylon, was occupied by these aborigines —Kolars and Dravidians— ages before the advent of the Indo-Aryan, and their most peculiar tribes, who may have reached the Panjāb from the north-west, some 5000 or at most 6000 years ago. It is clear from the Vedic texts (see VEDAS) that these proto-Aryans drew their inspiration from above; that their deities—Varuna, Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Dyasus, the Maruts—were all personifications of the forces of the upper regions, and were looked upon in the main as beneficent beings, who associated almost on a familiar footing with their votaries, from whom they accepted mild offerings of soma and the fruits of the earth, without exacting any gross or cruel sacrifices. On the other hand, the Dravido-Kolarian aborigines drew, and for the most part still draw, their inspiration from below, and their chthonic gods were really demons, ever hostile to mortals, and to be appeased by sanctuaries and the sacrifice of everything most prized by the living. But, as the Vedic Aryans ranged farther and farther into the Indo-Gangetic plains, there took place those inevitable religious and racial changes which, so far as humanity generally is concerned, and the forms of religion which collectively we call Brahmanism or Hinduism. Over this monstrous system the triumphant Aryans spread the prestige of their language and general culture; but in the struggle they forfeited their heaven-born pantheon, which was replaced by the chthonic gods of the aborigines. As Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, so here the Vedic Sun-god and Sky-god, Rain-god and Wind-gods were vanquished by the Dravido-Kolarian Vīsā, the Preserver, Mahādeva (Siva, the Destroyer, with his wife Durgā or Kālī), Bhūmā Devī (the Fire Goddess), the gross symbolism typified by the īṣa and the rest. However disguised by a Sanskrit nomenclature, the true parentage of these entities is clearly seen, for instance, in the siva of the later Hindu triad, who is evolved out of the later Vedic Rudra, the Roarer or Storm-god, who guides and controls the destroying cyclone. Thus was constituted the present Hindu system, in which, as we now see, the higher forms have been not merely influenced or modified by, but almost completely submerged in, the lower. Since the expulsion of Buddhism, which had prevailed for about 1000 years (B.C. 250 to A.D. 750), this exceptional process has again been reversed, and during the last 2000 years Brāhmanism has spread over the whole peninsula, absorbing or driving to the uplands all the primitive beliefs, and even attacking them in their last retreats in the Vindhyān ranges and the mountains of the Islands. Hence it is that even in these least accessible tracts unalloyed primitive forms are gradually disappearing. Still, enough remains to enable us to discriminate between the original Dravido-Kolarian and the intrusive Hindu elements. Thus Mr. A. Krishna Iyer writes that the Malayars of Cochin 'are pure animists, but, owing to their association with the low-caste men of the plains and their attendance at the neighbouring village festivals, they have been forced to adopt the higher forms of worship.' Of their six gods two are demioceleal (chthonic), and four are merely different names for the Hindu Kālī, who was originally borrowed by the Hindus from the natives. From the higher castes are also taken Bhagavati Bhadrakālī and Nagasāmī, who have penetrated into the neighbouring Kollenco forest, and are there worshipped with semi-Hindu rites, jointly with Maniṣpan and the other demon-gods, for all these demon-worshippers were worshiped by the aborigines. Other such demon-worshippers. But these demons themselves, as well as all preterrestrial beings, are really human like the suppliants, only invisible and more potent. Hence 'they are held in fear and pious reverence, and shed their benedictions on all (Iyer, MS. notes). Much the same account is given of the Eravallers of the Chittur forests, who also include Kālī amongst their demoniacal gods, and seek her protection with like offerings.

Amongst the Bhils, Kols, Gonds, and other Pahāriyas of the Vindhyān uplands, great respect is paid to Mahādeva, to whom have been consecrated the Mahādeo heights east of the Satpuras. He is even confounded with the chthonic Tiger-god, and associated with Bhīma, Arjuna, and other heroes of the Mahābhārata, and his demi-gods of the earth have almost Hinduized hillmen offered till lately human sacrifices to the various members of their limitless pantheon, which includes sun, moon, rocks, trees, torrents, the passing winds, and especially the departed spirits who return in the form of nightmare, sit on the chest, squeeze the throat, and suck the blood, like the vampires of the popular Slav legend (see ETHNOLOGY). So intermingled are the higher and lower forms throughout Gondvāna and the frontierland that the Census agents are often puzzled how to return certain ethnic groups, whether as outcaste Hindus or Hinduized outcastes.

5. But this new field of research is boundless, and we must hasten through Indo-China, where
the superficial Buddhism is everywhere intimately associated with the never-dying animism, eastwards to the Malay lands, where analogous associations crop out everywhere between Islam and the still rampant heathenism of Borneo, Celebes, Gilo, and Mindanao. Much light has recently been thrown on this religious syncretism in the authors’ own Islands by Professors F. and P. Sarmento in their Reisen (Berlin, 1905) the reader will find much instructive matter. The prevalent relations in the hitherto almost absolutely unknown island of Mindanao have also been revealed by N. M. Sales and Reisen in its Religion, vol. iv. of the Philippine Ethnological Survey Publications (Manila, 1905). Here the ‘authentic’ genealogies of the Moro (Muhammadan) dynastic families are interwoven with curious pagan elements, and we read of orthodox Sultans descended from unions not only with houris sent down from heaven, but also with a native princess found inside a bamboo stalk. This occurred at the time Tabunaway and Mamalu were cutting bamboo to build their fish coral. When the last two layers of high bamboo was cut, who was called by Puti Tunina, and whose little finger was wounded, the bolo having cut through the bamboo, and from her sprang Malang-as-Inang, third datu (king) of the Bwayan dynasty. The Mindanao Muslims have accepted similar folklore, and firmly believe in the Balbal vampire, a huge night bird, whose screech is supposed to be distinctly heard after sunset. It is really ‘a human being who transforms at night into an evil spirit which devours dead people,’ in this differing from other vampires, which come out of the dead and prey on the living. But so detested is the creature, that in the local Muhammadan code, here published in full, anyone calling another balbal is fined one slave or his value (p. 65). Thus in Mindanao it is again the higher Muslim system that is affected by the lower ideals of the aborigines, many of whom have withdrawn to the uplands of the interior, where interesting discoveries await future explorers in primitive psychologies.

The balance is redressed in Oceania, where the more civilized Eastern Polynesians have inoculated the Western Melanesian cannibal head-hunters with their mana and other subtle religious essences. But in the process modifications naturally take place, and the Maori mana is not, perhaps, quite the same thing as that of the New Hebrides savages. The Maori mana, brought from Hawaiki (Samoa?) to New Zealand by the kaka bird, is not easily distinguished from the forest, the human, and the other local mauri, and is generally defined as ‘power, authority, influence, prestige’ (A. Hamilton, Maori Art, p. 396). But the Melanesian mana is more spiritual, analogous to the Augustinian grace, without which no works avail, but which is the true end and aim of all. Thus a person may have mana, but is not himself mana,—a force which ‘is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation’; and again: ‘a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it of the greatest advantage to possess or control’ (Cldington, The Melanesians, pp. 118-119). But however homologous with, or divergent from, the Maori mana, this mana permeates all religious thought of the Melanesians, whose religion ‘consists, in fact, in getting this mana for oneself, or getting it used for one’s benefit—all religion, that is, as far as religious practices go, prayers and sacrifices’ (ibid.). And as the principle is admittedly derived from
originally distinct personalities, and are themselves a clear indication of the higher Aryan and Semitic influences brought to bear on the primitive religion of the Pelasgian aborigines. But these influences must not be pushed too far, as when Eduard Glaser imports the Vedic *Dyaus* into the *Ceto* (Maya) religious system, as well as into Israel (Jahweh). It is clear from the compound forms *Dyuyaspiter* (Vedic Sanskrit), *Zeō τρεπ* (Gr.), *Juwepatri* (Umbrian), *Dies-piter*, *Jupiter* (Latin), that this personification of strangers on the banks of the Ganges troubled and already found expression in the Aryan mother-tongue, and was consequently a common inheritance of all the proto-Aryans who, after the dispersion, brought it independently into their Indian, Hellenic, and Italic settlements. Thus we have here no reciprocal influence of Aryans upon Aryans; but as to the same root belong the Avestan *daeva*, the Lithuanian and Lettic *Dëwas, Dësas*, *God*, 'other' and other Western variants, it follows that the pantheons of the Iranian and European aborigines were enlarged and otherwise modified in remote prehistoric times by their proto-Aryan conquerors. What other early interminglings of religious systems may have taken place, as between Aryans and Ligurians in Italy (Celts) and Greeks and the British Isles, is a subject of too speculative a nature to be here discussed. One point, however, seems fairly well established, that the Semitic Phoenicians reached the far west with their Baal, who was one of their chief deities by the Ibero-Celtic peoples of Britain and Ireland. The expressions *Bal mātākₐr* art, 'may Baal prosper thee,' and *Bal Dzha dhuit*, 'God Baal be with thee,' were not so many years ago still addressed to strangers on the banks of the Tagus (see J. Bowick, *Irish Druids and Old Irish Religions*; H. O'Brien, *Phoenician Ireland*; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de Littérature Celtique*).

9. In the New World, effectively cut off from the Old most probably since Neolithic times, the interchanges of cultures and religious notions can have been only between the American aborigines themselves. But here also there were very great local developments, in virtue of which some, such as the Aztecs, Maya, and Iberians, of the Mayas, but, on the contrary, were absorbed by them (Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Washington, 1904, p. 642). It is also shown that the calendrical systems of the Maya were common to all Central American peoples, and that the Maya calendars, covering a period of 562 days, the period of gestation, originated by the use of the sign as slavishly copied by the Aztecs (p. 527; see also Keane's *Eng. ed. of Seker's Elucidation of the Aztec Tonalamatl*, 1901) contain the identical currents of Mind in the Zapotec domain (the present State of Oaxaca). Professor Seker shows that this culture nation drew many of its religious inspirations from the neighboring Aztecs. 'The most conclusive evidence is that the cosmogonic representations referring to Quetzalcoatl, the god of the West, as well as the Olympus with its various mythological figures, as the picture-writings, were not strictly national, did not have their roots in the Zapotec country, but represented a super- cposed culture which owes its origin to the Nahua tribes dating back to prehistoric times' (Wandmalereien von Mitla, Berlin, 1890).

On the other hand, the views advanced by the late Mr. Leland in *The Algonquin Legends of New England* regarding the old Norse origin of the north-eastern Indian mythology cannot be upheld. But although they are now shown to be untenable, later European influences have been at work, and as a result, Andrew Lang has found older traces of Irish, French, and a few Anglo-American strains in many of the Passemaquoddy legends. Still, Prof. J. D. Prince, of Columbia University, holds that what is genuinely native 'stands forth with undiminished lustre as the kernel of the tales,' that is, the witchcraft and other stories recorded in *Kulukap the Master*, the joint work of himself and Mr. Leland. A. H. KEANE.

**ABORTION.**—See FETICIDE.

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


H. B. ALEXANDER.
ABRAHAM-MEN.—A class of sturdy beggars, who feigned to have been mad, and to have been kept in Bedlam for a term of years. 'Bedlam'—a lunatic asylum or mad-house—is a contraction for Bethlehem, the name of a religious house in London, founded as a priory in 1247, and in 1547 converted into a hospital for lunatics. Originally 'Abraham' men were not a new portmanteau social type, but an inmate of the lunacy ward under the patronage of the patriarch Abraham. On discharge from hospital he wore a badge for identification, and was formally permitted to roam the country as a 'Tom of Bedlam' and to solicit alms.

This character was personated by vagabonds and sturdy rogues, who wandered over England in a disorderly manner, feigning lunacy and preying upon the charitable. Hence the slang phrase, 'to sham Abraham.' Where begging failed they did not hesitate to turn to other, and, when detected in any deprivation, they would plead the immunities and privileges of a Bedlamite. The character is common in Shakespeare's time, and seems to have survived till the period of the Civil Wars. For a discussion on the character and uses of Abraham men, see speech of Edgar in King Lear, Act ii. sc. 3; for synonyms, see Rider's English Dictionary, p. 1196. See also Warming's Prefaces into the English Bible, 1654: 'And those, name what title ever they bear, Jackman, or Patrico, Cranke, or Clapper-dudgeon, Fox, and Abraham-man, I speak to all.'

Of A. W. Fowler's Fraternity of Vagabonds, 1655: 'An Abraham man is he that walketh bare-armed and bare-legged, and faynet hym, and carryeth a pack of wool, or a stycke with lock on it, or such kyke toy, and nameth himself "Poor Tom."' (ed. Edward Capel in Soc. p. 3). See also Dekker's Delmon London, 1605: 'Of all the mad rascal the Abraham man is the most pantastickt. The fellow that sat half naked (at table to-day) is a sort of Abraham, or a Lord of his own, for that ever came into my house, the noblest villain: he swears he hath been in Bedlam, and will talk frantickly of purpose: you see pinnes stuck in sundry places of his naked flesh, especially in his arms... only to make you believe he is out of his wits: he calls himself by the name of Poor Tom.' Of these Abraham men some be exceeding merry, and doe nothing but sing songs: some will dance: some will doe nothing but laugh or weep: other are dogged and sullen both in look and speech, that, spying small company in a house, they boldly and bluntly enter, compelling the servants through fear to give them what they demand, which is commonly bread or money that will yield ready money.

The great authority is Harman's Cautious, or Warming for Common Corrossors, 2nd ed., 1607.

W. W. FULTON

ABRAVANEL (or ABARBANEL), Isaac (1437-1508).—Statesman and author, Don Isaac Abra- vanel shared in the general exodus of the Jews from Spain in 1492. He had been in the service of the Infante Don Alfonso V., of Portugal and Queen Isabella of Castile, and after his banishment acted as finance minister in the states of Naples and Venice. His fame now rests chiefly on his Commentaries on the Bible. He wrote on the Pentateuch, the Historical Books, and the Prophets, but not on the Hagiographies. Among the characteristics of his Commentaries, mention must be made first of his general prefaces to the various books. In this respect he deserves to be considered 'a pioneer of the modern science of the interpretation of the Bible' (Ginzberg). In addition, his Commentaries are remarkable for the use made of the knowledge of the world which the author had acquired in the vicissitudes of his public career. He thus takes account, in his exegesis of the Biblical histories, of political conditions and social life, and attempts to explain within the standpoint of its actual contemporaries. In this respect, too, Abra- vanel was an innovator, for he anticipated the modern principle which relies not alone on literal exegesis, but calls into play all available material, whether historical and traditional. Again, Abra- vanel makes free use of Christian Commentaries; he quotes Jerome, Augustine, Nicholas of Lyra, Paul of Burgos, and others. Thus he deserves credit for believing that there is room for supplementing exegesis—for an exegesis which shall attempt to explain Scripture without theological prejudice.

In all these points Abra- vanel's services were appreciated by Christians as well as by Jews. 'No less than thirty Christian writers of this period—among them men of eminence, like the younger Buxtov, Buddeus, Carpzov, and others—occupied themselves with the close study of Abra- vanel's exegetical writings, which they commend as a fresh and original contribution to the world of Christian scholarship' (Ginzberg). Certainly Abra- vanel gains by compression, for his works are very prolix. They were often written in great haste. Thus his long Commentaries on Joshua, Judges, and Samuel occupied him only six months. Yet these Commentaries include some of his very best work.

The philosophical works of Abra- vanel are of less importance than the exegetical. His Zohar Amanah ('Pinnacle of Faith') is a treatise which aims at dissociating Jewish theology from philosophy; he upheld, against Maimonides, the view of miraculous inspiration. His Messianic books were very popular, and were often reprinted. In these he disputes alike the views of Christian and of Jewish millenarians. His Yeushuv ha-Mo'ed ('How and When the Messiah is to come') is a clear and full account of the Rabbinic doctrines concerning the Messiah. Abra- vanel himself claimed descent from the royal house of David.


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

The custom of interrogating the candidate to see whether they really gave up heathenism and believed in Jesus Christ probably goes back to Apostolic times; it would be a necessary precaution which could scarcely be dispensed with. Perhaps the earliest reference to it is the gloss of Ac 8:37 AV, the confession of faith by the Ethiopian eunuch, which, though probably no part of the original text, is found in Irenaeus and Cyprian, and must therefore reflect the usage of at least the 2nd century. It is quite probable, however, that the 'interrogation (ἐρωτάσθη, not ἐρωτήσθη) of a good conscience' in 1 P 3:1 refers to the practice in question.

For our present purpose it is more important to know how the early Church interpreted 1 P 3:1 than how it was intended by its writer; but as to the early interpretation we have no evidence. The commentators vary in their views. Almost all take εἰρωτάσθη with εὐδοκέοντος διαλεκτικάν, the Paraphrase of the Peshitta (not washing away... but confessing God with a good conscience) and the Vulgate with transcendental bonus interrogatio in Deus'; some, like Alford, denying any reference to the baptismal interrogations, and rendering 'inquiry of a good conscience after the Bible' for the phrase, would expect εὐδοκέοντος; and others taking εὐδοκέοντος to be the baptismal questions, as (Eumenius 11th cent.), Hooker (Evangelical Pol. or Theocr.; vol. ii. 123), Estius (Comm. in I. P. vol. ii. p. 135), Dr. Bigg (ICC, in loc.) also holds the reference to the baptismal interrogations, but gives a strong argument for taking εἰρωτάσθη with εὐδοκέοντος, as corresponding to εἰρωτάσθη in Acts 9:18, where εὐδοκέοντος corresponds to εὐδοκεῖται. The translation in that case would be: 'that he may bring you safety through water, which also after a true likeness does now bring you safety to God, even baptism (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the renunciation of a good conscience), through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.'

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

‘When entering the water, we make profession of the Christian faith in the words of its rule, we bear public testimony that we have renounced the devil and his angels. We do not enter the font in connection with idolatry, above all, that you have the devil and his angels? Our renunciation testimony in the laver of baptism has reference to the shape, which through their idolatry have been given over to the devil and his angels.'

Elsewhere (de Idol. 6) he says that idol-making is prohibited to Christians by the very fact of their baptism. ‘For how have we renounced the devil and his angels if we make them?’ In de Cor. 3, after describing the act of disowning ‘the devil and his angels,’ he says: ‘Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel.’ So in the Canons of Hippolytus, which probably represent Roman or Alexandrian usage early in the 3rd cent., the candidate for baptism turns to the West and says: ‘I renounce thee, Satan, with all thy pomp.’ He is then anointed by the presbyter, and before being baptized turns to the East and says: ‘I believe and the Holy Ghost, for the meaning of ‘pomp’ see below.’ Other 3rd cent. writers mention the interrogations, but not the renunciations in particular. Cyprian (Ep. lxxix. 2, [Oxford, lxxv.]) speaks of a prophetess in Cappadocia, 22 years before the Christianized baptism; making use of the usual and lawful words of interrogation. And Dionysius of Alexandria, writing to Pope Cyril (ap. Euseb. HE vii. 9), speaks of the questions and answers (τὸν ἐπιθυμήσαν τὸν ἀποκλύτων ἅμα). It is clear, then, that in the 3rd and probably in the 2nd cent. the candidates made an act of submission to God as baptism as well as a renunciation of the devil.

The same thing is also evident in the 4th century. The act of submission might be the recital of a creed (‘reditio symboli’), which had been taught to the candidates during their catechumenate (‘traditio symboli’); or it might be a simple formula, or both the formula and the creed. In Corpus Christiani (Cot. Lit. 4) we read that the candidate first facing West, because ‘the West is the region of sensitive darkness,’ and Satan, ‘being darkness, has his dominion also in darkness,’ whereas the East is ‘the place of light.’ He says, stretching out his hand: ‘I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works, and all thy pomp, and all thy service (or worship, λατρείας).’ The word ‘pomp’ is explained as being the shows, horse races, hunting, and all such vanity; the word ‘service’ as idolatry, prayer in idol temples, etc. Then the candidate faces East and says: ‘I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in one baptism of repentance,’ and is anointed and baptized.

The renunciation and submission are pronounced in the outer chamber; the anointing and baptism follow in the baptistery, where the candidate is again asked whether he believes in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (xx. 4). It does not appear that at Jerusalem in Cyril’s time the Creed was recited at baptism in the 4th cent., but it may first cite the Egyptian and Ethiopic Orders, which are almost alike. The candidate says: ‘I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works’ (Ethiopic: ‘all thy angels and all thy unclean works’); he is then anointed, and a long creed takes the place of the formula of submission. Turning to the West and East is not mentioned in these two Church Orders. In the corresponding part of the Verona Latin Fragments of the Didascalia (ed. Huizer) there is a lacuna. In the Testament of the Apostles (ed. Duchesne) the candidate faces the West and says: ‘I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service (lit. ‘military service’), and thy shows (lit. ‘theatres’), and thy pleasures, and all thy works.’ After being anointed, he turns to the East and says: ‘I submit to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,’ etc.* In the Apostolic Constitutions the form is somewhat different (vii. 41). The renunciation is: ‘I renounce (εἰσερχόμεθα) Satan, and his works, and his pomp, and his angels,’ etc. This is immediately followed by the act of submission: ‘I associate myself (συνάπτομαι) with Christ, and believe and am baptized into one unbegotten Being,’ etc. (a long creed); then come the anointing and baptism.

Turning to the West and East is not mentioned; but later, after confirmation, the neophyte is directed to pray towards the East (vii. 44). We have some confirmatory evidence from other 4th cent. writers.

Eusebius (Ep. ii. 8, 19) speaks of the neophyte having taken ‘the interrogations thus: ‘Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?’—‘Dost thou believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ and in His cross?’—‘Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?’ When the candidates were too young to make the answers to the interrogations and to say the renunciations themselves, this was done for them by the sponsor, or the parents, or a relation (Canons of Hippolytus, 113; Egyptian Church Order, § 48; Testament of our Lord, ii. 8; for sponsors see also Tertullian, de Bapt. 18, and the allusion to them—‘incipse suscepti’—in de Cor. 3).

The custom of renouncing the devil has persistently remained. Duchesne (Origines du culte chrétien, Eng. ed. Cot. Lit. 4) says: ‘At the time of the trial interrogation: ‘Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty?’—‘Dost thou believe also in our Lord Jesus Christ and in His cross?’—‘Dost thou believe in the Holy Ghost?’—The candidate recited the Creed publicly, but in the 5th cent. the priest recited it for him.

In the Gallican use, the candidate, facing West, was asked: ‘Dost thou renounce Satan, the pomp of the world and its pleasures?’ The candidate replied, entered the font, and answered a threefold interrogatory on the faith with ‘I believe,’ and was baptized (Missale Gallicanum, see Duchesne, op. cit. p. 324).

In the Sarum Manual the renunciations were at Rome (see above); after the anointing the priest asks the candidate a threefold interrogatory which is a sort of the Apostles’ Creed, to each part of which he answers ‘I believe,’ and the baptism follows (Maskell, Monuments of the Sarum Rite, pp. 295, 296).

The custom in the Eastern Churches is much the same as in the West. In the Orthodox Eastern Church the renunciations come in the Order for

* In the Testament, the Verona Fragments, and in the Canons of Hippolytus, a form of the Apostles’ Creed is put before the candidates in the shape of three questions at the act of baptism.
Making a Catechumen, which is separate from the baptismal service. The candidate, or (if he be a ‘barbarian or a child’) his sponsor, is asked thrice:

1. ‘Dost thou renounce Satan, and all his works, and all his angels, and all his service, and all his pomp?’
2. ‘If so be.’
3. ‘Dost thou join Christ?’
The Nicene Creed follows here, and after some repetition of the same question the candidate says: ‘I bow myself to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost’ (Shann, Book of Needs, p. 19; Littledale, Offices of the H. E. Church, p. 134). In the Armenian baptismal rite the catechumen says: ‘We (sic) renounce thee, Sabbath, and all thy deceitfulness, and thy viles, and thy service, and thy paths, and thy angels.’

He is asked, with some repetition, if he believes in the Holy Trinity, and the Nicene Creed is said in full (Coneybear-Maclean, Ritualæ Armenorum, p. 92; Deninger, Ritual Orientalium, i. 385, also p. 298). The Armenian version of the Nicene Creed is:

The Coptic and Ethiopic customs are almost the same (Deninger, i. 196, 223; see a shorter form at p. 234, where the renunciation is explained as a purely moral one, without reference to heathenism or absolute Syria). The renunciation is preceded by a formula which does not require for its existence, or for its meaning, that supplementary facts or factors should be brought into consideration. And any one using the term will in general be satisfied to take it as simply equivalent to ‘without qualification,’ i.e., without positive relation to something which lies beyond what is described or stated, and limits or restricts its meaning. In such a case, what is spoken of as ‘absolute’ can appear in a variety of settings, and yet be unaffected by the process. This is always implied when the negative character is emphasized. What is absolute is not merely so at a given time and in given circumstances; but, however it is shifted about, it will remain permanently what it is, it will preserve its content, and defy interference by any other circumstances. ‘Absolute’ here means simply out of relation. An example is the expression ‘absolute freedom,’ as employed, e.g., by indeterminists. Sometimes this is true only up to a certain point; sometimes it is held to be true indefinitely. Thus, when it is said that such and such is an ‘absolute fact’ or is ‘absolutely true,’ it is not always implied that, no matter where the ‘fact’ is placed, it will remain unaltered, but that within a certain range of reality or range of truth the Norbians or Eastern Syrians appear not to have it. Their baptismal service is drawn up in a form closely resembling the Eschatological Liturgy, with lections, creeds, Surrsum Corda, invocation, etc., and presents many unique features. The Renunciation among the Norbians probably formed part of a separate office (as in many other Churches), and this office has now perished and the Renunciation with it. But the Nicene Creed, recited in the baptismal service on the analogy of the Liturgy, serves the purpose of a profession of faith.

A. J. MACLEAN

**ABSOLUTE.**—1. Meaning of the term.—The term ‘absolute’ (absolutum = ‘unrestricted,’ ‘set free’) can hence what can subsist by itself in that condition, what is complete as it stands (as used either as an adjective or as a substantive, and, in either case, takes on a variety of allied but distinct meanings. It seems probable that the adjective use is grammatically prior. One of the first writers to use the term is Cicero, who (in de Finibus) employs it to describe a characteristic of the blessed life, and also a form of necessity. As an adjective it may be predicated of any substantive which has or can have the qualification of subsisting by itself. This qualification may be given either negatively, in the form of the absence of all relation of dependence on anything else; or positively, when stress is laid on its internal coherence and self-sufficiency.

We find it employed, e.g., in biology, in science and in everyday experience. Characteristic uses in science are, e.g., ‘absolute temperature,’ ‘absolute alcohol,’ ‘absolute position,’ or again ‘absolute space.’ In common thought it is found in the expressions ‘absolute fact,’ ‘absolutely false.’ As a substantive it is primarily a philosophical term, and is in general used to designate the basis or fundamental principle of all reality, that which in some sense is or contains all the variety that exists. It is with the philosophical term that the present discussion is concerned, but it will be of service to introduce the discussion of its philosophical significance by a general analysis of its various meanings.

The meaning of the term may be brought out negatively or positively. Sometimes one is emphasized, sometimes another, as circumstances require. This is possible, because the term has, even etymologically, a negative nuance, and a negative qualification implies a positive ground. In general, it seems safe to say that the negative aspect is the more prominent. That is ‘absolute’ which does not require for its existence, or for its meaning, that supplementary facts or factors should be brought into consideration. And any one using the term will in general be satisfied to take it as simply equivalent to ‘without qualification,’ i.e., without positive relation to something which lies beyond what is described or stated, and limits or restricts its meaning. In such a case, what is spoken of as ‘absolute’ can appear in a variety of settings, and yet be unaffected by the process. This is always implied when the negative character is emphasized. What is absolute is not merely so at a given time and in given circumstances; but, however it is shifted about, it will remain permanently what it is, it will preserve its content, and defy interference by any other circumstances. ‘Absolute’ here means simply out of relation. An example is the expression ‘absolute freedom,’ as employed, e.g., by indeterminists. Sometimes this is true only up to a certain point; sometimes it is held to be true indefinitely. Thus, when it is said that such and such is an ‘absolute fact’ or is ‘absolutely true,’ it is not always implied that, no matter where the ‘fact’ is placed, it will remain unaltered, but that within a certain range of reality or range of truth the Norbians or Eastern Syrians appear not to have it. Their baptismal service is drawn up in a form closely resembling the Eschatological Liturgy, with lections, creeds, Surrsum Corda, invocation, etc., and presents many unique features. The Renunciation among the Norbians probably formed part of a separate office (as in many other Churches), and this office has now perished and the Renunciation with it. But the Nicene Creed, recited in the baptismal service on the analogy of the Liturgy, serves the purpose of a profession of faith.

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of relation whatsoever will alter its permanent independence. In the long run, as we shall see, this is the only consistent form in which the term can be used, and is indeed the basis for all other uses of it. But, when describing common usage, it is desirable to indicate other ways in which the term is employed.

This independence of alteration by external association, to which we have referred, already contains within its negative expression the positive character which the term 'absolute' also possesses, and which in certain cases is more particularly emphasized. By 'absolute' is then meant that quality in virtue of which an object can stand by itself, has an internal constitution of its own, is controlled and determined from within by its very nature. This positive character is really the ground of that negative meaning above described; and the latter is in strictness inseparable from the other. But for certain purposes it is of importance to lay especial stress on the positive character per se. In the case, the term 'absolute' refers to what is included rather than to what is excluded; to the inner nature of the object so qualified rather than to its possible relation to other objects; to its individual constitution rather than to its connexion with other individuals. Examples of expressing a relation as an 'absolute system,' an 'absolute unit,' 'absolute equality.' This positive significance may be taken in specifically different senses. It may refer simply to what, in virtue of the internal constitution of the object, is possible or hold good; and we may know its internal constitution so completely as to justify us in applying the term 'absolute' to it. This is one meaning of the expression, 'Such and such is an absolute possible absolute' in the absolute sense, the predicates we can apply to the object, are internally consistent. This is the least we can say of anything which we can think—its lowest claim to be something pers as. This is 'absolute' as opposed to 'relative.' On the other hand, we may mean that the object maintains its being, not in spite of relation to all other things, but in every possible relation to other objects in which it may stand. We may compare it with other objects as we please, may say anything concerning it, without its meaning unaffected. This is 'absolute' as opposed to 'comparative.' The expression 'absolutely possible,' in this sense, is the utmost we can say of anything when taken by itself. Other examples of the 'absolutely' are 'absolute dominion' over individuals in a society; 'absolute simplicity' of physical elements; an 'absolute subject;' i.e., a subject which, in every possible sphere, remains a subject, and cannot be a predicate of anything. Sometimes, indeed, we may use the term to cover simultaneously both of the forms of its positive meaning. But in general they would not be true together; for while, e.g., the least we could say of anything can also be said of it if we first state the most we can say of it, the reverse would not be true. Then it is not the Absolute Being, taken positively, is a case in point. Another, and an important positive use of the term, is when it is employed to designate not what has been simply by itself, or what maintains itself in every possible relation, but what is the ultimate ground of all possible relations. This is the meaning often attached to the expression 'Absolute Reality.' The use of the term 'Absolute Space' to signify that which is the ground of the perceptions, i.e., all things separate from us, is another example. Here 'absolute' is nearly equivalent to 'ultimate,' or the logical praevious. The object in question here contains all relations, and is absolute in that sense. In the other positive senses an object was absolute either as existing by itself in spite of relation, or as subsisting throughout all relation.

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

Similarly, when we take the positive meaning by itself and apply it to a specific object, it contains, as a part of its significance, a reference to other objects. An object cannot be conceived as something in itself without ipso facto implying a distinction from other things. What it is in itself logically implies others from which it is at least distinct in some way; or it cannot be known at all. It is more obvious when, as in the case, e.g., of 'absolute simplicity' above mentioned, it is what it 'absolutely' is only through relation to other things. The same is true again when it is the ultimate in the order of things. In the one case it is positive explicitly coincides with its negative, when the reality contains all possible otherness, and is in itself, not through others, but through itself.

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

The above analysis certainly compels us to accept the term. If we admit it, we can at once give a logically valid meaning to the use of the term in its positive form and in its negative form. For in either case it means that the object so qualified has a necessary place in the one whole, and that without it all else would not make what it is. Or, in other words, the whole and the parts stand together. The predication of the term 'absolute' of any specific part is thus merely our way of affirming our conviction of its necessary place in the one totality, the one systematic unity. The whole being the absolute, each part, of whose place in it we are assured, can be 'absolutized.' And this is done by us in a negative or a positive way according to circumstances. If we apply this interpretation to any current use of the term, we also do not make any judgment or truth the meaning to the idea we have in mind. The denial of this view involves the denial of all absoluteness in experience. This is the position of those who maintain the doctrine of thoroughgoing Relativity. It is the case of a just term. So far as we have merely considered the various uses of the term, and have not considered the application of the conception of absoluteness to specific philosophical problems. There are two such problems which are historically important and philosophically fundamental: (1) the problem of absoluteness in human knowledge, which raises in part the question of the 'relativity of knowledge'; (2) the problem of the Absolute in metaphysics. We must deal with each of these separately, so far as they can be separated.

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

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

This conception of absolute knowledge may be regarded in two ways. (a) It has been taken to mean an exposition of the whole truth both in its general content and in its particular details—a system, in fact, not simply of principles, but of conceptions with their details in all their manifold form. Absolute knowledge in this sense has generally been considered impossible of achievement, and certainly there is no historical example of a single system which claims to give so much. These two senses of the term 'absolute knowledge' may be conveniently characterized in the language of recent philosophical work (Laurie's 'Synthesis') as, respectively, the one which gives a 'synthesis of the absolute,' and knowledge which gives an 'absolute synthesis.'

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

In considering the question as to the possibility of the idea of absolute knowledge, we have to bear in mind this difference in the use and application of the term. It may, no doubt, be said with some truth that absolute in the second sense really implies in the long run the admission of absolute in the first sense. But, at any rate, that the idea is possible, and can be even fairly denied. This comes out in the controversy between 'absolute' and 'relative' truth. It is often held that all our knowledge is relative to us, and therefore absolute knowledge is impossible to man. By this is meant that the attainment of an 'absolute system of truth' is impossible, and not that our knowledge, 'so far as it goes,' is not absolutely true. Thus relativity of knowledge may be maintained along with the assertion that we do possess absolutely valid knowledge. This is in general the notion of the narrowly scientific mind. Relativity may, indeed, also be asserted of all forms of our knowledge. In this case absolute knowledge is denied in both senses of the term. Relativity, then, logically leads either to pure scepticism or to individualistic anthropomorphism. It is thus important, in discussing the 'relativity' of knowledge, to determine both what kind of relativity is asserted and with what kind of absoluteness it stands in contrast. Nothing but controversy, e.g., when defending relativity in opposition to absoluteness of knowledge, if one disputant is using 'absolute' in the first sense and the other in the second.

Justification of (a).—The argument in defence of absolute knowledge, in the sense of a complete
The first may, in virtue of the internal coherence of its content, hold a necessary and unalterable place in a series, or in a whole, from which it is inseparable; in the second, the content is incompletely determined, and therefore the judgment is only approximately coherent; its stability is liable to be disturbed by external agencies. The first may well be described as absolute, since, on the one hand, such judgments are not subject to alteration, but only to supplementation; and, on the other, it is out of such judgments that any system, even one claiming to be the complete ideal, has to be built up, if there is to be a system at all. Such judgments do not require to wait for the complete system to be evolved before claiming to be absolute, and hence, it is held, they possess that characteristic whether or not the system be ever arrived at. A type of these judgments is found in mathematical truth; but, indeed, any scientific judgment tends to claim this attribute. That such judgments may be absolute per se, can also be justified by pointing out that, even if it be a system that makes them in the long run absolutely true by giving them a place in the absolute system, then each is absolutely valid at least by means of it, and may therefore legitimately be spoken of as an absolute judgment. A systematic expression. It may very well be that we are incapable of exhausting its content in all its manifold detail. For the limitation of our command over the particulars of our experience is one form in which the individual thinker is limited. There be judgments which remain, however, the ground principles which constitute the general or typical forms in which the unity of knowledge is specifically realized. These we may grasp and systematically arrange. The individuality of general, of general, of few, as the growth of the various sciences and the advancement of human intellectual activity determine. But, as such, they are an expression in every case of the general forms in which the unity of knowledge contains, is always a possible achievement. That ideal unity is at once the logically implied basis of the final effects in the various forms. The knowledge of it is the self-knowledge of knowledge; and that is absolute knowledge in both the negative and positive senses of the term 'absolute.' This kind of knowledge may, in the general form, be supposed to possess with different degrees of success. These must always vary with the variation which is at once the privilege and the limitation of the individual thinker. But such peculiarities do not concern the question as to the possibility of truly achieving the result. What relation exists between the various forms which absolute knowledge in this sense has historically assumed, is a further question, which lies beyond that of the justification of its possibility. Justification of (6).—The position that knowledge can be characterized as the final effects in a time a finished system, or without at least waiting until a finished system is obtained, rests on different grounds. It is maintained that every true judgment is absolute as knowledge, just as it stands. An isolated judgment is absolutely valid without any other judgment being implied to guarantee or ratify its truth. The addition of other judgments may or may not modify its truth, but it will only be in so far as it is not true that it is capable of supplementation. And, at the worst, this will always leave what truth it does contain unaffected. It is maintained that this does not involve relativity in the sense of scepticism or individualism; for there is a distinction between a judgment which stands in a relation and judgment which is relatively valid.
term is; and obviously that meaning cannot be given in the mere description of the signification of a word, which can in point of fact be used by a great variety of theories. Indeed, to regard the term as wholly and essentially indeterminate, is legitimately possible only as the result of a thing.

When the Absolute, then, is said to be the object-matter of metaphysics, we have to understand the term as the designation of the one all-inclusive uniting principle of whatever experience contains. From the point of view of metaphysical knowledge it is, at least to begin with, little more than the existential counterpart of the unity of experience, which such knowledge postulates as a precondition of its progress, and the elucidation of which constitutes the achievement of the aim and ideal of metaphysics. It is therefore at the outset quite colourless; any more definite specification of its nature is possible only in virtue of a metaphysical theory. Thus for metaphysics it is simply a problem, and not an assumption, whether the Absolute is 'personal' or not, a real or another, or all or none of these. Only metaphysical inquiry can determine legitimately how far the Absolute contains any of these features, and which of them, if any, it is primarily. It is evident that this would be the case if it were not true, the mere meaning of the Absolute would give us no solution to all metaphysical questions. Certainly we sometimes find more, and sometimes less, imported into the idea. But if this is done before the inquiry, we must regard the fact as merely a peculiarity of the thinker, which does not affect the principle here laid down; while, if it is done at the end of the inquiry, that is quite legitimate, a necessary result, indeed, of having a theory at all.

If we bear this in mind, we can see at once the distinction between the metaphysical conception of the Absolute and the religious idea of God. The latter always involves personality—at least, spirituality in some form or other; the former does not. Both name the whole, and the same whole. But whereas religion is bound to do so by a certain category, to satisfy certain human needs, metaphysics is not committed to any category at all. It may well be that the legitimate conclusion of metaphysics satisfies the demands of religious consciousness. But it may not. Hence the possibility of conflict between the two, which we find historically as a fact. In the long run, the term 'God' in religion and 'the Absolute' in metaphysics must, if the religious mood is valid, be the same in meaning; if not, one of them will inevitably condemn the claims of the other, for both seek to express the same whole. But it has to be borne in mind at the outset, that while the God of religion must be the Absolute, the Absolute of metaphysics may or may not be conceived of as the God of the religious mind; that will depend entirely on how the Absolute is interpreted by metaphysics.

The metaphysical problem, then, regarding the Absolute, resolves itself into the question how to conceive the nature of the principle which is at once single and realized in the manifold ways that make up experience. The problem is one of interpretation, not of discovery; for it is assumed that knowledge by which we conceive and think of the nature of the Absolute itself falls within its compass. To try to demonstrate the actual existence of the Absolute, which a process of discovery seeks to do, is thus logically absurd. At the same time, since the knowledge, which interprets, falls by hypothesis within the one-all, the relatively subordinate question, regarding the relation between our knowledge and the whole which contains it, may well press for solution before the interpretation of the whole in the strict sense is given. Thus, in general, the metaphysical problem is found to have two parts—(1) The relation of our knowledge to the Absolute; (2) the nature of the principle constituting the Absolute.

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

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

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

(b) Another view of the relation of knowledge to an Absolute which contains it, is that which regards the subject-mind and its part within knowledge, forming an ultimate element in the unity of the whole. The other element, in itself generically distinct from the former, may be described as the object world of 'nature' and natural processes. These two between them exhaust the content of the Absolute so far as our experience is concerned. The Absolute per se is not one any more than the other; it is both, but may be either one or other. In any case it is known only in and through these aspects or appearances; but it still has a nature of its own and the appearances, its being per se. Our knowledge belongs to and has to do with the sphere of appearances only. There is no ground for supposing it adequate to what the Ultimate Reality is per se; on the contrary, its origin and its processes necessarily
confine it to the phenomenal. Still, the absence of knowledge does not involve an entirely negative attitude to the Absolute. The mere fact that knowledge belongs to the sphere of appearance points the way towards, or indicates the need for, the actual existence of an attitude distinct from knowledge, and one which can be concerned with the Absolute per se. We may call this attitude belief, or mystical intuition, or what not, so long as we bear in mind that its purport is to deal with this Ultimate Reality. Hence, while from the point of view of the intuitive perception or knowledge in its various forms, scientific or otherwise, there is no approach to the Absolute, there is a way open in another direction, and this may constitute a specific mood of our lives, the mood, e.g., of religion.

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

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

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

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

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

(b) We may so resolve the object into the being of the subject as to destroy even the semblance of distinction, and certainly all the opposition they may prima facie present. This is the position adopted by pure Solipsism. (b) We may again seek to secure to the object its claim to be distinct, but may endeavour to preserve the supra-relational distinctiveness which it possesses, falls within the scope of the activity of the subject and is determined by the action of the subject. This is the position of Subjective Idealism. It may take two forms. (aa) We may regard the objectivity of the object as a fact, and resolve its characteristic nature into ideal elements in the subject's life. This has been done primarily in the case of the external world revealed to 'outer' perception, which is the obstinate problem to Subjective Idealism. The historical representative of this form of Subjective Idealism is Berkeley. (bb) On the other hand, we may regard the objectivity as a result, and 'deduce' it from an ultimate act of spontaneity on the part of the subject. Objectivity
is here conceived in a much wider sense than that in the case of the external world. It embraces all forms of objectivity, that of other selves, and society, as well as the ‘outer world’ found by perception. The last, in fact, is merely a particular realization of a more fundamental objectivity which we meet with primarily in the subjective self. ‘Nature’ is the term for the union of the two. This more thorough-going and more comprehensive expression of Subjective Idealism is found in Fichte.

(b) Again, we may start from the basis of the object as such, and resolve the subject’s life, and will, in the same footing and object into the forms and processes of the object-world. Everything will here depend on what constituents of the object-world are regarded as ultimate and primary. This will determine the form assumed by the interpretation. The strongest case historically has been made for the theory which takes physical matter and physical energy as the fundamental elements with which we have to deal. The developed expression of this view takes the form of what is called variously Materialism, Nature Physicalism, or Natura Naturalis.

(c) Once more, we may start explicitly by laying primary stress neither on the subject nor on the object, but on their unity as such. This may take different forms. (a) We may take any case of objectivity to be of the unity of equal significance in its constitution. The unity being neither specially, is as such equally indifferent to each. But since these, nevertheless, are all it does contain, it is per se indeterminate; it is the indifferent neutrum in which both merely subsist. So far as any interpretation of it is to be given, we can express its nature either from the side of the object or from the side of the subject. Either point of view is equally valid, since a neutral unity, which is indifferently one factor as much as the other, is equally both. It must be expressible in either way, for, if it were neither, it would be nothing. This is in the main the position of Schelling.

(b) Again, we may start from the unity and develop an interpretation of it by taking the unity to be one factor more than the other. In this case there is for the unity an inequality of value between the two elements which constitute it. It is therefore not one as much as the other, and is indifferent to either. It is one more than the other. It is not a pure neutrum, but a concrete whole, of which each is a distinct mode or level of realization. It is not interpretable in two forms, distinct or even separate from one another, as in the former case; but in one form, and that form is adequate and complete as an expression of the entire concrete unity. From this point of view it is clear that there may be two ways of stating its meaning, according as we take the object side to be primary, or the subject side. Either view will be logical, but will interpret it in a different manner, and the dominant principle or category for determining the whole will be different. Starting from the object side, we will look on the whole as determinable by objective categories, and the kind of connexion amongst the parts of the whole will have the character which objective categories require. The supreme form of objectivity is what we call the order of ‘Nature’; the supreme objective category that of ‘Substance’; and the primary form of connexion is that of relation by external necessity. The unity will thus be conceived as nature in its totality, as working by natural processes of connexion, physical and spiritual—natura naturans. The various elements constituting it will be the realization of this supreme unity in its pheno-

menal character, as a product in natural form of natural activity—natura naturata. The subject world will be a mode of this realization—one way in which Nature is phenomenalized or made determinate. But Nature as such is, in its very meaning, a resolution of differences into a single continuous identity, the identity of the universal, the one ‘nature.’ Relatively to this all else is accident, an essentially negative moment, not a permanent expression. All explicit specific determination is implicit universal negation. There are no differences of degree in the contents; all are on the same footing and object, and thus relatively to one another. There are merely different modes of manifesting the one and only Reality. Inter se, these modes are generically distinct, and hence, in their modal manifestation of the one Reality, are merely side by side, parallel to one another, concurring only at infinity, where they disappear or coincide. The external necessity, connecting the parts in each mode and the modes in the whole, involves, and is merely a finite expression of, this essential continuity into which they are dissolved. This interpretation of the Absolute finds its great historical representative in Spinoza.

(c) But we may also conceive the problem in the same concrete way, and take the subject factor as primary, and point of view. Here we shall proceed by another principle, by another category, and by another method of connecting the elements involved. We lay stress, not on the impersonal attitude towards objectivity, which characterizes the physical and mathematical consideration of the object-world, and which dissipated the subject-life into its processes, but on the personal attitude, which is found in its highest expressions in morality and religion. In these the object-world, so far from being primary, is subsidiary to personal or spiritual ends. We shall therefore take the principle to be, not Nature, but Spirit. The ultimate category will be not ‘Substance,’ but ‘Subject.’ The essential method of establishing connexion with the whole will be not external necessity, but internal necessity, the necessity of ideas and purposes, which is Freedom. The process of connecting the factors inside the unity of the whole will be that which, accepting the ethical and religious insistence on the subordination of the object-world, shows the latter as the realization of the nature of Spirit, and shows Spirit therefore as at once arising out of, rising above, realizing and so retaining the true significance of Nature. This will be done by showing the content of the whole in its different moments to be simply the logically necessary evolution of the one final principle; which would not be itself unless it manifested itself in varying degrees of completeness of expression. These degrees form a distinct and seemingly separate areas of reality to finite experience, but to the Spirit they are merely stages in the realization of its single and self-complete spiritual existence. Such an interpretation, expressed essentially in the same general form by Plato, Aristotle, and Leibniz, finds its most impressive historical representative in Hegel.

These various ways of construing the meaning of the Absolute have doubtless each its value and place in the history of man’s higher spiritual life, and amongst them to exhaust the possible interpretations of the supreme unity of experience. It would be out of place here to try to consider their respective merits, since we are not concerned to give a metaphysical theory of the Absolute, but to indicate what theories have been propounded.
ABSOLUTE (Vedantic and Buddhist).—In India a broad conception of the Absolute is first met with in the Upanisads, compiled about B.C. 500. There Brahma, the All-pervading Being, is described as the One Reality, or the Absolute, who is self-existent and self-creating. He has no hands or legs, but He can catch and move; He has no eyes, but He can see, has no ears but can hear; He knows all things which are not known to Him, as well as the Good and Great Being. Upon Him the sun cannot shine, nor the moon nor the stars, nor the lightning cannot flash on Him, nor can the fire? They all reflect His radiant light, and through His light they are illuminated.

Since B.C. 500 the doctrine of the Absolute has been considerably developed in the Vedânta and Buddhist systems of philosophy. In the Brahma-sûtra, the first work of the Vedânta philosophy composed before the Christian era, Brahma is described as the Being who, associated with the principle of illusion (mâyâ), is enabled to project the appearance of the world, just as a magician is enabled to produce illusionary appearances of animate and inanimate beings.† When the veil of illusion is withdrawn, the phenomenal world, as Brahma or his manifestations, is seen for what it really is: the world of nature, which is nothing but the Self-existent Absolute Being. In the Vedânta philosophy the doctrine of the Absolute is styled monism (advaita-vada). It underwent further developments at the hands of the Sage Râmâyana (12th cent. A.D.), Madhvâchârya (13th cent. A.D.), Vallabhâchârya (A.D. 1479), and others.

But the philosopher who most firmly grasped the doctrine of the Absolute was Buddha-Sîkṣa-Sînha, the eminent founder of Buddhism, who flourished about B.C. 500. In the Sutta and Abhidhamma pîtakas of the Pali Scriptures, supposed to have been delivered by Buddha himself, the doctrine of the Absolute is designated as the philosophy of the Void (sunnata-sûtra) or the Middle Path (Madyâparâmitâ). This means that the Absolute is neither real nor unreal, nor both or neither.† In the Sanskrit works of the Mahâyâna Buddhists, such as in the Madhyamsa-Sûtra (of Nâgârjuna, about A.D. 200), Lâkâvatâra-Sûtra (about A.D. 400), Lâkâvatâra (about A.D. 100), Prajñâpâramitâ (about A.D. 200), etc., the doctrine of the Absolute has been further developed, and has often been styled the ‘phenomenal doctrine’ (maîrtamavada) or the ‘perfection of wisdom’ (prajñâpâramitâ).‡ These are the eight principal relative conceptions which are the fundamental faults of ignorant minds, from which most of our prejudices and wrong judgments spring. It is the task of the law of coming and going actually operated in the world, that there are in reality persistence and

* See Râma-dharma-Pravastu, p. 1.
† Thilaut, Introd. to Vedanta Sûtra, i, p. xxx (SBE).
‡ Cf. in Dâmasmita-prajñâpâramitâ, SBE, 227, 217.

sophers are mainly divided into three classes: (1) Realists (âstikas), (2) Nihilists (nâstikas), and (3) Absolutists (advayavâdins). Some sections of the Chârvâkas, who maintain that the world is not permanent, not real, and not existent,—that is, who emphasize the negative aspect of the world,—are designated Nihilists or Negativists. The propounders of the six orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy, viz. the Sânkhyâ, Yoga, Nyâya, Vaisêsha, Mimêma, and Vedânta, who maintain that the world is somehow permanent, real, and existent,—that is, who emphasize the positive aspect of the world,—are designated the Realists.

According to them, there is at least one reality on which all the fabric of the world stands. Thus the Nyâya and Vaisêsha hold that the material atoms, sky, space, and time, are the permanent entities in the external world, while the souls are the eternal realities in the internal world. The Sânkhyâ and Yoga maintain that nature (prakriti) is the permanent reality in the external world, while the souls (purusas) are the eternal realities in the internal world. The Vedânta school affirms that Brahma, the All-pervading Being, is the eternal reality in the external as well as in the internal world. So we find that the various branches of one Realistic philosophy, in which there are differences in other respects, agree in maintaining that there is at least one permanent reality on which the whole world hinges.

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

The world, according to the Buddhists, is an aggregate of conditions or relations. Things come into existence in virtue of these relations or conditions. There are infinite kinds of relation, such as the relation of substance and quality, part and whole, cause and effect, etc. Taking the relation of substance and quality, we find that the substance exists only in relation to its qualities, and the latter exist in and of themselves in the composite whole. Take, for instance, a table. It has a certain weight, colour, taste, smell, size. The table exists only as the repository of these qualities, and the latter exist only as inherent in the former. We cannot become a composite as a result of such a relation. The composition, therefore, is dependent upon other factors.

But in the case of the fire, the fire exists in relation to the fuel, and the fuel exists in relation to the fire. Proceeding in this way, we find that the whole world is resolvable into infinite kinds of relation or notion. Hence all these relations or conditions themselves are dependent upon one another. The very notions of ‘existence’ and ‘non-existence’ are interdependent, for the one is possible only in relation to the other.

Origination and cessation, persistence and discontinuance, unity and plurality, coming and going—these are the eight principal relative conceptions which are the fundamental faults of ignorant minds, from which most of our prejudices and wrong judgments spring. It is the task of the law of coming and going actually operated in the world, that there are in reality persistence and
discontinuance of things, that things do really and essentially pass into states of origination and cessation, and that things are really capable of being counted as one or many; but they are wholly unconscious of the fact that all those ideas are limited, relative, conditional, and therefore not the truth, but merely the production of our imperfect subjective state. They deny those ideas as the principle of misery, and as the people cling to, their life is a perpetual prey to the changing feelings of excitation and mortification.

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

Where conditionality is, there is no truth; truth and conditionality are incompatible. Therefore, to attain to truth, conditionality must be completely cast aside. The eight conditional notions mentioned above must be brought to nothing, and we should try to see the world as freed from all conditions. When our subjective mind is purified from the taint of conditionality, our ignorance will vanish away and the serene moonlight of 'Suchness,' that is, the transcendentally pure mind, otherwise known as the 'Absolute,' will illumine us.

Here questions may be raised as to whether there is actually anything called 'Suchness,' 'Transcendental Reality,' or the 'Absolute.' In answer to these questions, the Buddhists have said that 'is' and 'not'—that is, 'Being' and 'Non-being' or existence and non-existence—are concrete terms. The Transcendental Reality or the Absolute, which lies beyond all conditions, cannot be expressed in terms of 'is' and 'not.' The Absolute lies beyond both 'Being' and 'Non-being.' It is, in fact, the unification or harmonization of the two. As the Absolute cannot be cognized in terms of our notions of the sense, understanding, or reason, we must be satisfied with describing it in terms of a perfect language as 'Unnameable' and 'Unknowable' (avajñāya and avijnaptika).

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

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

A Middle Path reveals itself when the two extremes are completely out of sight; in other words, the harmonization or unification of them leads to the perfect solution of existence. Neither the philosophy of Being nor the philosophy of Non-being should be adhered to. They stand on each other, and anything being conditional means imperfection, so the transcending of one-sidedness constitutes the second aspect of the Middle Path.

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

The final aspect of the Middle Path is that it does not lie beyond the plurality of existence, but is in it underlying all. The antithesis of Being and Non-being is transcended, and a conception of the Middle Path, which is the unifying principle of the world. Remove this principle and the world will fall to pieces, and the particulars will cease to be. The Middle Path doctrine does not deny the existence of the world as it appears to us; it condemns, on the contrary, the doctrine which clings to the conception of Absolute Nothing. What the doctrine most emphatically maintains is that the world must be conceived in its totality—in its oneness, that is, from the standpoint of the Middle Path.

Nirvāṇa, according to the Vedāntists, is the absorption of the self into the Absolute. The Absolute, we have found, is something which is free from all contradictions, and which cannot be of 'is' or 'is not.' The moment one reaches the Absolute, conditionality vanishes. This state is called Nirvāṇa. It is the harmonization of all contradictions. In this state, unity is harmonized with plurality, origination and cessation are assimilated and the same way, persistence is unified with discontinuity, and one and the same law operates in the acts of coming and going. It is, in fact, an unconditional condition in which Being and Non-being are unified. All conditionality having disappeared, our veil of ignorance is drawn. The fabric of the world, including that of the self, breaks up, leaving us to be identified with the Infinite, the Eternal, the Unconditioned, the Formless, the Void. This is the state of Nirvāṇa, or ultimate good. The mind altogether fails to comprehend this state, and no language can give accurate expression to it.


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

S. Chandra Vidyabhushana
ABSOLUTION (religious and ethical value of).

1. The idea of Absolution, as it appears in the Christian Church, is closely connected with two other ideas—the idea of sin, and the idea of the Church as a society. It is maintained, and may be taken as the basis of the statements and associations connected with Absolution, that their origin is in a state of mind to which ceremonial uncleanness seemed the thing most to be dreaded; but this fact, if it be a fact, does not affect the Christian view of Absolution.

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

3. It is obvious that, so far, we have considered only the relations of the individual to God. We have imagined the soul standing, as it were, alone in the world before the eyes of God, and receiving from Him the declaration of absolution. We have abstracted altogether this one relation from all others, and treated it as an isolated entity; and it is plain that this abstract isolation is not the normal condition of any human soul. Every soul has an environment, which it affects, and by which it is affected; and no question of guilt or innocence, forgiveness or condemnation, is limited to the individual by himself. This truth, which goes far back into the history of man's ideas about himself, is emphatically presented in the Bible. Thus Paul uses expressly the sense of personal guilt, also represents the sinner as born in a sinful environment: and again, Isaiah (69) is conscious not only that he is a man of unclean lips, but that he dwells among a people of unclean lips; not only that he acts in rebellion, but it produces a sinful atmosphere, a condition of alienation from God. In like manner, the absolution or declaration of freedom from sin cannot concern the individual alone: it must have an eye also to the society in which he lives and to his relations towards it.

4. We are not here concerned with the nature or process of forgiveness, or even with the conditions of it as regards God. The idea of Absolution brings forward only the place of sin and forgiveness in the Christian Society. It is the Christian Society to illustrate this from the NT. We may notice, at once, the following points:—(1) It can scarcely be questioned that the Christian Society set out with an ethical purpose. Admission to it was by repentance, and by assenting to the rule which figured forth the remission of sins; and those who had become members of it were expected to lead a new life, abstaining from the sins which beset them in their former conversation. It is but the corollary of the origin of the sin and of the motive, i.e., the principle upon which the society was founded, no less than an outrage upon the Divine Law. All sin is lawlessness, the breach of some commandment enacted by God; and sin within the Church is more than this: it is a wilful disloyalty to the gifts which come through union with Christ, and, if carried on persistently, may place a man outside the reach of the sacrifice for sin (He 6:4-6 10M. 27, 28). (2) It is not less plain that the existence of post-baptismal sin forced a problem upon the attention of the Church, and its solution its representatives. There is no weak link in the chain of thought, not slow to idea. In dealing with it, they doubtless rested for their authority upon words of Christ, such as we find in Mt 18:21-35 or Jn 20:23. The Epistles of St. Paul give instances of directions on disciplinary matters (1 Th 5:12, Ro 16:17, Col 3:12-13 and the like). So Paul clearly contemplates the action of the Society in repressing evil, and even excluding evil-doers. But, of course, the clearest and most fully described case is that of the incestuous man at Corinth (1 Co 5). Here we find that the Corinthian Church had at first shown laxity in leaving the sin unrebuked. St. Paul, in the most solemn way, announces his decision in the matter (1 Co 5:4); the Corinthians clearly give effect to it in some way not recorded; and St. Paul (2 Co 2:5-11) exults them to comfort and instruction in so reforming the offender on his submission. The language used by St. Paul is not free from ambiguity. Though absent, he claims to act as if present at Corinth in association with the Church as a whole. And his judgments as to deliver 'such and such' on other occasions (e.g., the corpse of the Lord's (1 Co 5) is not clear what exactly is meant by this delivery to Satan, either here or in 1 Ti 1; but in both cases it seems to have been intended for discipline—for reformation with a view to restoration, not a final severance from the Society. Though, therefore, we cannot give any detailed description of the disciplinary measures of St. Paul, it is perfectly clear that he claimed to act in the interest of the Society, and to act according to the co-operation of the Church, and that he regarded his judgments as valid: they are not merely strong expressions of reprobation, but judgments which will have consequences.

5. It has been necessary to approach the subject of Absolution indirectly as a special case of the exercise of discipline, because there is no direct discussion of it in Scripture, and the actual word never occurs. We do find, however, cases in which the Society exercises discipline, though not as those above alluded to, and these, when they take the form of a declaration of freedom from sin, correspond with the idea of Absolution. With these in view, it becomes necessary now to ask, what indications can they give that the acts of the Society are, in themselves, or in the work of the Spirit, effective, and have validity in the spiritual world. So much as this appears to follow from such words as Mt 18:18-20 and Jn 20:23: what is bound on earth is bound in heaven; whosoever sins the Society remits or retains, they are remitted or retained. It is true that the overt instances in the NT are cases as above; but in certain special social relations, not a loose aggregate of people individually in union with Christ, and casually connected in an outward society in the world. Such a division of the society, and the relations of members in it, is not Scriptural: the Church is a spiritual society of which the acts take place in the spiritual world: they have effect upon occasion in the world of sense, because they are already spiritually valid, not vice versa.
ABSTRACTION—ABSTRACTION

(2) The view of sin which makes the whole conception of Absolution possible is ethical and not legal. That is, the Church considers as requiring Absolution not merely overt acts which carry legal consequences in the State, but inward conditions, of which there is nothing more to be said than that they imply a tendency to rebellion against God. The State, like the Church, condemns thieves and murderers, because they are detrimental to its interests: the Church condemns also those who walk disorderly, who are proud, or impure in heart. If it were merely a casual aggregate of persons on its outward and social side, it could have no more concern with these things than the State; it claims that inward sins of the heart must be put away before the man can enjoy its privileges, because it is a spiritual society acting in the spiritual world.

(3) The exercise of discipline upon such conditions as these depends upon the voluntary acquiescence of the members of the Society. The Church is, no doubt, as liberty to say that it will not grant membership except upon condition of submission and accommodation, and would put that to the principle. But it must trust ultimately to the voluntary submission of its members to the rule. The mode in which the rule is administered may vary widely from time to time: it is carried out in the Church of the period of confessional and absolution, by a private particular confession to, and absolution by, an accredited minister, or by open individual confession and absolution in the public service of the Church. But the Church cannot, so long as it remains a spiritual society, claim or relinquish responsibility for the spiritual condition of its members.

It lies outside the scope of this article to consider the various casuistical questions which have arisen in the course of history over the will only admit that: (1) it is in no way conflicts with the view here adopted that absolution may be, and has been, fraudulently administered. The whole problem of the visible Church is, and has always been, to make the outward order correspond with the spiritual reality it expresses; and it has always been impeded by sin. The individual who seeks absolution without penitence, or the priest who fraudulently declares him absolved, commit a great sin. To Sapphira or Simon Magus consecrate a great sin. But the fact that mere penance or fraudulent absolution has occurred in the Church no more disturbs its general character and principles, than did the fraud of Ananias and Sapphira or the base motive of Simon Magus. The action of St. Paul in the cases of Ananias (Acts 5:1-11) or Simon Magus (Acts 8:19-24) both occasions show the place of such disorders in the outward history of the Church.

(2) It is impossible to deny that the greatest evils have come from the very power of the Church, essentially the result of a particular mode of administering it; and the existence of these has brought the whole subject into disrepute. At the same time, it is difficult to deny the existence of St. Paul’s St. Paul shows that the Church has no power to absolve or decide whether a person is innocent or guilty, and the particular form of discipline which regards the especially those chapters in which he lets us see into the internal conditions of the early Societies of Christians, without feeling how largely the Church depended for its advance upon a strong discipline, fearlessly exercised over its members. The case at St. Paul’s, which we have already referred to, was, we may hope, exceptional. Yet a very serious situation would clearly have arisen if it had not been for St. Paul’s action. The sin was one which public opinion among the pagans condemned (1 Co 6), but the machinery of the Church, as it was, provided apparatus for dealing drastically with it. St. Paul’s strong denunciation was required to cure the Corinthians of the necessary severity. It is easy to see from this, and the impression is continually confirmed by early Church history, that a weak discipline implies a feeble consciousness of the Church’s moral standard, and allows the existence within its pale of a variety of lower and more or less latent ideals besides its own. It would be difficult to deny that the almost total absence of discipline may be the main reason why modern Christian communities bear a strong resemblance to primitive society.

LITERATURE.—See under Confession and Penance.

THOMAS B. STRONG.

ABSTRACTION.—(a) In philosophical speculation: a method of interpreting reality which starts from the point of view of, and constructs a system by direct reference to, the complete unity of the whole. This self-contained unity is in metaphysics the Absolute (v. i.). (b) In aesthetics: a view of the nature of Beautiful as a constitutive character of the object as such, and in itself, independently of the judgments or emotions of the subject. This is ‘esthetic absolutism.’ (c) In politics, a form of political government from, or by means of, a single supreme source of authority concentrated in the will of a specific individual, and executing its demands from itself or itself, with or without the consent of the majority or the community. It is in the main identical with Despotism (see Government). J. B. BAILEY.

ABSTINENCE.—See ASCETICISM.

ABSTRACTION (abs-trâk-sher, ’to draw off or separate’) is the separation or detachment of one part or element in a total experience from the whole to which it belongs. To abstract is thus to isolate any portion of the content of experience from its setting, and to consider it for the time being as it is in itself, ‘loose and separate’ from the structural and functional relations which belong to it in the concrete conscious life. Psychologically, Abstraction is the necessary condition that mind must attend to one object of experience implies the withdrawal of attention from other objects.

Professor James (Princ. of Psychology, p. 140) says: ‘Attention is the taking possession by the mind of one out of what seem several simultaneously possible objects or trains of thought. Focalization, concentration, of consciousness is of its essence. It implies withdrawal of attention in order to deal effectively with others.’ Similarily, Sir William Hamilton (Log. Lect. vii.) writes: ‘The result of Attention is the concentrating the mind upon certain ideas, in this case to withdraw or abstract it from all else. In technical language, we are said to “present” the ideas exclusively. To present, to attend, and to abstract are merely different but correlative names for the same process; and the first two are more nearly convertible. When we are said to “present” the idea exclusively, we are supposed to attend to that quality exclusively; and when we abstract, we are properly said to abstract from that, is, to withdraw or abstract ideas from the idea. We shall hereafter notice, a term is properly applied to the qualities which we abstract from; and by abstracting from some are enabled to consider others more attentively. Attention and Abstraction are only the same process viewed in different relations. They are, as it were, the positive and the negative of the same.’

In spite of Hamilton’s protest against using the term ‘abstraction’ as applying to the elements to which we attend,—a protest previously made by Kant (Logik, § 8),—the usage has persisted. As we shall presently notice, abstraction often plays a part in the formation of concepts or general ideas, as it is usually said that by abstraction the identical or similar elements or attributes in a number of different objects are singled out and combined into a general concept. Thus by abstracting from the objects denoted by man, horse, bird, fish, etc., the common property or identity of structure, we form the concept of ‘vertebrate.’ Without now raising the question whether concepts are formed solely by abstraction, we may notice that the essential element in abstraction is the exclusion of the particular characteristics which are unlike, but the focusing of consciousness on what is similar in the different cases. This Kant himself admits, and in applying the term ‘abstraction’ to the process of separating the common elements, the usage of logic agrees with that of grammar and of ordinary life.

It is essential in considering the nature of abstraction, to distinguish carefully the psychological from the logical discussion of the subject. We may describe abstraction psychologically as a process of isolation, closely correlated with active attention, and go on to exhibit its various forms and characteristics in terms of the structural mechanism of the conscious elements. From the logical point of view, however, abstraction has to be considered as playing a part in knowledge. Here we have to deal, not with its psychological form or
structure, but with its function or purpose in the development of the intellectual life. This distinction of standpoint does much to clear away the difficulties and confusions which attended the older discussions of the subject. For example, it puts in a new light the point as issue between Locke and Berkeley regarding the evidences of abstract general ideas. It is possible to grant Berkeley's contention that abstract ideas must exist psychologically as particulars in individual form, and at the same time to maintain that as functions of the knowledge-process, i.e., as logical ideas, they necessarily transcend their individual mode of existence and are real universals.

The question then arises as to the relation of the knowledge-process to the ideas viewed as psychical content. Can the psychological states of consciousness be regarded as the original form from which the logical idea is derived by abstraction? This has been very commonly maintained. Mr. F. H. Bradley tells us that a logical meaning "consists of a part of the content (original or acquired) cut off, fixed by the mind, and considered apart from the existence of the sign." The whole trend of modern logic (including Mr. Bradley's own work) shows conclusively, however, that it is impossible to go from psychological states to a mental abstraction to logical ideas. The view of the cognitive side of consciousness, as at first made up of particular images or ideas, is now acknowledged to be a fiction. And similarly we must reject the quaternity of ideas, or the formation of general ideas which is based on this fiction, according to which we are said first to abstract the common element from the particular images and then proceed further to generalize it, thus in some mysterious way transforming it into a logical idea. But we cannot derive knowledge from an anthetic process, and therefore must postulate that consciousness is from its first beginnings a process of interpretation and generalization. It starts from a content that is a vague presentation continuum, lacking both differentiation and integration, and, as such, not yet either particular or universal. It is the work of intelligence to transform this into a coherent system of parts. Not that it must contain in the mind the whole knowledge-process, and as contributory to it, that abstraction finds its function and justification.

It is not the end or essence of thinking, but a process or method which thought uses in the accomplishment of its ends. The activity of reason is closely related to that of Analysis, though the specific method of abstraction has its own difference. 'The reflective idea which guides it,' says Bosanquet, 'is the equivalent in general knowledge of the mathematical axiom that if equals be taken from equals the remainders are equal.' But, as within any real whole the withdrawal of one part never leaves the other parts unaffected, the guiding idea of abstraction is only provisional. 'It amounts to this, that what in the whole known changes may appear to leave remainders known as unchanged' (Logic, ii. 22 f.).

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

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J. E. CLIGGHTON.

ABU (Mount).—A famous mountain and place of Hindu and Jain pilgrimage, rising like an island out of the great plain of Rājputāna, in the native State of Sirohi. The name is derived from its Skr. title Arbuda, a serpent: 'a long round mass;' and it is perhaps from gpraduteshvara, 'a place of reception,' probably with reference to its form. Its summit, Guru Ṣikhara, 'Peak of the Teacher,' rises to a height of 5,633 feet above the level of the sea.

It is hardly to be wondered at, writes Ferguson (History of India and Eastern Architecture, p. 234), that Mount Abu was early fixed upon by the Hindus and Jains as one of their sacred spots. Rising like an island from the sea, presenting on every side inaccessible scarps 5000 ft. or 6000 ft. high, and the summit can be approached only by ravines cut into its sides. When the summit is reached, it opens out into one of the loveliest valleys of India. A 6 or 7 miles long plain, covered everywhere by granite rocks of the most fantastic shapes, and the spaces between covered with trees and luxuriant vegetation. The little Nākki Talsū (properly Nakki Talao, as it was supposed to be have been excavated by the nails (Skr. nakha) of the gods) is one of the loveliest gems of its class in India, and it is near to it, at Dilwara, that the Jains selected a place for their Dīrgh (Skr. śrītā) or sacred place of rendezvous. It cannot, however, be said that it has been a favourite place of worship in modern times. Its distance and inaccessibility are probably the causes of this, and it consequently cannot rival Pātīlāna or Gimbār in the extent of its holiness.

To the styles Mount Abu 'the Olympus of India,' because in olden times it was reputed to be the favourite residence of the gods, and was believed to be the scene of two famous events in Hindu mythology. Here the scholar-kings or nāsīḷa, a worshipper of Siva, was the leader, practised austerities, living on milk and the fruits of the earth. There was then no mountain, but only a cleft in the plain, into which the cow that supplanted the want of the sage fell, and miraculously floated out by a rise of water from beneath. To prevent the recurrence of such an accident, the sage prayed to Siva, then enthroned on the Kalīṣā peak of the Himalaya. He called on the sons of Himāchāl, the defied mountain range, to relieve the saint. They agreed to come, but on the condition it would be necessary to exile himself, and, mounted on the serpent Takshaka, he journeyed to the holy land. At the behest of the sage he leaped into the cleft, embraced, as he fell, by the serpent god. Within the mountains the violence of the god was appeased again to Siva, who from the depths of Pātīlāna, the nether-world, raised his toe until it appeared at the top of the mountain, which was thus formed by the god. Hence, under the title of Nīkāla Iśvara, 'the head of the mountain' (ṇīkāla) the deity became the patron deity of the hill. But in accordance with the eclectic spirit of Hinduism, this does not prevent the place from becoming a site sacred both to Vaiśeṣikas and Jains. The second legend tells of the creation of the Aṅguṣṭha, or 'fire-born' seats of the Rājputas. The Dīpatīs, or demons, it is
said, disturbed the performance of the rites of Siva on the hill. Vivasvān, another sage, appealed to the gods, who proceeded to the spot, and out of the Agnikūnda, or fire-pit, in which the fire-sacrifice was performed, created the four Agnikula, or ‘fire-born’ septs—Chauhān, Parāhāra, Solanki, and Pramāra, who destroyed the Dalityas, and restored the cult of Siva. Both these legends seem to indicate some early conflict of rival cults, the nature of which is unknown.

The chief Hindu religious sites are, first, the crowning peak of Guru Sīkāra, where in a cavern and between the footsteps of the arch-raider Dātuvėśa, presided over by some dissolute-looking Gaṇapati priests, and those of Rāmānanda, the great apostle of the Vaishnava cultus. At the temple of Achalā Īśvara, which is now, according to Cousens, in a state of desolate decay and neglect, is shown the toenail of Siva in a cleft of the rock. His female counterpart is worshipped as Aḍhārā Devī and Arbuda Mātā, the Mother-goddess of the hill. The sage Vaśiṣṭha is honoured at a shrine called Vaśiṣṭhyā, or Gaumukha, ‘Cow-mouth,’ where a footprint of a spout shone out amid the ivy. To the W. of this is the shrine of the saint Gogamjī, or Gautama Rishi, containing two images, one of Viṣṇu and the other of a female beside a male bearded figure. The temples at Devāṅgaṇ, ‘Courtyard of the coffin,’ are not best preserved, if the steps have ever been visited, by an European, the approach being over rugged, dangerous rocks. The largest is dedicated to Viṣṇu, and close to it is Narasihna, the fourth Avatāra, or incarnation of the god, said to have changed his shape on the hill.

Of the Jain temples at Devalaśa and Devaḷaṇḍa, ‘place of temples,’ two are described by Ferguson as ‘unrivalled for certain qualities by any temples in India.’ The first was built by Vimala, a merchant Jain prince, about A.D. 1032, two years after the death of that arch-raider Fidhud of Ghazni, who desecrated the older temples. It is dedicated to Rishabhadeva, the first Jaina arhat, or saint. The original image was destroyed by the Musalmāns, and that now in the temple is the second or perhaps the third in succession. The second temple was built by the brothers Tejaśpāla and Vastupāla between A.D. 1197 and 1247. It is in honour of the 23rd arhat, Pārśvanātha, the only one in the series readily identifiable by the many-headed serpent hood which adorns his head. Both these temples are built of white marble, though the quarry of this material is known to exist within 300 miles of the spot, and the stone could have been conveyed up the rugged slopes of the hill only by incredible exertions and at enormous cost. Both these remarkable buildings have been fully described by Ferguson, whose account is supplemented and in part corrected by that of Cousens.

Ābu was once the haunt of a colony of those lòngthesome scoundrels, the Aghoris, but they have long since disappeared.

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ABUSE, ABUSIVE LANGUAGE (Gr. λα- 

sopie; Lat. contumeliam officere, conciviciari; Ger. schimpfen, lästern; Fr. mauvaise).—Abuse in general denotes an evil use of a thing caused by excess or injustice; in law it denotes ‘to injure, diminish in value or wear away by using improperly.’ Examples of such abuse are signified in the phrases ‘abuse of authority,’ ‘abuse of confidence,’ ‘abuse of privilege,’ ‘abuse of legal process,’ in all of which the use is assumed as determined by corrective justice, and its opposite, the abuse, is a departure, either in the way of defect or excess, from the mean laid down by corrective justice. In this article we are concerned, however, only of injuries which are inflicted on others by the means of language, under the sway of passion or any other motive opposed to the principle of justice, or of love, or of both. It ranges from blasphemy at the one end to the ‘jesting which is not convenient’ at the other, and varies according to the spirit which produces it or the means adopted for its manifestation. It is usefully classed by Aquinas under the heads of contumely (contumacia), detraction (detraction), backbiting (sceletrum), ridicule (derision), injustice, injury, trickery, insult, slander, injury, mischief, insult).

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

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

3. Backbiting, whispering, or innuendo is another form of abusive language which has for its object the separating of friends. The detractor abuses language by saying what is evil about his neighbour simpliciter; the whisperer injures him secundum quid, viz. by saying of a man what will alienate his friend. ‘Sin against our neighbour is so much the greater as the greater loss is inflicted, and the loss is the greater as the good taken away is greater. But the loss of a friend is a great loss, and therefore the whisperer is a greater sinner.’

4. Ridicule, when apart from se, is a further abuse of language. The three forms of abuse mentioned above tend to deprive a man of some external good, such as honour, reputation, or friends. Derision, however, goes to deprive a man of his inward peace, the testimony of a good conscience. It is to be classed with contumely, de-
traction, and whispering as abusive language, but it differs from them in its end. It holds a man up to scorn and ridicule. It is this special form of abusive language which is condemned by Jesus Christ in the sayings (Mt 5\textsuperscript{th}) in which He forbids contempt for a man’s intellectual qualities (expressed by *racau*), or for his moral qualities (expressed by *morah*).

5. Cursing is abusive language whereby evil is pronounced against a man in the imperative or the optative mood. Words which inflict deserved punishment (as in the case of Gehazi, 2 K 5\textsuperscript{th}), or which express contempt for the person or race of Adam and his son (Gn 3\textsuperscript{rd}), or express abhorrence of evil in itself (as David and the mountains of Gilboa, 2 S 1\textsuperscript{st}), or are used symbolically (‘Dominus maledictus faculnem in significationem Iudaeæ’), do not come under this definition, and are not, therefore, of the nature of abusive language. To curse is to pronounce against anyone, in the name of religion, or under the impulse of some violent movement of the soul, words of reprostation or of contempt that one’s name is either explicitly used, or lies implicit in the current forms, especially those in use among the more uncultured classes. To this it seems necessary to add that in these classes sexual processes or aberrations are laid down for the purpose of supplying the vocabulary of abuse, a fact which serves the purpose of demonstrating incidentally the close connexion between sensual indulgence and contempt or hatred or scorn of our fellows. The peevishness which in such an expression in abusive language directed against others is at bottom a deep-seated discontent with self.

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

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


**W. P. COBB.**

**ABYSS (Abyss).**—The Greek word, of which our ‘abyss’ is a transliteration, occurs in the classics as an adjective signifying ‘bottomless,’ ‘boundless.’ It is composed of the intensive 

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view of As. *tiāmu, tām'tu.* In any case, *Tāthom,* like *Tiāmat,* was a proper noun, ‘Deep,’ not ‘the deep.’ Frequent as are its appearances in the OT, it is almost invariably without the article. Turning now to that Babylonian conception, of which *Tāthom* in the Heb. is a derivative, it is a greatly modified one. We find that *Tiāmat* was the dark and primeval chaos, the primevil undifferentiated matter, out of which gods and men, heaven and earth sprang. *Berosus* (c. 275 B.C.) conveys the idea (ῥά όον στιγματα και ὄςς), *Theog.* and *Wis. 117* in his *Isis*. Such a chaos is postulated in the myths of Egyptians, Phoenicians, Indians, and Greeks. *Heiod., e.g., Theog. 115,* asserts: *έπ' θθν ην οφρονα χολος κατ' οκρ. θη.* The well-known Bah. legend opens thus: *'When on high the heavens were unnamed, Beneath, the earth bore not a name. The primeval ocean (aپυιν ρκτι) was their producer; Mummu Tāmto was she who begat the whole of them. Their waters in one united themselves, and The plains were not outlined, marshes were not to be seen. *' (Pinches, Old Test. etc., p. 109).

There is a substantially correct reproduction of this legend in the Syrian writer Damesius (6th. cent. A.D.), who states that the Babylonians believed in two principles of the universe, Tauthé and Apasion, the latter being Tauthé’s husband. Apasion, here, is evidently the same as *Apas (Δοσος)* = the waters under, around, and below all things, especially the sweet waters in contrast to *Tiāmat,* the salt, whilst Tauthé (*Berosus, Θαυματ*) is *Tiāmat.* The latter also sometimes bears the name *Baku* (*Αβά,* ‘emptiness,’ of Gn 1, LXX *αἐκατερος,* the Phoenician Beza, mother of the first men. Here we have the origin of the Heb. idea of the abyss. Gunkel (*Schöpf. u. Chaos, 15*) has pointed out that such a picture of the primal state of the universe would easily project itself in a land like Babylonia, where the winter rains pour down from heaven and, uniting with the streams and rivers, turn all things into chaos: only when spring returns do land and water take their separate places. This idea reached the Hebrews through the medium of Phoenicians and Canaanites, and was reinforced by a similar Egyptian idea of a boundless primeval water (*Nun*), which filled the universe and contained the germ of all existence. We may refer here, with *Trevias* (1398): ‘*The primordial and furentative body in the begynnynge of the worlde wol not dystanguyd by certayn fourme is calleth Abyssus.*’ In it were the potencies of the life that would hereafter appear. The process, according to the Barb. theory, was one of evaporation; according to the Egyptians, it was determined wholly by the creative fiat of God.

The memory of the original abyss was kept up by the ‘seas’ and ‘abysses’ which were common in the temples of Babylonia. *Urinâ of Lagas* (c. 4000 B.C.) set up a greater and a smaller *apāt* (Gunkel, pp. 28, 153). *Argum* (c. 17th. cent. B.C.) placed a *tamtu,* or sea, in Marduk’s shrine. ‘This was, no doubt, a large basin or “laver,” similar to the brazen sea of Solomon’s temple which stood upon twelve oxen’ (King, *Bab. Rel. 1890* p. 109).

*The recalcitrancy of matter and the struggle of darkness against light are portrayed in the myth of *Tāthom,* as a dragon-like monster, fighting with Marduk, but slain by him. Out of one half of her body he constructed a vault (the earth), the two ends of which rest on the ocean (*apēl*). A similar picture of the position of the earth is present to the Heb. poet’s mind when he declares that

*A. Jeremias declares (Das ATR im Lichte des Alt Orienta.)* that borrowing on either side, or direct dependence, is not to be thought of.

1 Didron (*Christian Iconog. i. 127*) copies a miniature from a 10th. MS.—a small, conical mound, divided into stages by spiral bands. The lowest zone contains birds, the next vegetation, finally a human head issues from the summit. By the side is written ‘Abasus.’
Jahweh has 'founded it upon seas and established it upon floods' (Ps 24:2). The disc of the earth rests on the all-surrounding ocean, and the 'waters under the earth' are called ἰθῶν or ἰθῶν ῥαββά, 'abyss,' 'great abyss' (Gen 7:11, Dt 8:33, Am 7:1, Pr 30:8, 9), whose fountains are broken up at the Flood, from which well up the sources that fertilize the land (Ecc 8:12). It is in this sense that Clem. Rom. (I. xx.) speaks of the inscrutable depths of the abysses (ἀδύσων τε ἀνεκχύλαστα). Trevisa also says: 'Abyssus is dephes of water vesse[n], and therof come and spring thereto.'

Τιθήμ or 'Abyss' is a frequent designation of the oceans and seas, without any reference to their being 'under the earth.' And although there is no trace of the refractoriness of matter in the narrative of Gn 1, this comes out strongly in many references to the sea (Is 50:11, Jer 5:20, Ps 77:14, 164, 166, 168; Ps 80:9, Job 7:20, 35, Sir 43:1, Pr 5:25, 6:14, 21:21).

The question has been raised whether the πονηρία of Ps 50:11 should not be corrected to πονηρία (cf. Ps 39:8). The abyss is a Rabbis make it may be, cf. LXX has 'abysses' (ἀδύσων), word, which, either in the sing. or the plur., became one of the names for Hades. In the verse in question it points to the profound depths of the invisible world, from which the soul has to be brought back again. The Rabbis, too, represent Sammael and his angels as emerging thence (Eisenmenger, Entdeckt. Jud. ii. 336 f.). The abyss of Rev 11:17 is put in the same light: a beast which occasions calamities to the saints arises out of it. The dragon, 'that old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan,' is shut up therein, and its mouth is sealed for a thousand years (20). The language in which this set forth should be compared with Prayer of Manasses 3:

ο θεος της θαλασσας της θηρας της
πρωτογονιων αι των
ελεειας της θαλασσας και σφοδρομενοις
αυτην τη φωτη και εκθετας θαλασσας·

In the Ritual Romanum, part of the formula of Exorcism runs: 'Cede Ergo Deo qui te, et saeculitiam tuam in pharaonis miseriorem sapientia, super Moyseen servum sumin abyssum demiserit.' with this: Jubilees 484.

The Gnostics, as might have been expected, made an altogether different use of the idea of the abyss. Their special name for it was the Abyssus (Abyssus). By this they meant the Divine first principle, the fountain of all existence, the infinite, unfathomable, inscrutable abyss of Deity:

A vast, unfathomable sea, Where all our thoughts are drowned.

Αγώνοι γαρ τινα ειναι εν άρατι και δακτυλοματοις
υψομενοι τελειοι άλων προστατον' τουτοι δι και [προφανης και]
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1: 1): 'For they say that in the invisible and nameless heights there is a certain place called Ἄεων. And they call him [first principle and] proponent and Bythus.' Hippolytus (vi. 37) bears the same testimony: speaking of Valentinus, he says: οι προφανης των πλανων βεβαλει την Πλανων, οντος γαρ και βωτικα και [προφανης των] Πλανων αιωνος ('He whom Plato spoke of as King of all, this man postulated as father and Bythus and first principle [?] of all the aeons'). The Valentinites held that by a process of self-limitation the Bythus evolved a series, now disappeared, being remanded to their own place, because their power of doing mischief is thus terminated (Lk 8:33); it is Hades, where the spirits of the departed dwell, where Christ spent the interval between death and resurrection (Rev 10), 'Ipsa anima futur in abysso' (Ambrose). The impression conveyed by St. Paul's language is of the vastness of that realm, as of one that we should vainly attempt to explore. The abyss communicates with our earth by a pit or shaft (φυραμ), Rev 9:11, with which the διαστος of En 21 should be compared. According to the Tractate Sukkah of the Talmud, the mouth of this pit is under the temple, and can be called forth by magical formula: 'Qua hora David fodiashat fundamenta templi, exundavit abyssus mundum submeraurus. Dixit David: Estane hic, qui sciat, an locat testes inscribere nomen ineffabili, et proieciemus illum in abyssum, ut quiescat.' (Budz., Sitzungsber. der baruyn Johannis, p. 251). When the φυραμ of Rev 9 is opened, there issue from it poisonous, stinging locusts, which cause exquisite anguish to men. Over them is a king, 'the angel of the abyss,' whose Greek name, Ἰδωρογις, represents pretty accurately his Heb. Abel Adon. This is a different point of view from that of En 20, where Uriel is designated the holy angel who presides over both the angelic host and Tartarus. At Pr 15:27 etc., Abaddon is parallel to Sheol, and the source of the abyss. The abyss, then, in the present passage, as in Lk 8, is the abode of the ministers of torment, from which they go forth to do hurt. In the Bab. documents, demons and spirits of disease proceed from it: 'They, the productions of the internal regions, on high they bring trouble, and below they bring confusion.'

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many varying opinions concerning the Bythus itself. According to some thinkers, he was outside the pleroma: others held him to be within it, but separated from the rest by Horus (Opo), a personified boundary (Lightfoot, Coloss. p. 332). Thrice actually deposed him from his place at the head of the seven heavens and made him follow the first ogdoad. Some thought of him as unwedded, and neither male nor female; whilst others again gave him Sýgē as his consort, or the two powers Thought and Will (Hippol. loc. cit.). The relation of Gnostic speculation on the Bythus to later philosophical thought is perhaps sufficiently indicated in one sentence of Irenæus, ap. Epiph. xxxii. 7: ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν δύο γέρων λέγων, μητέρα δὲ μητέρα Φθειὰν, μητὲ δόμον του ἔκα. (For some may say that he is unwedded and is neither male nor female, nor, in fact, anything at all). He was exalted above all contradictions—the Absolute, identical with Nothing, the Being of whom even existence might not be predicated. No wonder that the Mystics took up both the thought and the term: 'I saw and knew the being of all things, the Byes and the Abyss, and the eternal generation of the Holy Trinity, the descent and original of the world and of all creatures through the Divine words, (James Behmen, German, of the words of the olympians, jurisprudence of experience p. 411.)

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned above, see Jensen, Kosmogonye der Bodenfolger: Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, 1893; Smythe, Tiber and Tigris, 1897, and in Guardian, Feb. 6, 1907; Driver on Genesis, 1901; Neander, Hist. of the Christian Church, vol. ii. for the Gnostics; and Liddell, English Dic 'Abhíma, 'Abysme, 'Abyss' in English literature.

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

(a) The African aborigines are now found only in the western and north-western part of Abyssinia; they are called by the other Abyssinians Shangâldâ or Shangâlê. Originally the name of a certain tribe, this has come to be a generic term for all non-Semitic or non-Hamitic people of probably negro origin. The largest aggregation of these Abyssinian negroes is found to the north of the river Bâríâ, whose languages also are entirely different from those of the Cushites and the Semites. They inhabit the country around the Takkâzê and the Gash Rivers, mostly in the present Italian Colonies Eritrea and Somaliland. Sometimes by the derogatory term 'mouse-eaters'; bârîâ in Amharic means also 'slave,' because these aborigines are taken as slaves all over Abyssinia. This part of the population is, to a large extent, pagan; others, like the Bârîâ, have become Muhammadans; some of them, especially the slaves among the Christians, have adopted the Christian faith.

(b) The Hamitic or Cushitic tribes form the stock of the population of Abyssinia. They immigrated into that country at some remote period of which we have no record. There is scarcely a part of Abyssinia where the Semites, who imposed their language almost everywhere, did not intermingle with them. In the south the Semitic blood was almost absorbed by the Hamitic; in the north the Hamitic tribes seem to have been kept a little more separate. The main tribes of the Cushites or Abyssinian Hamites are the Somali and the Gallas in Southern Abyssinia; the Afar (called by the Abyssinian Christians, or Bârîâ, have become Cushites or Cushitic language) in the east; the Aago (with several subdivisions) all over the centre; the Sáoos in the north-east, the Bogos (also called Bilin after the name of their language, of Aago origin), finally, the Bedawin in the north, who extend into the Egyptian Sudan. The Gallas, or Oromos, are very numerous, and are divided into many tribes, some of which extend as far as the equatorial lakes. Their language is a Hamitic one, and the Abyssinians make a distinction between them and the Shangalâs. Since, however, many Gallas whom the writer has seen (in Northern Abyssinia) have pronounced negroid features, it may be that a part of this nation is of negro origin and has adopted a Hamitic language. Similar cases occur very frequently, as, for instance, with the Celts in Bavaria, who speak German, and the negroes in the United States of America, who have adopted the English language. The Gallas are partly pagan, partly Muhammadan. Some of them became Christians, but the wholesale baptism of Galo people by King Theodore I. (1855–1888) met with little success. The Somalis and the 'Afar are practically Muhammadan; the Sáoos and the Bedawin are Muhammadan; the Bogos partly Christian, partly Muhammadan.

(c) The Semitic population of Abyssinia is strongest in the north, i.e. in the region of the ancient kingdom of Aksum. There is no doubt that these Semites came to Abyssinia from Arabia. The bulk of them may have come within the last cent. B.C., but the Semitic immigration was, however, a gradual infiltration, and even in our days an Arab tribe, the Rashâhid, has crossed to the other side of the Red Sea and is beginning to be nationalized in Africa; they still speak Arabic, but they sometimes use the Tigré language as well. The Semites have been, beyond doubt, the civilizers of, or at least the bearers of some civilization to, Abyssinia. They founded an empire, they built temples, palaces, and entire cities, as well as dams and reservoirs; they originated and carried on the only literature that Abyssinia ever had. When they came they were, of course, pagan, but after some centuries they became Christian; and, whatever their Christianity is, or may have been, it has always tended to a higher state of morals and religion than that which native Africa, south of Egypt; and the other countries along the north shore, has ever been capable of producing. The Semitic language which was first written in the Ethiopic or Ge'ez. A few pagan and Christian inscriptions and almost the entire Christian literature are committed to writing in this language, which must have died out before the 10th cent. A.D. The Semitic tribes are divided into two main groups: the Christians. The Tigré tribes are now mostly Muhammadans, but about half of the Mânsa tribe have retained Christianity.

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

Still another religion exists in Abyssinian,—the country of many races, languages, and religions,—viz. Judaism. There are a number of Jewish communities in the region between Asmara and Gondar. They are called Falashas, and they speak an Aqag dialect; their books are in Géez. Their origin is altogether unknown to us. According to Abyssinian tradition, the Queen of Sheba, who visited Jerusalem and was instructed in the Jewish religion by Solomon and then introduced it into her own country. This is, of course, legendary, for the oldest inscriptions prove—if we need any proof—that the official religion of the Aksumite kingdom, before it became Christian, was pagan. But this curious legend seems to reflect some historical events of which no other records have come down to our time. For a number of OT practices and ideas are integral parts of Abyssinian Christianity, and are significantly given in the languages, mostly denoting religious ideas and objects, are of Jewish-Aramaean, not of Christian-Aramaen, origin.

1. pagan abyssinia.—1. pagan religion of the hamites. The religious customs of the pagan religion of the Kunamas, as we know it, may be characterized as animistic or ancestor-worship. For the spirits or the souls of their forefathers play the most important role in their religious life. Above all, there is the unknown Great Spirit, with whom man comes little into contact. This idea is one mysterious, almighty, supernatural being seems to pervade almost all pagan religions. The Great Spirit is far away, the other spirits are near, and are in a way mediators between mankind and the Great Spirit. He is that which gives rain, the most important and vital thing for the agricultural Kunamas, and he is probably the god of heaven, just as Wáq is among the Gallas (see below). To him only the chief of the tribe may sacrifice. At the beginning of the ploughing season the chief has a revelation bidding him immolate a red goat and a white sheep, and in return promising abundance of rain. The animals are killed, the blood is sprinkled on the ground, and the chief says: "the blood of the chief bids that we have offered; now give us rain." After that, the chief and priest eat the meat in communion with the spirits, whereupon mankind and spirit world are reconciled and friendly.

It is only upon important occasions that the priest or chief enters into action: the religious affairs of everyday life are in the hands of sorcerers and witches, i.e., men and women who are believed to have communication with the spirits, or even to be possessed by them. Sorcerers and witches are in contact with, or in the service of, the chief and the spirits. The latter form no separate caste; certain persons are believed to be possessed in order to have the evil eye. Against their power the people take refuge, or protect themselves by using a branch of sacred wood; not the sorcerers' caste sometimes make use of their power,—and then the same remedies are used against them; but generally their work is that of prophesying, healing, and doing other miracles; in general, mediating between the people and the spirits.

The sorcerers wear women's clothes, decorate themselves with necklaces, bracelets, anklets, rings, beads, and pearls of many colours. They receive revelations from the spirits about diseases, ordinary perils, and the like, and they remedy them—or not—in return for high payment. The witches do their duty only at a certain period, viz., harvest time. Then the people wish to 'greet' their ancestors and to give them meat. These demoniac women all of a sudden are possessed by the spirits, fall to the ground in a state of ecstasy, and begin to speak and sing in foreign tongues. After that, they put on the people 'greet' their ancestors and pour meat for them. When all have done so, a special sacrifice is offered to free the women from their possessors, and every one returns to his usual life.

Remedies against the influence of malevolent spirits are incantations and the twigs of the ghost-tree. The spirits and the tree have the same name, and in this identity of name lies the power of the latter. For instance, at the time of childbirth twigs of this tree are placed crosswise over the door of the house to protect the child. The first sight after someone has died, all the spirits visit the house of the dead and drink meat: the living sit outside, with the magic twigs around the neck or the arms. Again, the next day, when a libation is offered at the grave, they protect themselves in the same way. Aramaic words in Géez, which become the basis of their practices, are used to protect the cattle or the crops. The spirits of the ancestors rule and regulate the entire life of these people. They have established the laws of social and political life; in other words, these laws are the basis of their custom. The king, the priests, and the spirits watch over the laws and punish transgressions,—above all, the omission of taking blood vengeance.

2. pagan religion of the hamites. The pagan religion of the Hamite tribes of Abyssinia does not seem to differ essentially from that of the aborigines. According to our sources, however, it appears that the Gallas, who nowadays are practically the only pagan Hamites in Abyssinia, have outgrown the stage of crude animism, and have developed a sort of polytheism with one highest god, and that with them, partly at least, true religiosity has taken the place of torpid fear and awe. That highest god is called Wáq (or Waqay), and many say he is their only god. This being seems to be 'deity' or 'soul' in general, in a way to be compared, therefore, with the Semitic 'kab. The noun wáq originally means 'heaven,' and thus the god Wáq is also named Gurada—a word which, as an adjective, denotes 'dark-blue,' and as a substantive, the black god which they have offered; now give us rain.' After that, the chief and priest eat the meat in communion with the spirits, whereupon mankind and spirit world are reconciled and friendly.

It is only upon important occasions that the priest or chief enters into action: the religious affairs of everyday life are in the hands of sorcerers and witches, i.e., men and women who are believed to have communication with the spirits, or even to be possessed by them. Sorcerers and witches are in contact with, or in the service of, the chief and the spirits. The latter form no separate caste; certain persons are believed to be possessed in order to have the evil eye. Against their power the people take refuge, or protect themselves by using a branch of sacred wood; not the sorcerers' caste sometimes make use of their power,—and then the same remedies are used against them; but generally their work is that of prophesying, healing, and doing other miracles; in general, mediating between the people and the spirits.

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spices and augures at the same time. Of course, they consider themselves much better than the ordinary sorcerers. There seem to be certain sects among them, e.g. the sect of Abba Muda, who lives in a mysterious cave with a serpent to which offerings are made; among the members of this sect make pilgrimages to the famous cave, they shave their heads, let their hair grow, and perform some well-known religious duties. An example of a Galia prayer is the following: 'Thou hast made the corn to grow, and shown it to our eyes; the hungry man believeth it and is consoled. When the corn is ripening, thou sendest caterpillars and locusts into it, locusts and pigeons. Everything cometh from thee, thou allowest it to happen: why doest thou this, thou knowest.'

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

Sacred animals are, among others, the hyena, the snake, the crocodile, and the owl. The hyenas eat the dead, and thus the souls enter their bodies; hence the spirits who are in the hyenas enter living men, and men—especially blacksmiths—who know how to change them. Among the hyenas the wolf is worshipped by almost all primitive peoples. The crocodile is sacred because it lives in the sacred rivers. Again, a certain owl is believed to be the bird of the dead; these owls are the souls of people who died unavenged. Life after death is, according to the belief of the pagan Gallias, a shadow-like existence in a sort of Hades or Sheol, called skerd (taken from the Arabic al-dhira, the 'other,' not world, but adapted to Gallia ideas).

3. ABYSSINIA:—What we know about the religion of the Semitic conquerors of Abyssinia is very little indeed—scarcely anything more than a few names. Our sources are the ancient inscriptions and native tradition. According to the famous Greek inscription copied at Adulis by Kosmas Indikopleustes, the king of Aksum, who had this inscription written (1st cent. A.D.), sacrificed ῥυ ῥυ καὶ ῥυ ῥυ Πορεύσαναι and erected a throne in honour of his god 'Aρης. The next earliest document is that of King Abba Meder, who is mentioned about A.D. 380. This inscription is carved in Greek, Sabean, and Old Ethiopic. The Greek part speaks only of the god 'Aρης, the Sabean of Mahrem, 'Astar and Beber, the Old Ethiopic of Mahrem, 'Astar and Medir. A Greek fragment from Abbā Pantaleon, a Christian shrine near Aksum, built over an ancient Sabean sanctuary, mentions the 'Αρης Διός of Aksum. But in only one case are all these gods found together, viz. in the first inscription of (Tāzānā, written perhaps about A.D. 450. There the throne is dedicated to 'Αρης; and they are rendered to Mahrem, the god 'who begat the king.' From this it appears that the Semites who came from South Arabia to found the Aksumitic empire worshipped the ancient triad of Heaven, Sea, and Evils. For Tigre means 'heaven,' and Atar-Samain (Atar, i.e. 'Astar in Aramaic, of the heavens) as well aslict bēlī šāmā (Ishtar Lady of the Heavens) are known in Semitic mythology. Thus 'Astar is the Semitic god of heaven and the Greek Zeus. Meēr is the Ethiopic word for 'earth,' and here it must necessarily mean the god (or goddess) of the earth. Now, if the Adulitan inscription mentions Poseidon together with Zeus, the conclusion is unavoidable that Beber is the god of the seas, in spite of the fact that the Ethiopic word beḥer means 'land,' and is even used in this sense in our inscriptions. We must connect it with the word beḥer ('sea'), and assume that, being a proper name, it retained its old meaning as the common noun corresponding to it had received a different meaning of its own. Besides this triad, Ares-Mahrem, the tribal or ancestral god of the kings of Aksum, was worshipped. Since they fought so many wars to extend his worship from the Gallas, it is very likely that they entered into their dominions, it was most natural that they should identify Mahrem with Ares, the war-god. From the inscription of (Tāzānā it seems that bulls and sacrifices were sacrificed to this god. From other sources we know that.safe worship was erected to him and the other gods. [Drawings and photographs of the altars will be found in the publications of the German Expedition to Aksum].

In a way Mahrem-Ares may be considered the national tradition. For the Abyssinian tell that before their ancestors adopted King Solomon's religion they worshipped a dragon, and that this dragon was their god. According to Greek mythology, Ares begat, in a cave near Thebes, a dragon, his own image. It is therefore not impossible that a similar association existed between Mahrem-Ares and the dragon; but of this no record has come down to us thus far. (A study of the Abyssinian dragon legends was published in the writer's Bibliotheca Aethiopica, i. pp. 17-33.)

Another hint with regard to the cult of the ancient Aksumites may be taken from the great monuments of Aksum, which, though they have been called 'obelisks,' but they should rather be termed 'stelae,'—stelae, it is true, of huge dimensions, as may be inferred even from the illustrations in the publications of the Sacred City of the Ethiopians, and in the publications of the German Expedition to Aksum. The stela is the chief element of a Semitic tomb, and there is a certain mysterious connexion between the stone and the personality of the dead, for the stela is called neshāk ('soul'). It, then, at Aksum we find a large number of such stelae, and among them huge highly decorated monoliths, varying in height from 16 to 30 metres, and in front of them, or rather around them, large slabs representing, in all likelihood, altars, we may conclude, with a certain degree of probability, that these monuments served for 'ancestor-worship,' that form of religion which, as we have seen, is at the bottom of the pagan religions of Abyssinia.

II. CHRISTIAN ABYSSINIA.—Christianity became the religion of the Aksumitic empire about A.D. 450. The king (Tāzānā was the Constantine of Abyssinia; for in his first inscription he is pagan, in the second he is Christian. In the latter he speaks of only one god, the 'Lord of Heaven,' or the 'Lord of the Land' (repidā beḥer,—in Ethiopic the word for the Christian God), whoenthroned him and gave him victory over his enemies. But in the king's own mind this 'Lord of Heaven' was probably not very different from 'Astar. We have to contend, however, with the virtual disappearance of Christianity in Abyssinia, nor do we know whether the Jewish communities were older, or whether they had anything to do with preparing Abyssinia for the Christian faith. However this may be, the Christian kings soon regarded themselves as the protectors of the new faith, and when
the Christians in South Arabia were persecuted by a king who had adopted Judaism, a king of Aksum fought against the latter, although his main object was probably to aggrandize his empire. South Arabia had been partly Christianized by Syrian missionaries, and it is most likely that Abyssinia, too, received its Christianity from Syria. The two missionary narratives are said to have had Aedesius and Frumentius from Antioch, and the 'nine saints,' who about A.D. 500 strengthened Christianity, probably came from Syria. They may even have influenced the style of church architecture, since both are to be regarded as organized in some of the most ancient churches of Abyssinia. The ancient shrines were now changed into Christian sanctuaries, the high places were dedicated to saints, and the sacred sycamore trees to the Virgin Mary. Within the first centuries of its history in Abyssinia, Christianity probably did not spread beyond the borders of the kingdom of Aksum, and it scarcely reached as far south as the Tana Lake. In the 7th or 8th cent. great political changes must have taken place; but the history of Abyssinia, from that time until 1600, is at the same time a history of its connection with the Ethiopian Church. During this time many wars must have been fought between Christians and pagans, and also between Christians and Muhammadans. The outcome was that political conquest and missionary success did not always go together. The most extraordinary fact is that the centre of the empire was transferred to the southern provinces. Abyssinian historical legend tells of many miracles performed by the saints who converted the pagan Hamites and negroes. Among them Tāskī Hākimānt (Plant of Faith), and Gabra Manfas Qeddīs (Servant of the Holy Ghost), were the most famous and popular. Meanwhile Abyssinia had been cut off from South Arabia, which had become Muhammadan, and had sought and found close contact with the Coptic Church of Egypt. In the Abyssinian empire itself Christianity has been the official religion ever since, and many conquered tribes have been forced to be baptized. But outside of these limits Islam made rapid progress, and at present the Christians are surrounded by Muhammadans on all sides. Many Muhammadans even live among the Christians, although the building of mosques is not allowed. The country has seen many internal quarrels concerning dogmas or ecclesiastical and secular power, and has suffered persecution and mob violence against Roman Catholicism (about 1560-1635). The greatest dangers that the Church experienced were the wars waged by Muḥammad Grāī, the Muhammadan conqueror who overran Abyssinia from 1525 to 1540.

From these perils Abyssinian Christianity was finally saved by the Portuguese. The Christian religion of Abyssinia became more and more degenerate, the more it was shut off from the rest of the civilized world, and the more the Semitic element was absorbed by other races. From 1540 to 1635 a large number of people who were more enlightened and energetic than his fellow-countrymen tried to introduce reforms; but although they did their best, it was not very much. An altogether exceptional case is that of the monk Zā'īr-Yāqūb (1560-1602), who evolved a rationalistic system of religious philosophy (pub. and tr. by the present writer under the title Philosophi Abyssini, Paris and Leipzig, 1904).

In conclusion, it may be stated that at present there are three main divisions in the Ethiopian Church. These are: (a) those who profess the ethiopian form of Christianity; (b) the followers of the ges'at ('union'), who profess that Christ, when He was anointed with the Holy Ghost in the Jordan after His baptism, became a participant of Divinity, even as man; (c) the true Monophysites or followers of the twaḥάḏdā (unity) doctrine.

Possible Jewish traces in Abyssinian Christianity.

—As has been said above, there seems to be some connexion between the Semitic and the Christian religion in Abyssinia. The Aramaic words in Ethiopic denoting religious ideas were apparently taken from the Jewish Aramaic rather than from the Christian Syriac. Besides this, there are traces that may indicate a Jewish influence, unless they be explained away by the purely Christian origin of the Ashénas, and the Sabean. These are chiefly (a) the observance of the Sabbath ('Sanbat') which has even been personified, and is considered a female saint. In a church at Adun, the picture of a woman with a halo, soaring in the sky over a crescent, with an angel on either side, was by some declared to be 'Sanbat,' whereas others asserted that this was the picture of the assumption of Mary; (b) the distinction between clean and unclean animals, in the main following the OT; (c) the idea of ritual uncleanness of persons who have sinned in dirtiness during menstruation; (d) the duty of a man to marry his deceased brother's wife, if this brother dies without a son. Among the Christians a man who has his deceased wife's widow and his heir and that the centre of the empire was transferred to the southern provinces. Abyssinian historical legend tells of many miracles performed by the saints who converted the pagan Hamites and negroes. Among them Tāskī Hākimānt (Plant of Faith), and Gabra Manfas Qeddīs (Servant of the Holy Ghost), were the most famous and popular. Meanwhile Abyssinia had been cut off from South Arabia, which had become Muhammadan, and had sought and found close contact with the Coptic Church of Egypt. In the Abyssinian empire itself Christianity has been the official religion ever since, and many conquered tribes have been forced to be baptized. But outside of these limits Islam made rapid progress, and at present the Christians are surrounded by Muhammadans on all sides. Many Muhammadans even live among the Christians, although the building of mosques is not allowed. The country has seen many internal quarrels concerning dogmas or ecclesiastical and secular power, and has suffered persecution and mob violence against Roman Catholicism (about 1560-1635). The greatest dangers that the Church experienced were the wars waged by Muḥammad Grāī, the Muhammadan conqueror who overran Abyssinia from 1525 to 1540. From these perils Abyssinian Christianity was finally saved by the Portuguese. The Christian religion of Abyssinia became more and more degenerate, the more it was shut off from the rest of the civilized world, and the more the Semitic element was absorbed by other races. From 1540 to 1635 a large number of people who were more enlightened and energetic than his fellow-countrymen tried to introduce reforms; but although they did their best, it was not very much. An altogether exceptional case is that of the monk Zā'īr-Yāqūb (1560-1602), who evolved a rationalistic system of religious philosophy (pub. and tr. by the present writer under the title Philosophi Abyssini, Paris and Leipzig, 1904).

Pagan traces in Abyssinian Christianity and Islam.—The excessive and unbounded cult of the Virgin Mary, which even the Muhammadans share to some extent, must in a way reflect the cult of a deposed pagan goddess. Mary lives on high mountains, at springs, and in the sycamore trees, which in ancient Egypt were sacred to Hathor. Who the pagan prototype of Mary was we cannot determine; she may have been Allat of the Arabs, or 'Earth Mother,' or 'Lady of Heaven,' since 'Astar was a male deity in ancient Abyssinia. Furthermore, there is a large number of saints who have performed, and still perform, many miracles of all sorts; one of them, the famous Gabra Manfas Qeddīs (see above), commonly called Gaber, even opposed successfully the will of God. Again, the Christians and Muhammadans believe in a host of evil spirits in the same way as the pagans do. These spirits live in dark places or near the cemeteries; they gather around tan dogs or haunt spots where no grass grows (like the elves in Northern Germany). Or, finally, they possess animals, like the hyena, the wolf, and the snake, and especially human beings. The devil that usually makes them mad or sick is called Waddegenn (demon's son) among the Tigrites, and Tegerti (probably of African origin) in Tigritia. Then there is the famous Abyssinian Lilith, called Werzelya, the demoness that makes a business of killing little children, etc. These spirits are driven out by burning the root (or a branch) of the ghost-tree. They are 'smoked out,' or they are exorcised by incantations. Magic prayers, written on scrolls or small booklets, and carried in little leather cases around the neck or the arms, are exceedingly common in Abyssinia; they are used against all possible dangers, and are good not only against many different diseases caused by the demons, but also against snakes, leopards, hyenas, drought, hail, locusts, and the like. Even the animal world has to suffer from devils in its midst, for the dobbo or dubbū, described as somewhat smaller than a
dog, drives every other animal away wherever it goes. It deserves to be mentioned also that among the Tigrè tribes, tales about the doings of certain stars—star-myths, so to speak—are to be found which may reflect ancient star-worship. The remnants of moon-worship among the same people are more pronounced.

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

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Other material will be found in the Publications of the German Ethnological Mission (principally in A.B.A.W., 1906), edited by the present writer, and in the Publications of the Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia, by the same.

E. LITTMANN

ACADEMY, ACADEMICS.—The Academy ('Acaemyia, older form 'Ekaemyia, later 'Academia), so called from the local hero Academos or Hekadeus, was one of the three great gymnasia outside the walls of Athens, the others being the Lyceum and the Cynosarges. It was situated less than a mile from the Dipylon Gate, off the road which ran N.W. through the outer Cunicularia, among the olive groves below Colossus Hippicus. As a gymnasium it already existed in the time of the Paistiatrates, but it was Cimon that laid it out as a public park with shady avenues of plane trees (Pint. Cim. 13). Here was the precinct of Athena with the twelve sacred olives (μοῖραι), and the ancestors. (i.e. the ancestors of Heraclides of Herakles and Prometheus, which formed the starting-point of the torch-race at the Lambdaee-dromia (Apollodorus ap. schol. Soph. Ed. Col. 57). This last worship gave rise to several features of the myth.

It was in the Academy that Plato founded the first Athenian philosophical school, the idea being doubtless suggested to him by the Pythagorean societies, such as those of Thales and Phileus (cf. the Phaedo), and possibly by that of his friend Euclides at Magara. The school possessed a shrine of the Muse (Μουσών), at which votive statues (αἰνόθεμα) were dedicated (Diog. Laert. ili. 25, iv. 1, 19), and Antigonus of Carystus (ap. Athen. xii. 547 f., 56a) spoke of a 'sacred priest (σερπιστής) and an 'attendant of the Muse' (Μουσών ἐνικυλος) as officials of the school. He also spoke of the monthly common meals (μουσοτά) as religious acts (ἐνα φαύλωσα το θεόν τιμιωτέρες). From all this it has been inferred by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (Philol. Unterr. iv. 253 ff.) that the legal status of the Academy was that of a religious association (βίας). That, indeed, was the only form which a corporation could take at Athens, and it was of great importance that membership of such association was made open to others than Athenian citizens.

The original property of the society was a house and garden, in which Plato and most of his successors lived. It is not quite certain whether the place of teaching was here or in the actual gymnasium; for the name 'Academy' is given to both. A semicircular marble bench (ζωόδορα, σασσίον) still existed in Cicero's days, which was at least as old as the scholarchate of Polemo (Cic. de Fin. v. 2, 4). It is not certain whether the scholarchs (σχολαρχεῖς) were elected or selected by their predecessors. The official title seems to have been-acadouchos (ακαδουχος), 'successor,' in honor of Athenes by Sulla (88 B.C.), the suburbs became unhealthy, and the school was moved into the town; but the house and garden remained in its possession to the end.

From an early date it was customary to distinguish the Old and the New Academy, though Plato (see below) objected to this (Cic. Acad. i. 13). The Old Academy includes the immediate followers of Plato, the New begins with Arcesilaus, who introduced the sceptical doctrine for which the school was best known from the 3rd to the 1st cent. B.C. Later writers speak of three Academies, beginning the Middle with the Ancients and the New with Carneades. Others added a fourth consisting of Philo and his followers, and a fifth consisting of Antiochus and his (Sext. Phyrrh. i. 220). All these divisions only mark stages in a continuous history.

The 'Old Academy' carried on the discussion of the problems which Plato had raised in his oral teaching. These problems concerned what is possible and what is not, and concerned with the distinction between continuous and discrete quantity. The former Plato calls in the Philebus the 'unlimited' (αψυφος), but we know from Aristotle that in his oral teaching it was called 'the great-and-small' (ρ θύμιο και μικροσ). The problem was to show how discrete or 'ideal' numbers (εἰδικοί αριθμοί) could arise from this, and similarly how 'magnitudes' (μέγεθος) could arise from continuous and infinitely divisible space by the introduction of limit (ρ θύμιο). If once we get to magnitudes, it may be possible to give at least a tentative mathematical construction of the 'elements,' or even of the things of sense.

The true glory of the Old Academy is its impetus which it gave to mathematical science by the study of these problems. Solid geometry, trigonometry, and conic sections all took their rise from this source, and the new conception of continuous quantity led to the solution of many old difficulties. According to Diogenes Laertius, with whom members of the Academy in Plato's time, attacked the problem of the solar system with extraordinary boldness, and prepared the way for the great discovery of the sun's central position by Aristarchus of Samos (c. 260 B.C.). It is from the light of our knowledge of the Old Academy comes from Aristotle, who was not in sympathy with the mathematical movement of his time.

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

Speusippus regarded number as arising from the union of unity (το τῷ ἕν) and plurality (το ἕνα), but he made no attempt to derive magnitudes and other forms of reality (σώσα) from numbers. He explained them instead as parallel series formed on the analogy of number. Magnitudes, for instance, arose from the union of something like unity (the point) with something like plurality, and so on with souls and sensible things (Arist. Met. 1029a, 9 f., 1075b, 37 f., 1085a, 31 f., 1090b, 18 f.). His most characteristic doctrine, however, was his denial of the identity of the Good and the One. The Good was the highest and most divine, and revealed itself (διαφερέθαι) in the process of development. As in the case of plants and animals, it is only in the 'full-grown' (το θελειον) that we see the Good (Arist. Met. 1072b, 30 ff., 1091b, 14 ff.). Speusippus is thus the originator of the 'teleologi-
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(derived from ἡρακλείδας, ‘full-grown’) or evolutionary view of the world, and this explains the facts that he wrote chiefly on biological subjects. We know from the quotations of Athenaeus that in his ten books of ‘Similaris’ (Ὁμοιόμοιοι) he discussed shellfish and mushrooms. It is in accordance, too, with this evolutionary standpoint that he regarded sense-data ( בלבדיה מציאות), and that he defined happiness (סantidad) as the ‘full-grown state’ (.Fill: טלה). It was not pleasure; for pleasure and pain were two evils, opposed to another, and the middle state of ‘imperturbability’ (אכש), which is the happiness aimed at by good men (Clem. Strom. ii. 21).

Xenocrates of Chalcodon (scholarch 333–314 B.C.) spoke of the limit and the unlimited as the ‘unit’ (אומד) and the ‘indeterminate dyad’ (אךريعט אד’) and he reverted to the strictly Platonic view of the ‘ideal numbers’ (אכשומטי אונומס). It is characteristic of him that he was fond of religious language, calling the unity the Father, and the dyad the Mother, of the gods. The House of the Virgin, was also a god, and so were the planets. When we come to the ‘sublunary’ (טאנוטלגי) sphere, however, we find ‘demons’ (באלים)—beings who, like Eros in the Symposium, are intermediate between gods and men. The souls of men were also ‘demons’ (Toπ. 112x, 27), though the scientific definition of a soul was a ‘self-moving number.’ This theory of ‘demons’ had, of course, an enormous influence upon later theology, both Platonic and Christian, and marks Xenocrates as the originator of the ‘emanationist’ view of the world, opposed to the ‘evolutionary’ view of Sporusippus. It is important to notice, however, that he was quite conscious of the allegorical character of this doctrine. He asserted that his account of the creation was only a device intended to make his theory clear for purposes of instruction. Really, the creation of the world was eternal and timeless, a view which, he maintained, had also been that of Plato (Plut. An. Proc. 3).

Liscus, Xenocrates’ successor, was inclined to attach much value to rudimentary forms of knowledge. He distinguished φαινομεν as the wisdom possible to man from φανα or complete knowledge, and he thought that even irrational animals might have the idea of God and immortality. In his own view he was less ascetic than Sporusippus, and attached importance to the possession of the power which ministers to goodness (에너יקס דומהא), that is, to ‘external goods’ (Clem. Strom. ii. 22, v. 13).

The next two scholarchs, Polemo and Crates, seem to have busied themselves almost entirely with popular ethics. The most distinguished member of the Academy in their time was Crantor, who wrote a much admired treatise on mourning (Πελ πלεῶν). He was a disciple of Xenocrates, but died before Crates, and was not scholarch.

2. The ‘New Academy’ (‘Middle Academy’ according to those who reckon from the New from Carnedas) begins with Arcesilas (scholarch 270–
241 B.C.), who made use of the weapons provided by his father to combat the Stoic theory of ‘comprehension’ (אכשמחה) as a criterion of truth intermediate between knowledge (אכשמחה) and belief (אכש). As he appears to have left no writings, we cannot tell how far his scepticism really went, though Cicero certainly states that he denied the possibility of knowledge (441). On the other hand, Sextus Empiricus says that his Pyrrhonism was merely apparent, and that he taught Platonic dogmatism to the inner circle of his disciples, quoting in support of this a verse of his contemporary Ariston of Chios, describing him as a sort of Chumera, ‘Plato in front, Pyrrho behind, and Diodorus in the middle.’ In any case, we must remember that Plato himself had denied the possibility of knowledge as regards the world of sense, and it was quite natural that this side of his teaching should become the most prominent in an age of dogmatic materialism. The next scholarch, Lacydes (241–215 B.C.), continued the tradition of Arcesilas. Of his successors, Telecles, Euander, and Hagesinus, we know nothing.

The most distinguished head of the New Academy was Carnedas of Cyrene (214–129 B.C.), who threw himself whole-heartedly into the attack on Platonism. When Justinian closed it, it had lasted over nine hundred years.
LITERATURE (in addition to the histories of philosophy).—On the topography, see Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, i. 555 ff., 270 f., 590 f.; on the organization, Academicaeorum philosophorum industriam, ed. H. Bücheler (Göttingen, 1859-1878); Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Philol. Unterr., ii. 258 ff. For Biilhers, see Ravaisson, Somnium philosophorum; 255; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Athen., 1892; for New Academy, Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften, Leipzig, 1877 f. Also, J. Burnet.

ACCEPTANCE.—"Acceptance," as a Scriptural and theological term, may be said to denote a state of favour in the sight of God which men may enjoy when they fulfill the conditions upon which such favour depends. The gracious purpose of God which the mission of His Son fully reveals, has in view the establishing of a state of reconciliation in which men may find abiding acceptance for themselves and their service, and share in all the benefits of redemption. But the idea of acceptance, as presented in Scripture, does not depend either upon redemption actually accomplished, or upon any prescribed measure of knowledge or of conduct. It is everything which tends to show that the way to the Divine favour has always been open, and that it may be secured everywhere by a true heart and an obedient spirit, in which there is always the pledge that all available means will be utilized to attain to a life of favour. There can be no barrier to forgiveness and acceptance but in the sin and unbelief of men.

Yet the actual conditions in which this state is reached in Scripture cover a wide field of experience, and it is not easy to distinguish between the actual conditions of the people of God, which are described in various terms which give prominence to different aspects of the conception. A cursory glance at the numerous instances in which the persons or the conduct of men are spoken of as fitting in with the terms which are used, it is seen that the Divine favour has been open to men in all ages and in all conditions of human life. Yet there are special means calculated to secure it which reveal the great truth that acceptance seeks to make known, along with the objective grounds upon which, in the economy of redemption, it is established and guaranteed to men. The full knowledge of these was not possible before Christian times, yet it is clear that God has always and everywhere been gracious and friendly in His regard. Nothing is said in any of the books of the Old Testament as if it were by nature hostile, as heathen gods were often supposed to be, or that His favour can be procured by costly gifts or sacrifices. On the contrary, the gift and sacrifice of His Son are the highest proof that to whom could be revealed the will of God?

(1) There is the wide sphere of religious experience which the worship of God by sacrifice may be said to cover; of which Gn 6:5 may be taken as a type. Of Noah's sacrifice it is said: "The Lord smelled a sweet savour." God is by nature hostile, as heathen gods were often supposed to be, or that His favour can be procured by costly gifts or sacrifices. On the contrary, the gift and sacrifice of His Son are the highest proof that to whom could be revealed the will of God?

The Lord smelled a sweet savour, and said, 'This is an acceptable sacrifice to Me.', which shows the favour with which this sacrifice was regarded, and the effect it had upon the future course of the world.

The word sacrifice also appears in a new form. Similar phraseology is frequently used, both of the purpose which sacrifice had in view, and of the result which it effected in fostering favour for the worshipper. Whether all worship in the earlier ages was expressed by sacrifice or not, it is obvious that sacrifice constituted the central and essential feature of it, and genuine piety would naturally seek satisfaction in the faithful observance of all prescribed forms. This tendency exposed the worshipper to the danger of externalism, of treating sacrifice as a mere act of obsequiousness. The reformation consciousness in its OT form was based on the thought that sacrifice was the appropriate form for acknowledging God and mediating His favour. In the different kinds of offerings and in a ritual appropriate to each, the Law provided for a wide variety of religious need; and in the faithful observance of what the Law had prescribed, the true Israelite could assure himself of acceptance in the presence of Jahweh.

(2) To what extent the character of the worshipper was an essential element in acts of sacrifice? At early times, it is not easy to determine. It is not likely that the religious acts even of primitive men would stand out of all relation to their habitual life. With the advance of culture, however, increased importance would come to be attached to the spirit of worship as contrasted with the form. And once it became clear that the two might be not only different but even opposed, as was manifest in the time of the Prophets, then the call would begin to be made for mercy and not sacrifice, for righteousness in life and conduct rather than the multitudes of sacrifices. Yet the maxim that obedience is better than sacrifice (1 S 15: 23) is only new in the time of Isaiah. It was an element in the regulation of worship from the first, and its importance increased with a deepening sense of the inner character of religion; especially when it began to be felt that the outward forms of worship were subject to change. The movement to restrict worship by sacrifice to one central sanctuaries of God, if accepted, is a sure sign of the decay of the old belief, and shows that sacrifice was unsuitable as a general and universal medium of worship. That the Prophets were against all sacrifices, wherever they might be offered, is clear, although the revelation, and the old corruptions of the high places, which had invaded the Temple in their day, gave point to their loud rebukes and increased the longing for a new and better time. It cannot be said, however, that the Prophets were antagonistic to the idea of sacrifice itself. In any case, the worth of the latter as a religious act was always dependent upon the moral state of the worshipper, and this circumstance explains their insistence upon moral conditions, upon 'clean hands and a pure heart,' as necessary to acceptance with God.

(3) The broad principle of acceptance in its widest universality may be inferred from the spiritual nature of God, as in Christ's words to the woman of Samaria (Jn 4: 24). In that, God is by nature hostile, as heathen gods were often supposed to be, or that His favour can be procured by costly gifts or sacrifices. On the contrary, the gift and sacrifice of His Son are the highest proof that to whom it could be revealed that He had passed to the Father. It is well expressed by St. Peter in the case of Cornelius (Ac 10: 9-16): "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.'

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


A. F. SIMPSON.

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

In Christian theology, the term 'acceptation' is commonly used in a loose sense to denote the principle of that theory of the Atonement, in which the merit of Christ's work is regarded as depending simply on the Divine acceptance, and not on its own intrinsic worth. This theory was taught by Duns Scotus, who says that every created offering is worth what God accepts it at, and no more, and further, that Christ's human merit was in itself strictly limited, but God in His good pleasure accepted it as sufficient for our salvation (Com. in Sum. vol. iii. p. 191). But the term occurring in saying, 'He holds to what is termed the theory of `acceptation,'" The Saviour's work becomes an equivalent (for the debt of sin) simply because God graciously wills to accept it as such," (Hist. of the Ch., Ch. iv, 1894, p. 187.) has not the same meaning as the doctrine of the doctrine of Duns as one of acceptation. He says: 'It is incredible, but it is a fact that the expression `acceptatio' is used almost universally as equivalent to `acceptatio,' as though it presupposed a verb `acceptare.' For instance, Schneckenburger (Lehrbegriffe der kl. prot. Kirchenparteien, p. 18) speaks of the acceptation of the merit of Christ in Duns Scotus' (Recht fertigung und Ver-schöning, i. p. 328, note). The theory of Duns Scotus is certainly not very suitably spoken of as one of acceptation. In the solution of an obligation by acceptation there is no payment at all; whereas, in the theory of Duns there is a payment, though it is accepted beyond its intrinsic value. The usage of the saying the name `acceptatio' to Duns's theory is probably too confirmed to be done away with. It is to be understood, then, that it is used only loosely. The danger of such usage is, however, shown by the fact that Sheriff, (Hist. of the Ch., Ch. iv., p. 187) has recently stated that Duns Scotus taught the doctrine of acceptation, but actually speaks of him as having transferred the term `acceptatio' to the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction—a statement which is historically quite inaccurate.

The confusion which has gathered round the term does not, however, end here. It has been used even more indefensibly than in the case of Duns Scotus to describe the doctrine of the Atonement taught by Socinus. The only excuse for this is that Socinus states his preference for the view of Duns Scotus just described, in contrast to the orthodox Protestant view according to which the death of Christ was a strict satisfaction for sin (Pars Tertia, cap. vi, in Bibliotheca Frustrum Polonorum, 1656). His positive teaching is, however, quite different. Jesus Christ is our Saviour because He announced to us the way of life eternal, confirmed it (by His miracles and His death), and showed clearly in His own Person, both by the example of His life and by His resurrection from the dead, that He would give us life eternal, if we put faith in Him (Pars Prima, cap. i.; cf. cap. iii.). Grothus, however, accuses Socinus of applying the legal word `acceptation' to the remission of sins, which God grants us, and then waxes eloquent upon the fallacies involved in such usage (Defense Fidei Catholicae de Satisfactionibus Christi, cap. iii. Oxon. 1637). The only explanation of the language of Grothus seems to be that he had misread or misunderstood a passage in Socinus, where he criticises Beza for using the term `acceptation' in explaining St. Paul's doctrine of imputation (De Jesu Christo Servatore, Pars Tertia, cap. ii.). The ancient theologian Crell points out the mistake in his 'Responsio ad Grothium' (ad cap. iii. in Bibliotheca Frustrum Polonorum, 1656); it is he who tells us that it was Beza whom Socinus had in view. Crell, however, did not succeed in preventing the general impression that Socinus took the doctrine of acceptation. We still find Turretin saying (De Satisfactionis Christi Necessitate, Disp. xx, cap. x).: 'We admit no Socinian acceptation'; though his Disputations on the Satisfaction of Christ did not appear till 1666 (enlarged, Edin., 1687; see Turretin's Works, Edin. 1648, vol. i. p. xlii.).

Robert S. Franks.
Our access to this state has been established through the incarnation and death of the Son of God, who bears away the sins of men and gives them power to become sons of God. It is not merely an open way; it is an actual leading of the Saviour and the Spirit which makes them in hand and conducts them into the blessedness and peace of the Divine kingdom.

(2) In Eph 2:4 it is clear that much more is meant than the open way to God. It is an actual and effectual introduction of a personal kind which begins a state of friendship and fellowship by means of the indwelling spirit common to all believers. In the former text the Christian state as a whole is in view, as that to which Christ is introduced: 'hence we are shown into the higher sphere of Divine fellowship, of filial privilege and power which Christ opens up to us, and into which He conducts us. Jew and Gentile have their access to the Father through the Son by one Spirit. All outward differences which separate and divide men fall away in presence of the high unity which is produced by the life of God mediated by Christ and the Spirit of Christ.

(3) In Eph 3:12 access is viewed as a standing condition related to Christ in the Church. The confidence, boldness, and freedom which faith in Christ ever sustains and renews. It secures all the possibilities of a free and joyous fellowship, and provides the power by which the energies and motives of any higher life are sustained and filled. The filial spirit is nourished and enlarged from the fulness of the Divine life and love.

The idea of access to God through Christ differs in many respects from that access which must be one to a spiritual being. This latter is never denied but rather taken for granted in Scripture. Compared with the former, however, it can never come into competition with it, or supply its place. In the light about God which Christianity reveals, it soon becomes clear that none but Christ can lead us to Him. The Father whom the Son reveals can never be known or approached through any save the Son. The incarnation and mission of the Son, accepted and believed, must henceforth determine the character of our access to God. This St. Paul has very clearly perceived, and he has brought the thought to clear formal expression. It appears in various parts of the NT: in the Fourth Gospel as a general principle of Christianity (Jn 14); in Eph 1:17 and 2:16 a closer relation to St. Paul. As a broad principle, we readily see that we cannot have real access to God except amid the conditions which Christianity has established, both as to the character of God and the way of acceptable service and worship. Yet it is important to keep in mind that the NT ascribes our access specifically to the great sacrifice which removes the barrier of sin and establishes peace and friendship between God and man (He 10:19, 20).

A use of the word 'access,' different from, but related to that given above, is found in some liturgical writers, by whom the term is employed to characterize and describe certain prayers in the old Liturgies and in the Roman service of the Mass. It is applied to one of the prayers offered by the officiating priest in approaching the altar at the commencement of the service, and is called Prayer of Access or Prayer of Humble Access.

The prayers in question express generally deep humility in presence of the Divine greatness, and ask for the grace preparatory to the actual presentation. Language of the terms, either in the prayers or in the rubrics which direct the order of the service. It is a word of the editors and commentators, and one has difficulty in discovering the special aptness of the term with reference to instructions which are so described, there being many others of the same character throughout the service.

The explanation probably is that the approach of the priest to the altar at the commencement, and the nearing of the worshippers to the Divine presence in the consecrated and now transformed elements, are the two points in which access to Deity now present in the great Sacrament begins and culminates. In this sense the term is apt enough of the Supper which is already latent in the old Liturgies and is seen fully developed in the Roman Missal. (See Hammond's Liturgies, Eastern and Western, III, p. 132.)


ACCIDENT (accidents, ἀττιπῶθης).—I. One of the five Predicables (accidents predicables).—According to Mill, under accidents are included all attributes of a thing which are neither in the ordinary signification of the name, nor have, so far as we know, any necessary connexion with attributes which are so involved (Logic, vol. i. p. 149). This, allowing for the Nominalist standpoint of Mill, is the same view as that contained in Aldrich's definition, 'that which is predicated as contingently joined to the essence,' as contrasted with proprium which is predicated as necessarily joined. Some such definition or its equivalent is given by most writers on Logic. According to Mansel, (Aldrich, 4th ed. p. 25), found in Albertus Magnus (de Princ. Tract. ii. cap. 1).

The view taken by Aristotle is different. The attribute of a triangle, that its three angles are equal to two right angles, is a transmissible to other triangles; the view would be a proprium, is by him regarded as an accident (Metaphys. iv. 30). The distinction between property and accident in Aristotle turns on the convertibility or non-convertibility of the attribute. It is essential to an accident (that it should be present in certain objects and in them alone. If present in other objects, it is either identical with the genus, or it is not. If not, it is an accident. The test of an accident is that it is common to heterogeneous things. Aristotle at the same time recognizes that that which, simply considered, is an accident may become in a certain relation and at a certain time a property. He gives two definitions of accident: (1) what is not necessarily, nor property nor genus, but is in the thing'; (2) 'that which is able to be in and not to be in one and the same individual' (Top. i. 5). Porphyry gives a third definition: 'that which is present and absent without destruction of the subject' (Topogr. v. r. 2).

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

2. Accident, Fallacy of.—This fallacy is generally considered as arising when we infer that whatever agrees with a thing considered simply in itself agrees with the same thing when qualified
by some accident. Aristotle's view of the fallacy was different. He defines it as arising 'when it happens to belong in a similar way to a subject and to the accident of that subject.' This definition does not mean merely that the attribute is assumed to exist along with both subject and accident, but that the mode of attachment is the same (Soph. Elench. v.). The condition of valid reasoning which Aristotle here lays down, is precisely the same as Herbert Spencer (Psychology, vol. ii. ch. v.) has in view when he speaks of 'connature.' Aristotle regards the nine categories which follow substance as accidents, and the classification itself may be regarded as a classification of 'connaturs.'

3. Accident in relation to substance.—Sir W. Hamilton (Lectures, vol. i. p. 150) says 'accident' is employed in reference to a substance as existing; the terms 'phenomenon,' 'appearance' in reference to it as known. The Scholastics distinguished 'accident' in this sense as accidenta praedicamentale or categorical accident from accidents predicabile or logical accident (Aquinas, Summa Theol. i. q. 77, a. 1-5). The former is the wider term. 'Accident' in the sense defined above, and in the sense as a thing being ens per se. Thomas Aquinas (ib. iii. q. 77, a. 1) says the proper definition is not actual inherence in a subject, but aptitude to inherence. The chief reason of this definition is that in the doctrine of Transubstantiation the accidents of bread and wine remain when the substance is changed. The substance of the body and blood cannot be affected by the accidents, therefore these must be capable of existing apart from their substance, being supported by Divine power. This has led to a distinction of three kinds of accidents: (1) metaphysical, accident which, although we may conceive the substance without it, is nevertheless identified with it. There is a distincto rationis rationes between them. Opposed to this is the physical accident, which, if different from the substance itself as thing or entity, is (2) absolute or real, as quantity, motion. If it signifies merely a state of being, as to sit or stand, it is (3) a modal accident. It is for the absolute accidents that the capacity of being miraculously sustained is recognized. Eucharist is claimed (Zigliara, Summa Philos. i. 441; Pesch, Institutionum Logicae, Pars II. vol. ii. p. 281). Aquinas maintained the real distinction of absolute accidents from the substance of a subject, and matter. He was at one time opposed to mental faculties, see Sir W. Hamilton, Lectures, ii. pp. 5-8. The question is still disputed by Roman Catholic theologians. Leibnitz supported the view of Aquinas (System of Theology, ed. by Russell, pp. 112-114; Opera Philosophica, ed. Erdmann, pp. 869, 868, etc.). He distinguishes mass as an absolute accident from substance (System of Theology, p. 115).

Accidents, according to Locke, are qualities which are capable of producing simple ideas in us (An. exc. xxi.). According to Kant, accidents are the determinations of a substance which are nothing else than its particular modes to exist; or the mode in which the existence of a substance is positively determined (Werke, ed. Rosenkranz, vol. ii. p. 160).

In Hegel, accidents are the determinations which are unconditioned being. Being in so far as it has immediate existence (Philosoph. Propadectik, p. 105).

4. 'Accident' in the sense of that which happens by chance, is defined by Aristotle as that which occurs neither always nor from necessity, nor from the most part (Metaph. x. (xi.) 8). Elsewhere (Metaph. iv. (v.) 90) he gives, as illustration, finding a treasure when digging a hole for a plant.


G. J. STOKES.

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

In the early Greek philosophy the idea of a certain kind of accidentalism in the world of events was a very persistent one. It appears in Plato, and even in Aristotle; and it was not until the Stoics emphasized the scientific view of the universe that the unscientific nature of accidentalism became fully recognized. Aristotle held that single events may be referred to universal laws of cause and effect, but he did not commit himself to this conception wholly without reservation. He ascribes events to a causal order 'for the most part' ('ευρέως τα ραγάδοι), and insists upon the contingent and random character of what happens (Met. 1065a, 4). Plato finds a place for chance in the economy of the universe. 'God governs all things, and chance and opportunity co-operate with Him in the government of human affairs' (Laws, vii. 709). The act of opportunity is not the same as the act of chance; it is an instinctive shrinking from the idea of chance as the antithesis of cause and law. The Fates were, after all, the daughters of Necessity. Of them Plato remarks: 'Lachesis or the giver of lots is the first of them, and Clotho or the spinner is the second of them, and Atropos or the unchangeable one is the third of them; and she is the preserver of the things of which we have spoken, and which have been compared in a figure to things woven by fire, they both (i.e. Atropos and the fire) producing the quality of the web; and when the web is being woven, it is not possible for any to change it' (Laws, xii. 960). This quality of unchangeableness is opposed alike to the caprice or whim of a goddess, and to the chance control of the destinies of man.

Moreover, accidentalism in the field of ethics appears in the theory of indeterminism. Epicurus, for instance, regards the unchangeable and immutable of man as analogous to the accidental deviation of atoms from the direct line of their fall. The uncaused event and the uncaused will both present the same general characteristics and the same difficulties also.

ACCIDENTS (from the theological point of view).—Accidents, to a teleological theology, must be not merely what they are to logic, viz. occurrences which do not fall under a general law of nature. The laws of nature are, from the teleo-
logical point of view, rules expressing the purposes of a conscious Being, and accidents will be occurrences not conforming to such purposes.

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

G. R. T. Ross.

ACCIDENTS (Injurious).—Accidents, in the general sense of the term as popularly employed, may be defined as unforeseen occurrences in human experience. Obviously the accidental character of events may be relative, with a reasoning power of different individuals. In order to mitigate the consequences of injurious accidents, the method of insurance (wh. see) is the most effective. By this means the consequences of an injury or accident can be happily expressed in terms of money, may be entirely deprived of their momentary and future effect by a previous economy, much less in most cases than would be necessary to equalize, as a sum of payments, the damages sustained.

Not only so, but the diffusion of the evil results of contingency over a lengthened period, and their transference to a corporation, prevent them from having that cumulative effect which may lead to further disaster of new and increasing nature.

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

(a) In the first class of such suits—actions for damages at common law—the first plea to be established by the prosecutor is substantially the proposition that the occurrence, which relatively to him was an individual, was due entirely within the scope of the latter's knowledge and foresight. But there are numerous circumstances which might neutralize the effect even of the establishment of such a contention.

(b) Claims for compensation may be brought in cases where the injurious accident occurs in an enterprise concerning which there was a previous contract or agreement between the litigating parties. In numerous classes of such joint enterprise the extent to which the risk of accident is borne by the party is laid down by law. In each species of relation a different rule may obtain. Thus in British law the liability for damage to goods entrusted to their care differs in the cases of warehousemen and of common carriers. The relation involving joint enterprise to which Parliamentary enactment has most recently extended delimitation of the risk of the contracting parties, is that of employer and employed. In consequence of the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897, 1900, and 1908, in a great number of industries, and not merely in those involving an unusual amount of danger to workers, the employer now bears the risk of injury to his workers. Every workman may claim compensation from his employer for injury through accident, unless the accident be caused by his own serious and wilful misconduct.

The result of these enactments is practically to make the employer bear the cost of the insurance of his employees against accident. It is not only to be expected, however, that, though the immediate consequence will be a diminution of the revenue of employers, in due time the expense of this system will fall partly upon the workmen, in the shape of a diminution or absence of increase in wages.


G. R. T. ROSS.

ACCIDIE.—The obsolete 'accidie, from ἁμαρτία, incursā, torpor,(Hippocr.), through med. Lat. accidie (as if from accidere), was once current as the name of a quality related on one side to sloth, which has superseded it in some lists of the principal vices. Chaucer in the 'Parson's Tale', dilating upon the 'Seven Mortal Sins,' 'Superbia, Invidia, Ira, Accidie, Avaritia, Gula, Lazuria,' writes of the fourth: 'Agayns this rote-herte sinne of accidie and Sioute the sholde men exercise herm-self to doon gode werkes, and manly and vertuously cacchen corage well to doon' (Skst, Student's Chaucer, p. 700). In Dante accidie and adj. accidioso (Purg. xvii. 47) are used for the evil uses of ἁμαρτία rest upon the Old Testament. The earliest of them is not noticed by the authorities mentioned below. The correct Latin form is accidie. Bp. Hall is quoted for 'acedy' (1622).

'Hamartia, ἁμαρτία, which may be translated sloth, may be apprehended in two senses: (a) as a general term for all, or (b) as a term for a specific species. (1) In the first class of such suits—actions for damages at common law—the first plea to be established by the prosecutor is substantially the proposition that the occurrence, which relatively to him was an individual, was due entirely within the scope of the latter's knowledge and foresight. But there are numerous circumstances which might neutralize the effect even of the establishment of such a contention.

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(b) Claims for compensation may be brought in cases where the injurious accident occurs in an enterprise concerning which there was a previous contract or agreement between the litigating parties. In numerous classes of such joint enterprise the extent to which the risk of accident is borne by the party is laid down by law. In each species of relation a different rule may obtain. Thus in British law the liability for damage to goods entrusted to their care differs in the cases of warehousemen and of common carriers. The relation involving joint enterprise to which Parliamentary enactment has most recently extended delimitation of the risk of the contracting parties, is that of employer and employed. In consequence of the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1897, 1900, and 1908, in a great number of industries, and not merely in those involving an unusual amount of danger to workers, the employer now bears the risk of injury to his workers. Every workman may claim compensation from his employer for injury through accident, unless the accident be caused by his own serious and wilful misconduct.

The result of these enactments is practically to make the employer bear the cost of the insurance of his employees against accident. It is not only to be expected, however, that, though the immediate consequence will be a diminution of the revenue of employers, in due time the expense of this system will fall partly upon the workmen, in the shape of a diminution or absence of increase in wages.


G. R. T. ROSS.

ACCIDIE.—The obsolete 'accidie, from ἁμαρτία, incursā, torpor,(Hippocr.), through med. Lat. accidie (as if from accidere), was once current as the name of a quality related on one side to sloth, which has superseded it in some lists of the principal vices. Chaucer in the 'Parson's Tale', dilating upon the 'Seven Mortal Sins,' 'Superbia, Invidia, Ira, Accidie, Avaritia, Gula, Lazuria,' writes of the fourth: 'Agayns this rote-herte sinne of accidie and Sioute the sholde men exercise herm-self to doon gode werkes, and manly and vertuously cacchen corage well to doon' (Skst, Student's Chaucer, p. 700). In Dante accidie and adj. accidioso (Purg. xvii. 47) are used for the evil uses of ἁμαρτία rest upon the Old Testament. The earliest of them is not noticed by the authorities mentioned below. The correct Latin form is accidie. Bp. Hall is quoted for 'acedy' (1622).

The phrase 'spirit of accidie' is from (2) above; Antioch, Hom. 28 alludes also to (1), (4), (6), (8), and (9), (10) in the Latin are cited by Alarous Gazan in Cassian.

In Vis. iii. of Horae Pastor it is explained that the Church appeared first as old, 'because your spirit was aged and already falling from your stainings and doubts. For as the aged, having no hope any more to renew their youth, expect nothing but their last sleep; so ye, being weakened by worldly affairs, yielded yourselves up to accedies as defender, but not to the Lord, but your spirit was broken, and ye were worn out with your griefs (LXX).' Thus accedie is associated with sadness (LXX), one of the four plus eight principal vices in Sim, ix. 15; which is more wicked than all the spirits, and destroys the power of prayer (Mand. v. x.). The parable of the Unclean Spirit which takes it seven other spirits more wicked than itself (Mt 12:43), Lk 11:29 serves as a proof-text for the number eight (afterwards seven) of the principal vices. Titus of Sinai calls them the 'Eight Spirits of Wickedness' (Zöckler, op. cit. inf. p. 65).

In Cassian's Colit. v. 'De octo principalibus Vitiis,' which embodies the teaching of Serapion, the eight vices are said to be casar Gastrinarpia, Formicio, Philargyria, Ira, Trautico, Adeicta, Carnes cordis, Cenodoxia, Superbia. They are referred to in Lk 11:17, and they correspond to the like number of nations hostile to Israel. Why eight vices, when Moses enumerates only seven such nations? (Irie. 7.) For according to the first vice (Nu 11), makes up the number the land of Egypt was to be forsaken, and the lands of the seven taken. Acedy, the besetting sin of the monk, was of two kinds: it sent him to sleep in his cell, or drove him out of it. The same vices
accommodation attack all men, but not all in the same manner and order. This remark foreshadows the disagreement of later moralists in their accounts of the vices, which are all more or less subjective.

Cassian, in *Cenob. Inst. x. 'De Spiritu Acieide' (cf. Evagri. ap. Zöckler; Antloch. *Hom. 26,* details the effects of ascetic beginning. 'Sex tum nobis cedat' (Gratian. *Moral. 5. 24).* It is akin to *Tristitia*; is most felt by recluses; and attacks chiefly about the sixth hour, so that it has been called the 'midday demon' (Ps 90:2). Thus, he has lived and fasted, the monk is as if wearied by long travel or toil, or as if he had fasted two or three days. Impatient for the repaint, he leaves his cell again and again to look at the sun, which seems to 'hasten too slowly to its setting.' Through 'not-caring' he is remiss at his tasks, and finds it a weariness even to listen to the voice of the reader. Solitude impels him to gad about visiting the brethren or the sick. Discontented with his surroundings, he vainly imagines that he would do better in some distant monastery. The complex of adaptations may or may not be a local or a global one, and is to evince a difficulty. In SERAPION'S octode it is distinct from *Tristitia* and different from mere *pigritia.* Briefly, it was the state of a monk who had mistaken his vocation; the natural effect of being 'religious with the fasting from food and from the world.'


C. TAYLOR:

ACCOMMODATION (in Biology and Psychology).—The process of organic or psychological adjustment understood in an individual and functional sense. The concept of accommodation has arisen in the group of genetic sciences by a process of growing specialization of problems. The old problem of 'adaptation' (q.v.) was 'accommodation.' The description of the 'organ' involved and the 'ends' they serve—such as the case of the eye—has given place to the functional problem of the reactions and evolving functions through which the organ is to be part of the endowment of the organism. This has given rise to a distinction between 'adaptation' and 'accommodation.' Adaptation is, by the terms of this distinction, restricted to the congenital adjustments for which the organism inherits structures adequate and fit; accommodation is applied to the adjustments which in the organism, in the lifetime of the individual, achieves and perfects. Instinct in the animals is, in many cases, an adaptation; the adjustments of the senses to their appropriate stimulations are likewise adaptations: such processes, on the contrary, as modifications of instinct to meet special conditions, the special modifications learned in the individual, such as handwriting, together with the functional effects of conditions in the environment upon the organism, are accommodations.

The importance of the problem of accommodation is seen in biology in all cases in which the endeavour is made to interpret the influence of individual behaviour and individual modification upon the organism and upon the next and following generations. As early as the work of LAMARCK, this factor was made very prominent in evolution theory, in the Lamarckian hypothesis that the results of accommodation—of 'use and disuse'—were inherited. This was also maintained by DARWIN, as shown in his greater principle of Natural Selection. WESSELMANN and the neo-DARWINIANS reject this direct influence of the accommodation factor; they deny its hereditary transmission, but still admit its importance as a constant and fitted process in succeeding generations of essential learning, whereby the individuals of each generation grow up to be competent and fertile: this position being that known as 'Intra-Selection' (Wesemann). A more recent theory, called by the present writer 'Organic Selection,' discovers the importance of accommodations in directing the line of evolution. It is pointed out that, even though the modifications due to accommodation are not inherited, they still so effectively aid and protect individuals against the action of natural selection, that certain lines of adapted organisms will be served and accumulated rather than others. The trend of evolution is thus in the lines marked out in advance by accommodations, natural selection following up and clinching the results first secured by accommodation.

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

In Psychology the theory of accommodation is of even greater importance. The remarkable range and importance of the learning processes are never more made matter of question. The problem of accommodation becomes therefore in Psychology—as also in Biology—that of the possibility of learning anything new. Thus stated, the fact of accommodation is set over against that of 'habit.' If we call all those functions one conception, the individual is already able to perform, his 'habits,' it then becomes necessary to explain the process by which habit is modified, cancelled, and added to: this is accommodation.

The present solutions of this problem are in line with the requirements of genetic science as science of function. It is no longer considered possible that an individual may simply, by an act of will, do a thing that he has not learned to do; only certain fixed instincts work in that way, and that because they are fixed as habits by the gift of heredity. No muscular combination is possible, even when it involves the voluntary muscles—as, for example, those for moving the ear in man—that has not been learned, and the process of learning is a most current, and hard, and effortful one. The theory is that of current, and hard, and effortful one. The theory of current, and hard, and effortful one. The theory that learning is a process of accommodation becomes therefore in Psychology—as also in Biology—that of the possibility of learning anything new. Thus stated, the fact of accommodation is set over against that of 'habit.' If we call all those functions one conception, the individual is already able to perform, his 'habits,' it then becomes necessary to explain the process by which habit is modified, cancelled, and added to: this is accommodation.

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in higher animals, are being fruitfully interpreted in accordance with this view (see L. Morgan, Animal Behaviour; Jennings, Behaviour of the Lower Organisms).

In the higher reaches of psychic function, the all-embracing term 'thought' is that of 'Selective Thinking,' together with the theory of adjustment to various non-physical environments. There is the social life, to which each individual must be accommodated; there is the environment of truth, to which all our processes of thinking selectively must conform. As this carries the problem of accommodation up into the realms of Social Psychology, Ethics, and Theory of Knowledge.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the text, see the general discussions of evolution, such as Comp., Method of Evolution (1801); Galilei, Evolution; Social and Subtropical (1802); Headley, Problems of Evolution (1903). On Organic Selection see Lloyd Morgan, Habit and Instinct (1890); and Baldwin, Development and Evolution (1903), and Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, where lists of selected works are given under art. 'Accommodation,' 'Adaptation,' 'Evolution,' etc.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

ACCUMULATION.—'Accumulation' (Lat. accumulare 'a heap') signifies (1) a heap, mass, or pile; (2) the process of growing into a heap, e.g. the growth of a debt, or of a deposit at the bank, through the continuous addition of interest to principal; (3) the action of heaping, piling or storing up, amassing, as in the case—important from the standpoint of the present article—of the growth of capital.

The accumulation of capital is the result of saving. This, however, does not necessarily imply abstinence, privation, or sacrifice, in the ordinary sense. Saving on the part of the great capitalist involves no personal abstinence from immediate consumption, no sacrifice of such personal gratifications. His immediate expenditure is limited only by his tastes. Often the pleasure of accumulation is greater than that of careless extravagance, and at times the dominant idea is the increase of wealth for the sake of power. 'Abstinence here means abstinence from senseless waste; it is a negative not a positive merit' (E. R. A. Seligman, Principles of Economics, p. 320). This must be conceded to Karl Marx and his followers. Hence the notion of saving has been suggested as a substitute for 'abstinence.'

In the case of smaller incomes the subordination of present to future utility often involves real sacrifices, forbearance, prudence, forethought. But even in such cases it may be born in mind that increases the productive power of labour so far increases the amount which can be saved. 'To increase capital there is another way besides consuming less, namely, to produce more' (J. S. Mill, Principles of Political Economy, Bk. I. ch. v. § 4). Thus, in general, all that we can say is that saving implies an excess of production over consumption—a favourable state of that balance 'which, according as it happens to be either favourable or unfavourable to the general interests of the community, determines the prosperity or decay of every nation' (Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations, Bk. IV. ch. iii.).

To say that capital is the result of saving does not mean that it is not consumed. Saving is not hoarding. All capital is consumed. It fulfils its primary function—the satisfaction of the needs of mankind—only in being consumed, that is, used; but it is not immediately consumed by the person who saves it. Saving thus simply implies that productive power is directed to the satisfaction of present needs, whereas the saving of it is done through saving 'money,' not, however, as a hoard, but as giving, through the banking system, the power of directing national industry into particular channels. In this way, saving gives an increase in the productive power, and consequently in the consuming power of the society (see Nicholson, Principles of Political Economy, Bk. I. ch. xii. § 4).

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

This consideration helps us to understand, at first sight, amazing rapidity with which countries often recover from the effects of a devastating war. The material capital destroyed or removed would, for the most part, have required reproduction in any case; while the land and its quasi-permanent improvements subsist. So long, therefore, as the country has not been made sterile, the motives of a working life remain, the character and skill of the people being unchanged, there are all the essential conditions of a speedy recovery (ib. Bk. I. ch. v. § 7).

Here the relatively greater importance of what is known as personal or immaterial—i.e. mental and moral—capital, as compared with material capital, is apparent. It is indeed this immaterial capital that constitutes our great inheritance from the past. 'The privileges of the degree in the List, the German protectionism, 'is the result of the accumulation of all discoveries, inventions, improvements, perfections, and exertions of all generations that have lived before us; they form the mental capital of the present human race' (National System of Political Economy, Eng. tr. p. 140). The economic condition of a country depends far more on the mental and moral qualities of its inhabitants than on their accumulation of dead material capital.

It is thus with reason that Adam Smith includes the acquired skill of the people in the fixed capital of the nation. 'The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or ingenuity of that sort; it adds to the capital and abridges labour, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit' (W. of N., Bk. II. ch. i.). The successors of Adam Smith, however, lacked his comprehensive grasp of the realities of industrial life; and much of the popular antipathy to the teaching of the English economists of the early part of the 19th cent.—the followers of Ricardo—may be traced to their use of narrow and faulty abstractions, and in particular to their intemperate diatribes against that which ignored altogether the skill of the worker. The force of attention was thus misdirected. Regard was had to the quantity rather than to the quality of labour, and consequently the influence of efficiency on wages was overlooked. Every proposed reform, e.g. the Factory Acts, was judged by reference to its probable immediate effect on the accumulation of dead material wealth. It was not seen that the capital of a country may be as profitably invested in the physical, mental, and moral acquirements of the national character, as in the nature of dead material wealth in the shape of machinery, factory buildings, and the like.

To take but one other example of immaterial capital, and that a characteristic product of the mental and moral qualities of the people of these
islands, the British money market—that marvelous banking and credit organization through which the capital of the country finds its way into the hands of those who can turn it to the most productive purposes—has been described by Bagehot as 'the greatest combination of economical and economical delicacy that the world has ever seen' (in 'Edward Street', ch. i.).

Some idea of the relative importance of immaterial capital is given by Professor Nicholson, who estimates the 'living capital' of the United Kingdom as worth about five times the value of its dead material (see Social and Economic Problems, pp. 97-118). Enough has been said to show that, for an explanation of the rise and fall of nations, we should look to the growth and decay of their immaterial rather than their material capital.

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

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

The causes embraced under these two heads together determine the amount produced within the nation. But the amount of the national dividend is further affected by (c) the state of foreign trade, which determines the amount of imports obtained in return for exports. (d) The amount taken by Government for public purposes, whether in the form of taxes or burdens like conscription, must also be considered (see Nicholson, Elements of Political Economy, p. 86).

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

2. The will to save is the resultant of a complexity of causes, amongst the most important of which are: (a) Security. To induce saving there must be some reasonable expectation that the owner will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his saving. This involves protection by the Government against force and fraud, which includes the enforcement of freely made contracts; and protection against the Government; against oppression and, above all, arbitrary taxation (see Mill, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. vii. § 6; Nicholson, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. xii. § 3). The importance of security in both these forms finds abundant illustration in the history of all nations and ages. Compare, for example, Egypt or India under British rule with Armenia or Macedonia under the dominion of the Turk, or the present state of Russia under the government of the Czar. The British credit system, already referred to, is the outcome of security and good government, just as the hoarding so prevalent in the East is the natural fruit of the uncertainty so often associated with Oriental forms of taxation and government. Even in India the influence of the pax Britannica has not yet sufficed to eradicate from the native mind the traditional tendency to hoard, engendered by centuries of turbulence and insecurity.

There must also be a sense of security against the violence of the powers of nature. In balancing the advantages of present and future utilities the uncertainty of the future is an important factor. Where a country has an unhealthy climate, and is liable to plagues, or is subject to earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tornadoes, or other physical disasters, the consequent uncertainty of life does, so far, tend to check accumulation by lessening the will to save, apart altogether from the influence of such disasters on the power to save. On the occasion of a regular plague—set out in the maxim of pagan philosophy: 'Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die.'

(b) The effect of the rate of interest on saving is somewhat complex. A high rate, security being unchanged, affords a greater reward for saving, and, thus far, a greater inducement to save. But the higher the rate of interest the lower, ceteris paribus, the rate of wages; and thus a high rate may react on the efficiency of labour and may check enterprise, and thus lessen the power to save. At the same time, those who merely wish to obtain a certain annuity need save less if the rate of interest is high. In general, however, a fall in the rate of interest will tend to check accumulation. But some accumulation would go on even if the rate of interest became negative (see Nicholson, Principles, Bk. i. ch. xii. §§ 3; Marshall, Principles of Economics, Bk. iv. ch. viii. §§ 8, 9). (c) The accumulation of capital is affected also by the existing facilities for investment. The multiplication of exchange in Scotland has undoubtedly contributed to increase both the power and the will to save. The more recent extension of savings banks and the growth of joint stock companies with limited liability have also greatly stimulated saving throughout the community.

(d) The distribution of national wealth amongst the different economic classes has likewise a certain influence on accumulation. When the bulk of the wealth of England was in the hands of the feudal landowners, extravagance prevailed, as explained by Adam Smith (W. of N. Bk. III. ch. iv.), and it is only after the revolution of 1688 that, with the rise of the mercantile class, we find a rapid accumulation of wealth. Similarly in France the contrast is striking between the extravagance of the ancien régime and the frugality of modern times. Amongst the latter the effective desire of accumulation appears to be excessive. The living or immaterial capital is sacrificed to the dead. 'In England,' says Lady Verney, 'thrift appears to be a great virtue. Here one hates the very mention of it . . . The sordid, unclean, hideous existence which is the result of all this saving and self-denial, the repulsive absence of any ideal but that of cacher de petits sous dans de grands bas as an object for life, is incredible if it is not seen and studied' (Panani Properti, p. 151).

(e) The effective desire of accumulation is compounded of many elements, intellectual and moral, including the development of the 'telescopic faculty' (Marshall), the growth of the family affections, the hope of rising in the world, and the
social and other advantages attendant on the possession of wealth. The strength of this desire may be weak from intellectual deficiency. The wants of the present are vividly realized, those of the future are but dimly imagined. There is thus a power of imagination necessary to the proper appreciation of the true importance of future benefits, as in the case, mentioned by Dr. Rae, of the Indians on the banks of the St. Lawrence, who, when a speedy result was to be obtained, would stoil even more assiduously than the white man, but would undertake no work for which the return was at all remote (see Rae, The Sociological Theory of Capital [ed. Mixter, pp. 71-72]; also Mill, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. xi. § 3). As we go further, the scale, this weakness becomes more pronounced. The Australian native, in respect of foresight in providing for the future, is inferior to many of the lower animals (see Letourneau, Property, Eng. tr. p. 30).

Often, however, the effective desire of accumulation is weak, not so much from intellectual as from moral deficiency. Even in the most highly civilized nations, there are too many instances of men of the most vivid imagination—men who in no way defective in the telescopic faculty—who yet, through lack of will-power or fear of family affection or sense of independence, are unable to resist the temptations of the present sufficiently to provide for the clearly foreseen needs of the future. Men of this type are pronounced. The strength of this desire is generally recognized. It is a weak point in other respects, that rash in other respects. That is in all respects. It is also readily seen that, had the money not been thus squandered, the capital which it represents would not have lain idle, but would have found its way, through the medium of our banking organization, into the hands of some manufacturer or shipbuilder, say, to be employed by him in productive industry. The spendthrift, then, does not benefit trade, or give employment to labour; he simply alters the direction of the employment of capital, and he renders the nation poorer by the division of the wealth he thus wastefully consumes. The saving person, on the other hand, creates a fund which, in its consumption, affords an equal employment for labour, and yet is continually renewed (see Mill, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. v. §§ 3, 5). Economy, in short, enriches, while extravagance impoverishes, the individual and the nation.

And in this, as in most other cases, good economy and good morality are connected. The accumulation of wealth implies, in the normal case, forethought, self-restraint, energy, and enterprise on the part of the individual, and it is an essential condition of his economic freedom. For the nation, it is also an essential prerequisite of the highest civilization. It means increased security of Labour. 'As the accumulation of stock must, in the nature of things, be previous to the division of labour, so labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion only as stock is previously more and more accumulated' (Adam Smith, W. of N., Bk. II. Introct.). It thus means increase in man's power over nature, with consequent economy of human effort in the satisfaction of the primary needs, and increased leisure for the culture of Art and Science and the intellectual culture which may grow rich without culture, but the highest civilization is impossible in the absence of a sound economic basis of accumulated capital.

ACHÆMENIANS.—A dynasty which ruled in Persia from B.C. 558 to 330, and whose religion is important for the study of the development of Zoroastrism. The monarchs of the line were as follows: Cyrus the Great (558-530), Cambyses I. (530-522), Darius I. (522-486), Xerxes I. (486-465), Artaxerxes I. (465-424), Xerxes II. (424-404), Artaxerxes II. (404-358), Artaxerxes III. (358-337), and Darius III. (337-330). The scanty data concerning their religion are contained in clay tablets and inscriptions in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek, and above all

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of Dr. Rae, of the Indians on the banks of the St. Lawrence, who, when a speedy result was to be obtained, would stoil even more assiduously than the white man, but would undertake no work for which the return was at all remote (see Rae, The Sociological Theory of Capital [ed. Mixter, pp. 71-72]; also Mill, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. xi. § 3). As we go further, the scale, this weakness becomes more pronounced. The Australian native, in respect of foresight in providing for the future, is inferior to many of the lower animals (see Letourneau, Property, Eng. tr. p. 30).

Often, however, the effective desire of accumulation is weak, not so much from intellectual as from moral deficiency. Even in the most highly civilized nations, there are too many instances of men of the most vivid imagination—men who in no way defective in the telescopic faculty—who yet, through lack of will-power or fear of family affection or sense of independence, are unable to resist the temptations of the present sufficiently to provide for the clearly foreseen needs of the future. Men of this type are pronounced. The strength of this desire is generally recognized. It is a weak point in other respects, that rash in other respects. That is in all respects. It is also readily seen that, had the money not been thus squandered, the capital which it represents would not have lain idle, but would have found its way, through the medium of our banking organization, into the hands of some manufacturer or shipbuilder, say, to be employed by him in productive industry. The spendthrift, then, does not benefit trade, or give employment to labour; he simply alters the direction of the employment of capital, and he renders the nation poorer by the division of the wealth he thus wastefully consumes. The saving person, on the other hand, creates a fund which, in its consumption, affords an equal employment for labour, and yet is continually renewed (see Mill, Principles, Bk. 1. ch. v. §§ 3, 5). Economy, in short, enriches, while extravagance impoverishes, the individual and the nation.

And in this, as in most other cases, good economy and good morality are connected. The accumulation of wealth implies, in the normal case, forethought, self-restraint, energy, and enterprise on the part of the individual, and it is an essential condition of his economic freedom. For the nation, it is also an essential prerequisite of the highest civilization. It means increased security of Labour. 'As the accumulation of stock must, in the nature of things, be previous to the division of labour, so labour can be more and more subdivided in proportion only as stock is previously more and more accumulated' (Adam Smith, W. of N., Bk. II. Introct.). It thus means increase in man's power over nature, with consequent economy of human effort in the satisfaction of the primary needs, and increased leisure for the culture of Art and Science and the intellectual culture which may grow rich without culture, but the highest civilization is impossible in the absence of a sound economic basis of accumulated capital.

ACHÆMENIANS.—A dynasty which ruled in Persia from B.C. 558 to 330, and whose religion is important for the study of the development of Zoroastrism. The monarchs of the line were as follows: Cyrus the Great (558-530), Cambyses I. (530-522), Darius I. (522-486), Xerxes I. (486-424), Xerxes II. (424-404), Artaxerxes I. (465-424), Artaxerxes II. (424-358), Artaxerxes III. (358-337), and Darius III. (337-330). The scanty data concerning their religion are contained in clay tablets and inscriptions in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek, and above all
in their own inscriptions, which were written in Old Persian, with Babylonian and New Elamitic translations. The only kings of this dynasty who come into consideration here are Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius I., Xerxes I., and Artaxerxes II. and III.

1. Cyrus the Great.—The material for a knowledge of the religion of this monarch is restricted to the Cyropedia, by the couplets which it presents in its Old Persian, and the Babylonian inscriptions. The Cyropedia, as is well known, is a historical romance, and its statements, therefore, can be accepted only with caution, unless they can be controlled by the Assyrian sources. Nor must it be borne in mind that Xenophon had exceptional opportunities for observing the Achaemenian religion, through his long association with Cyrus the Younger, so that under his apparent Hellenic viceroy there may lurk some true elements of Achaemenian belief. In this romance Cyrus is repeatedly represented as offering sacrifices, and it is noteworthy that he invokes the assistance of the magi (iv. 5. 14, vi. 5. 67, viii. 1. 23). The deities to whom he rendered sacrifice appear under the names of Berenice (the sacred fire), Erato, Ophrodite, Hestia (i. 6. 1, iii. 3. 22, viii. 7. 3), and in addition to them he worshipped 'the other gods' or 'all the gods' (the latter phrase is interesting as being a striking, though doubtless accidental, parallel of a similar meaning in the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius and the treaty divinities (şpêrest) of Assyria, Syria, Media, and Persia. With this list must be compared the statement of Herodotus (i. 131) and of Strabo (v. 3. 13) that the Persians worshipped the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, the winds, Aphrodite, and above all, the sky, which they called Zeus. It thus becomes evident that the worship ascribed to Cyrus by Xenophon was a nature-worship closely akin to the Iranian cult which finds its revival in the so-called Younger Avesta. The deities honoured by him were doubtless identical with Ahura Mazda, Mithra, Aitarâ (the sacred fire), and Anahita (apparently identified with the earth as a goddess of fertility). The identification of Hestia with Ge and the sacred fire requires its confirmation in the rôle ascribed to fire in the sacrifice recounted in Cyrop. viii. 3. 12, but the equation of Ge with Anahita is more doubtful. This goddess is represented by the Aphirotide of Strabo, and the divinity personified in Iranian mythology was Spenta Armaiti (Gray, A.R.W. vii. 364–370). If, however, the identification here proposed be accepted, it finds a striking parallel in the collocation of Ahura Mazda, Mithra, and Anahita in the Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes II. The tutelary divinities whom Cyrus is represented as worshipping are none other than the fravashis, who were originally the ghosts of the dead, yet who later came to be protecting godlings, and are thus invoked in Yasna, xxiii. iv. 'I invoke to worship those fravashis who aforesaid receives to the house and of the villages, and of the districts, and of the lands, who sustain the water, who sustain the earth, who sustain the kine, who sustain children in the wombs to be conceived that they die not.' In the dying Cyrus concerning the disposal of his body, on the other hand (Cyrop. viii. 7. 25), he departed widely from Zoroastrian usage when he requested that he be buried in earth, a request whose accuracy is confirmed by the elaborate description of his tomb as given by Strabo (iv. 3. 7), which agrees strikingly with the so-called Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargade. It may be noted in this connexion that the Achaemenian kings were entombed in rock, as is evidenced by their tombs at Persepolis and elsewhere; while Herodotus (i. 140) states that the Persians, after exposing the corpse to birds or dogs, coated it with wax and placed it in the ground. It would seem, therefore, that the data of Xenophon concerning the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty are not so valueless as is sometimes supposed. They agree remarkably with the statements of the Younger Avesta, which, despite its comparatively late date, doubtless reflects the religion of the Iranians before the reform associated with the name of Zoroaster.

Turning to the Babylonian inscriptions of Cyrus, we find that the religion of Cyrus is mentioned in the Cylinder Inscription, and the Cylinder Inscription. In both Cyrus declares that Nabuna'id, the last native sovereign of Babylon, had brought the gods of Sunner and Akkad from their own temples to his capital, while he, on the other hand, as the chosen of Marduk, restored them to their homes. The view has been advanced that Marduk and his son Nabu, who are mentioned in close association in both these inscriptions, were regarded by Cyrus merely as other names for Ahura Mazda and his son Aššur (the god of the sacred fire), but it is certain that the cylinder inscription is only a late, scarcely tenable; and a general consideration of the character of the Achaemenian, so far as it can be traced, leads to the interpretation that he acted as a clever politician, and not as a religious leader. Nor can the famous passage in Herodotus (xxvi. 1) cast any real light on the religion of Cyrus. Though the Persian king is addressed as 'the shepherd of Jahweh,' as his 'anointed,' before whom all nations should be subdued, and as the one whom Jahweh had called and in whom he took delight, this implies nothing more than a recognition of the close sympathy existing between Israel and Persia, and the conviction that the conqueror of Babylon would free the Jews from their exile. It is, in other words, the eulogy of the enthusiastic and hopeful prophet in honour of the political victor.

Of these three sources, the Greek, even making all allowances for possible inaccuracies, seems to be the most reliable. The most that can be said, in the light of the data now available, is that the religion of Cyrus approximated closely to that contained in the Younger Avesta. There is no evidence whatever to show that he was a Zoroastrian.

2. Cambyses.—The religious records concerning this monarch are extremely scanty. Herodotus (ii. 16) mentions his impious theurgy at the request of Amasis, 'since the Persians regard fire as a god... , saying that it is not right to give the corpse of a man to a god.' Both in Persia and in the home of the Avesta the delimitation of the fire by contact with dead matter was regarded as a most grievous sin (cf. Vendidad, vi. 73–81). The only other document which throws light on the religion of Cambyses is an Egyptian text on a naophoric statue in the Vatican. According to this inscription, the straw that had intruded within the precincts of the goddess Neit at Sais had various obstructions there. In answer to a petition received by him, Cambyses commanded that the straw be purified and that its worship be restored. He himself then went to Sais, restored all offerings to the goddess and also to Osiris, while he likewise 'worshipped before the holiness of Neit with much devotion, as all the kings had done; he made great offering of all good things to Neit, the great, the divine mother, and to all the gods who dwell in the house of the pious kings had done' (Pretie, History of Egypt, 103, 361, 362). Though Cambyses was, as is universally acknowledged, a madman, his policy with regard to this temple was thoroughly in accord with that pursued by Cyrus before him and Darius after him. His stabbing of the Apis bull, on the
other hand, was the act of a maniac's cruelty, and was not inspired by any devotion to religious tenets of his own.

3. Darius I.—The chief source for a study of the religion of this monarch is furnished by his inscriptions in Old Persian, with their Babylonian and Elamite versions, found on Behistun, Persepolis, Naqš-i-Rustam, Elamard, Susa, Kirman, and Suez. In his inscriptions the king constantly ascribes the source of his authority to the 'grace of Ahura Mazda,' declaring: 'Auramazda brought me the kingdom; Ahuramazda helped me under this kingdom was held by the grace of Auramazda I hold this kingdom' (Bh. i. 24-26).

All evil in the realm is regarded as due to the malignant influence of the 'lie' (druuga), which is to be compared with the drúj of the Avesta. The 'lie' was the cause of rebellion, while the power of Darius was due, in his opinion, largely to the fact that he had not been a 'liar.' The 'lie' is thus closely parallel with the Ahura Mainyu of the Avesta, and it is not impossible that he may have been in part of this hypothesis. Ahura Mazda is frequently described in the texts of the Achemenian kings as a 'great god who created this earth, who created all the creatures,' who created peace in heaven, who created the earth, who was the father of the world. In Darius he is identified as the one king, of the one ruler of many.

This passage is very similar to the Gáthá Avesta Yasna, xxxiv. 1: 'Here praise we Ahura Mazda, who created both kind and holiness, and created both good light, both earth and all good things.' This is but one of a number of parallels between the Old Persian texts and the Avesta which might be cited (cf. Windischmann, Zoroas. Studien, 121-125); yet, on the other hand, an equal mass of coincidences exists between the Achemenian inscriptions and the Assyr.-Bab. records (cf. Gray, AJSL viii. 151-159).

It has been suggested that Ahura Mazda was regarded, in a sense, as a god of health, as well as of good, since Darius xv. (vii. 57-59) says: 'If thou hast this tablet, (and) lest thou not to the people, may Ahuramazda be thy slayer, (and) may thy family be extirpated, (and) may woman be without her husband (uparti̇ṛstam uparti̇rayam, Bh. iv. 64; for the establishment of this text see Jackson, JAOS xxiv. 90-92), the Arštā here mentioned being doubtless identical with the Arštā of the Younger Avesta, 'who furthereth creatures, prospers the creatures, giveth health unto creatures' (Yast, xi. 16). If these two beneficent powers are represented both in Old Persian and in the Avesta, the two sources agree in their view of the demon of drought, for the Dsšyārās and the Mazdās are identified in both inscriptions with the Dāryāyāryās, for whose destruction, according to the Younger Avesta (Yast, viii. 50-56), Tīstrāy, the Dog-Star, was especially created by Ormazd (note also the mention of the 'hordes,' Old Persian haññā, Avesta haññā, in both texts in close association with 'drought').

It is thus evident that the Old Persian inscriptions of Darius represent him as a worshipper of Ahura Mazda and as filled with abhorrence of the 'lie.' One beneficent godling (Arštā and one malicious demon (Mazdās) are exalted in the same names in the Younger Avesta. The stylistic parallels which may undoubtedly be traced between the Achemenian texts and the Avesta, on the other hand, are counterbalanced by the Assyr.-Bab. inscriptions. The successors manifestly drew. His policy towards other faiths than his own was that of Cyrus.

In his reconstruction of the kingdom on his accession, he states that he 'restored the places of worship which Gaumata had disturbed' (Bh. i. 64). He thus appears as an opponent of rigid Magian orthodoxy, for the 'places of worship' (ayadānā) are shown by the Bab. version to have been 'houses of the gods' (sámatha sa sûna). That these were fire temples, like the Magian structures described by Strabo (733) as existing in Cappadocia, seems less probable than that they were temples of the gods of non-Persian peoples.

This view receives confirmation from a Greek and an Egyptian inscription of Darius. In the former text, found in 1886 at Deirmeenjik (ed. Cousin and Deschamps, BCH viii.), the king refers his subject Ormazd to the fire which efface all traces of the royal attitude towards the gods, which, Darius expressly states, had been that of his predecessors, and who had exacted a tax from the priests of 'Apollo. Who 'Apollo' was is doubtful. Cousin and Deschamps, somewhat strangely, identify, Artaxerxes, the king, the one king, of the one ruler of many, in Greek, as stated above, under the name of Histia. He is probably, however, the Greek divinity Apollo, who in times past had given a favourable oracle to Cyrus, perhaps during his Lycean campaign, and who was consequently honoured by the Achemenian dynasty. At all events, the inscription is non-Persian in tone.

Still more polytheist is the stele of Darius at Tell el-Maakshabutah (ed. Golenischeff, BCH iii.), which contains the following words: '(Darius) born of Neit, the lady of the gods, the lady of Sais, image of the god Ra who hath put him in his throne to accomplish what he hath desired (master of all the sphere of the solar disc). When he (Darius) was in the womb of his mother and had not yet appeared upon earth, she (the goddess Neit) recognized him as her son ... she hath (extended) her arm to him with the bow before her to overthrow for ever his enemies, as she had done for her own son, the god Ra. He is strong ... (he hath destroyed) his enemies in all lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius who liveth for ever, the great, the mighty (son) of Hystaspes, the Achemenian, the mighty. He is her son (of the goddess Neit), powerful and wise to enlarge his boundaries.'

Devout and noble though his inscriptions show him to be, Darius seems to have been by no means a strict monotheist. Xerxes prays in the Avesta both by the old Persian texts themselves, which show that he felt merely that Ahura Mazda was, as he himself says, 'the greatest of gods.' A Persian-political inscription thrice contains the words hadā hāsihtā bôgâshtâ, which were formerly rendered with the clan-gods, but which are now regarded as meaning 'with all the gods.' This interpretation is confirmed by the Bab. itti sûna gâbâri, and the New Elamite ammây marpepta-lâka ('with all the gods') in texts of closely similar content and parallel. This is also likely to have been the case in the Avesta only in Yast, x. 141, which states that Mithra 'is the wisest of gods,' but its Pahlavi form occurs at least thrice, an undoubtedly Zoroastrian passage (Dünker, viii. 15. 1) being especially interesting in this connexion. That Darius prays in the 'worship of Ahuramazdā, the highest of divinities.' This phrase is strikingly similar to passages in the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes which describe Ahura Mazda as 'the greatest of gods.' That such a phrase is not wholly Darius' work is manifest from such passages of the Old Persian language as Ps 82:9 85' and 97'. In the New Elamite version, however, occurs the statement, which may be significant, that Ahura Mazda was 'the god of the Aryans. If stress may be laid on this (a fact which is by no means certain),
it may serve as a partial explanation of the policy pursued by the Achaemenians with regard to the gods of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Greeks. This view of Ahura Mazda as a national deity in the eyes of the Persian kings may readily be paralleled from other Oriental nations of antiquity. It may also explain the collocation of Ahura Mazda with the Adarshir, which is due to the accidental coincidence that the grand-father of each was named Darius. Again, according to the Denkart (iv. 23), "Darai, son of Darai, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta and Zend." This Darius, who was the son of Vivasvan, is identified with the Achaemenian Darius III, Codomans, who was the son of Arsanes. Al-Biruni once more carefully distinguishes between the two, and it is not unlikely that he is right in so doing (cf. Noldeke in Geiger-Kuhn's Grundriss der tiefen, Philologie, ii. 141), even though other Oriental sources identify the two. At all events, the equation is too doubtful, with the data now available, to serve as a basis for any hypothesis, either for or against the Zoroastrianism of the Achaemenians.

In this connexion it may be made of the very plausible hypothesis of the Paris scholar Dehmi, who supposes (Canoma Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1900, 57) that this Darius and his immediate predecessors were the last of the one dynasty to the other by the Pahlavi writers 'in their attempt to pave off some of the last kings of the Achaemenian line thus mentioned above, as the last link of the successors of king Gustam.' If this may be accepted (and it is by no means improbable), it would really seem of course that the undoubted Zoroastrianism of the dynasty of Vistaspa should be attributed to the added kings, whatever their own faith may have been. The list of kings whose names the monarchs recorded in the Pahlavi texts and the dynasty of the Achaemenians must, however, be taken into account in any attempt to solve this problem.

In the light of what has been said, it would appear that the Achaemenians were pre-eminently worshippers of Ahura Mazda, though they did not refuse to recognize other Iranian deities, such as the sun, the fire, and the waters, or even hesitate to honour the divinities of other countries, rebuild their temples, and restore their cult. Ahura Mazda was to them a purely national god, surrounded by subordinate deities who were clearly of a nature-divinities. From a careful study of all these documents, it becomes clear that the only conclusion which can safely be reached concerning the religion of the kings of this dynasty is that they were Zoroastrians, not Zoroastrians. These scholars may be quoted: 'The Mazdeans have no religion, they believe in the One God, Ahura Mazda, the One God of the Persians. They believe in the custom of the Persians to offer victims by burying them alive. In view of the fact that this custom is mentioned nowhere else, and of the defilement of the sacred earth which it would cause, the statement of the Greek historian seems too improbable to be accepted as authentic. A passage of much interest, however, is that in which Herodotus says (vii. 40) that Xerxes was accompanied in his march by the 'sacred chariot of Zeus,' which was drawn by eight white horses, whereon he sat on the throne of this chariot,' (cf. Quinzius Curtius, iii. 8-12). This chariot of Zeus,' was, it may be conjectured, none other than the shrine which dwelt Ahura Mazda, the national deity, who thus escorted the king to victory quite as Jahweh did in his ark carried by the Israelites.'

5. Artaxerxes II. and III.—The brief texts of Artaxerxes II. and III. are interesting solely as adding the names of Mithra and Anahita to that of Ahura Mazda. That this was a real innovation seems from Ptolemy's collocation of the religious divinities by the allusions in the classics to Cyrus and Xerxes. It is noteworthy, in this connexion, that Plutarch, who was by no means unacquainted with true Zoroastrianism, confirms the testimony of the classical authors. In his life of Artaxerxes II. he mentions the king's worship of Anahita, his paths in the name of Mithra, as well as his coronation in a temple of 'Minerva' (a deity of uncertain identification). The Achaemenians are curiously, and perhaps significantly, ignored in the Middle Persian writings. The theory has been advanced that Artaxerxes I. Longimanus is mentioned in the Pahlavi texts under the name of 'Arashdir the Kayan, whom they call Vohuman, son of Vohuman, second dad,' who, according to Balsam Yast, ii. 17, separates the demons from men, scatters them about, and makes the religion current in the whole world." This hypothesis lacks all foundation. The Zoroastrian Artaxerxes was the son of Send-dad; the Achaemenian was the son of Xerxes; al-Biruni rightly distinguishes between them, and the identification of the two in the Shah-Nama and other sources is properly regarded as contrary to the current collocation. In the light of this, the epithet parom of the Persians, applied by Cyrus, according to Xenophon, to Zeus (Ahura Mazda) and Hestia (Atar, the sacred fire), possibly likewise becomes explicable (cf., however, the same epic of the Greeks), more so perhaps for the case of Artaxerxes with the case of the Achaemenian Darius. Again, according to the Denkart (iv. 23), "Darai, son of Darai, ordered the preservation of two written copies of the whole Avesta and Zend." This Darius, who was the son of Vivasvan, is identified with the Achaemenian Darius III, Codomans, who was the son of Arsanes. Al-Biruni once more carefully distinguishes between the two, and it is not unlikely that he is right in so doing (cf. Noldeke in Geiger-Kuhn's Grundriss der tiefen, Philologie, ii. 141), even though other Oriental sources identify the two. At all events, the equation is too doubtful, with the data now available, to serve as a basis for any hypothesis, either for or against the Zoroastrianism of the Achaemenians.
ACHELOUS—The name of the greatest river in Greece. Flowing from the watershed of Pindus in a southerly direction, it forms in its lower waters the boundary-line between Aetolia and Acarnania before falling into the Ionian Sea. The river-god who presided over it was reputed the son of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. Theog. 340); he was the eldest of 3000 brothers and supreme amongst them, in power second only to Oceanus himself (Aesopus fr. 11a, Fragm. Hist. Gr. i. 101). Other legends, after the manner of Euhemerus, report that he was born of a consequence of whose sorrows the river first gushed forth as a divine solace (see, e.g., Prop. ii. 25, 33). Tradition regarded him as the king of streams, from whom are derived the waters of all other rivers, those on Hellenic coasts, and (183), and it was such he was worshipped throughout the Greek world, from Athens and Oropus as far as Rhodes and Metapontum. Thus it is not surprising that smaller streams besides the Ætolian river bore his name—e.g., Asopus, Achelous, Acheron, and Alpheus. Further, we find the word Acheleus generalized in the sense of water (Eur. Bacch. 625, etc.); this occurs especially in the ceremonial phraseology of sacrifices and oaths—proving that the identification is not a poetical refinement, but the survival of an old religious formula (Ephorus fr. 27; Fragm. Hist. Gr. i. 230). Again, Acheleus is the father of a numerous progeny of water-nymphs, such as Peirene, Castalia, and Dirce, the guardian spirits of local Hellenic streams. The appropriateness is less obvious when the Sirens appear as his daughters (Pausan. ix. 34, 2): perhaps they are so viewed in their aspect as the windless calm of the southern sea in summer (cf. Od. xii. 168). For it has been held that Acheleus acted only as a significant symbol of water in general, also the lord of the sea (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Eur. Herakles, i. p. 23). His most famous appearance in mythical story is as the suitor of Deianeira, who was vanquished by Herakles in a fierce struggle. Like Proteus, he perished in the power of the vanquisher; in the battle he assumed the form of a wild bull (Soph. Trach. 9ff., 507ff.). In the course of the fight, one of his horns was broken off by Herakles, and, according to one account, he ransomed it from his conqueror by giving in exchange for it the horn of Amaltheia or cornucopia (Apollod. Bibl. ii. 7, 5). The ancients gave a rationalistic explanation of the story: Herakles represents the growing power of civilization, which reclaimed the marsh-land for agriculture, and the sound exuberance of the river (Strabo, x. p. 458). It seems rather as if Acheleus was a name consecrated in primitive rite to express the principle of moisture as the source of life and growth. Further, since to a nation of cowherds the bull is typical of generative power, the wrestling river-god was worshipped in bull form. Whatever be the explanation, it should not be forgotten that the bull shape is common to all river-gods and is not limited to Acheleus (cf. Eur. Ion 1261). A symbolic connection between the two aspects of divinity was found in the horn of plenty, which, as we have seen, was mythically associated with Acheleus.

In art, Acheleus is represented either as an old man with horns, as a sea-serpent with human head and arms and bull’s horns, or as a bull with human face and long dripping beard.

The etymology of the word is unknown, and inferences based merely upon conjectural explanations of it are almost inestimably rejected.


A. C. PEARSON.

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

He appears most conspicuously as a sea-god, whose temple was placed on promontories or navi-gable coasts as a place of anchorage, or as a safe anchorage, or, in time of stress, would assure the victory of the storm. The contrary winds, with which his spirit visited the Greeks after the capture of Troy, ceased when Polyxena and Hecuba had been sacrificed, and elsewhere. Further, we find the name Achilles generalized in the sense of water (Eur. Bacch. 625, etc.); this occurs especially in the ceremonial phraseology of sacrifices and oaths—proving that the identification is not a poetical refinement, but the survival of an old religious formula (Ephorus fr. 27; Fragm. Hist. Gr. i. 230). Again, Achilles is the father of a numerous progeny of river-nymphs, such as Peirene, Castalia, and Dirce, the guardian spirits of local Hellenic streams. The appropriateness is less obvious when the Sirens appear as his daughters (Pausan. ix. 34, 2): perhaps they are so viewed in their aspect as the windless calm of the southern sea in summer (cf. Od. xii. 168). For it has been held that Acheleus acted only as a significant symbol of water in general, also the lord of the sea (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Eur. Herakles, i. p. 23). His most famous appearance in mythical story is as the suitor of Deianeira, who was vanquished by Herakles in a fierce struggle. Like Proteus, he perished in the power of the vanquisher; in the battle he assumed the form of a wild bull (Soph. Trach. 9ff., 507ff.). In the course of the fight, one of his horns was broken off by Herakles, and, according to one account, he ransomed it from his conqueror by giving in exchange for it the horn of Amaltheia or cornucopia (Apollod. Bibl. ii. 7, 5). The ancients gave a rationalistic explanation of the story: Herakles represents the growing power of civilization, which reclaimed the marsh-land for agriculture, and the sound exuberance of the river (Strabo, x. p. 458). It seems rather as if Acheleus was a name consecrated in primitive rite to express the principle of moisture as the source of life and growth. Further, since to a nation of cowherds the bull is typical of generative power, the wrestling river-god was worshipped in bull form. Whatever be the explanation, it should not be forgotten that the bull shape is common to all river-gods and is not limited to Acheleus (cf. Eur. Ion 1261). A symbolic connection between the two aspects of divinity was found in the horn of plenty, which, as we have seen, was mythically associated with Acheleus.

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A. C. PEARSON.
ACOSMISM—ACOSTA

when suffering from the pollution of accidental
homicide (Plut. Quist. Gr. 37, p. 299 c-e).

ACOSMISM (Gr. a privative, and σῶμα, 'the universe,' in the sense of an op. or eranged whole).—This term belongs primarily to the field of Ontology, i.e. the theory of the ultimate nature of Being and Reality; but it has ethical bearings also. Allowing for several possible differences of theoretical interpretation, the doctrine of Acosmism in its essential universe must be viewed as a

in the world, the universe must be

as a semblance. In the history of modern thought the classical example of the doctrine may be described as the metaphysical parallel to Hume's psychological scepticism. For Hume, Cogito, ergo sum esse. And just as he thus fixes illusion upon the experience of the individual man, so the acosmist holds the universe as a whole to be but a delusion. This conclusion, as in Spinoza's case, from the standpoint of the historical and speculative conditions of the time, may be controverted on the strictly theoretical side. For it is obvious that the reality constituting the substratum of any universal must be regarded as real; it is no less obvious, however, that the only reality attributable to it must be derived, as concerned human experience, from the universe already declared to be illusory. For example, Spinoza's Absolute Substance—the reality underlying the universe—is known to man in the two 'attributes' of Thought and Extension. These in turn differentiate themselves into two modes, each mode of Thought being the correspondent of a mode of Extension. (God, therefore, at once the 'Thing' which thinks and the 'Thing' which is extended. Hence (as the conditions of his age prevented him from seeing fully) any attribute of God, whether known to man or not, is a method of perceiving substance. By attribute I understand what intellect perceives as a substance as opposed to its essence (cis Ethics, ii. 21, Schol.). Between this conclusion and Hegelian idealism there may be, doubtless, a distinction, but without fundamental difference. And the reason lies open. Only from human experience can any reality be derived reality and meaning to be come into the so-called substratum or 'Unknown.' In other words, either the reality underlying the cosmos is nothing, or it achieves reality just to the extent to which it may be viewed as an effective component of human experience.

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

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


R. M. WENLEY.

ACOSTA.—Uriel (or, as he was originally named, Gabriel) da Costa is an interesting but overrated personality. Interest in his career is due mainly to the similarity between his life and that of another Amsterdam Jew of the same period—Spinoza. It may even be said that the harsh treatment which the latter received from the Jewish community was the result of the vagaries of Acosta; but there was no principle of human experience, possesses no reality in itself, but is dependent on, or is a manifestation of, an underlying real being. In a word, the universe must be viewed as a semblance. In the history of modern thought the classical example of the doctrine may be described as the metaphysical parallel to Hume's psychological scepticism. For Hume, Cogito, ergo sum esse. And just as he thus fixes illusion upon the experience of the individual man, so the acosmist holds the universe as a whole to be but a delusion. This conclusion, as in Spinoza's case, from the standpoint of the historical and speculative conditions of the time, may be controverted on the strictly theoretical side. For it is obvious that the reality constituting the substratum of any universal must be regarded as real; it is no less obvious, however, that the only reality attributable to it must be derived, as concerned human experience, from the universe already declared to be illusory. For example, Spinoza's Absolute Substance—the reality underlying the universe—is known to man in the two 'attributes' of Thought and Extension. These in turn differentiate themselves into two modes, each mode of Thought being the correspondent of a mode of Extension. (God, therefore, at once the 'Thing' which thinks and the 'Thing' which is extended. Hence (as the conditions of his age prevented him from seeing fully) any attribute of God, whether known to man or not, is a method of perceiving substance. By attribute I understand what intellect perceives as a substance as opposed to its essence (cf. Ethics, ii. 21, Schol.). Between this conclusion and Hegelian idealism there may be, doubtless, a distinction, but without fundamental difference. And the reason lies open. Only from human experience can any reality be derived reality and meaning to be come into the so-called substratum or 'Unknown.' In other words, either the reality underlying the cosmos is nothing, or it achieves reality just to the extent to which it may be viewed as an effective component of human experience.

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R. M. WENLEY.
Acosta must be honoured, but his championship
was fantastic rather than robust.

ACROSTIC.—An acrostic is etymologically
an extremity of a line or verse, lit. 'row' (στίχος).

Apoet. Const. ii. 87 prescribes an antithetical chant-
ing, in which each line begins and ends with the
verse numbers, and the congregation sing the
acrostics (δασσορχνοις). Epiphanius (Migne, xlii. 365) calls
the numerical iota the 'acrostic' (δασσορχνον) of
the name Jesus. But an acrostic is usually a poem in
which the initials of lines or sections spell a word
or words or an alphabet. An abecedary acrostic
is sometimes called simply an alphabet.

1. Bickell and others find fifteen complete alph-atis or remains of them in the Heb. OT and Sirach,
the following Psalms or chapters: (1-5) Ps 9-10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; (9) Pr 31; (10-13) La 1. 2. 3. 4; (14) Nah 1-2; (15) Sir 51.

(1) Ps 9-10 (LXX 9).—Remains of an alphabet spell
the first letters of alternate verses (Ps 6. 6 . . . 11. 11. 14. 17).
With Heb yinay and yinay from 107 and as initial words we should have
παρηγορωs, as in other cases noted below. The order yinay
begets somewhat similar letters together.

(2) Ps 20.—An alphabet minus π, with a letter from each
verse, except that the π is included in the π. To restore
the π, begin v. 18 with 'Arisse' (Ps 109). An appended 'διεισ
makes up the number of the verses to the alphabet twenty-
two. 'Carmina alphabeticata,' like Ps 35, 5, etc., are
such have that number of verses or sections, but are
not alphabets (Bickell).

(3) Ps 34.—An alphabet like (5), the added verse beginning
νικα. EV and LXX have in v. 18 'The righteous cry (or, cried),' for Heb. νυμια. But with π in v. 19, there would be no need of the 'righteous.'

(4) Ps 37.—An alphabet minus π, formed like (1). To complete
it, read in v. 28 κατακρησις (κατακρεσις) with datē for reiskh,
the word in brackets for LXX Χρωμα. In επονομαίοις 1
of the π.

(5) Ps 111. 112.—Alphabets with their letters from the
halfs of the verses, of which three at the end are numbered as
108-110.

(7) Ps 119.—Known as κατα ηδόνης 'the great alphabet' (Buxtorf, Lex. s. v. '790'). Eight verses begin with aleph, eight with
beth, and so on. The names of the letters are given in the
alphabet in the LXX. Note, however, that the alphabet is
missing in B; and see the variants from the Psalters R
and Τ (S note).

(14) —An alphabet minus π, with a letter from each
verse, one beginning νικα (LXX ομορφή) having fallen out before τοις νομοις (v. 14).

(9) Ps 23:1.—An alphabet with a letter from each verse;
both π and π are borrowed before the π verse.

(10) La 1.—An alphabet like (9), with the letters in the usual
order. The LXX gives them, some of them in B in

(11. 12. 13) La 23:21-36 41-52.—Three alphabets, of which
every verse gives a letter, that in (12) being of the form ΛΑ,
BB, etc. Heb. b below π; but in the LXX, which here also
names the letters, B gives 'Aραβ and ψι ρώμων wrongly as titles of the
pe and πι verses.

11. In the supposed traces here of an alphabet arranged 'exquisito artificio,' see Bickell's Carm. V.T., and art.
Nahom in Hastings' DB and in EB.

12. Sir 61:39—.From the version, before the discovery of the Cairoine Hebrew, Bickell saw that Ben Sira's poem on
Worship was an alphabet, but he did not satisfactorily
determine all the letters. In the LXX B (ed. Swete)
supplies materials for the beginnings of all but the πd verse in their
right order. In (4) begin in the (περιστέρα); in v. 19 (γεγραμμένος); and supply the πd line from the Hebrew.
The other letters may then be found without difficulty. Comparing (9) with (5), Rashi mistranslated the whole line, but in
the Heb. it begins rightly or wrongly with μεμ.

2. Evidently the alphabeticism of a composition
is not without critical importance: it enables
us to perform through the names of its authorship, which is a
place to detect and emend errors, or to supply deficiencies.
Sometimes at least it connotes completeness, as in Pr 31:10-
31, where the praises of the virtuous woman exhaust the alphabet. In the NT
compare 'I am the Alpha and the Omega.'

3. Alphabets and other acrostics are found
in Jewish Prayer Books and secular writings. Famous
names were shortened acrostically, as in RaMBaM
for Rabbi Moses Maimonides (ben Maimon.). A name
given by acrostic verses may settle a question of
authorship, as in the case of R. Jacob Ben Shim-
hon's commentary on Abott, often found attributed
to a better known writer. The mistake may have
arisen partly from his name having been written
αλ'αβαμα for Rabbi Jacob Shimshon, and then read αλ'αβαμα
Rashi.

4. Syriac acrostics abound in Service Books and
other early writings. Aphantes prefixed the
letters of the alphabet to his twenty-two Homilies.
Ephraim wrote alphabetic hymns, two of which
may be seen translated at the end of Bickell's Carm. V.T.

5. That acrostics were used in oracles is
true to be indicated by their occurrence in the
pretended oracles of the Sybil. These make the name
αλ'αβαμα an acrostic of east, west, north, south in the line
'αλ'αβαμα φερει τε και την Ρεμουλικην' (Westminster Reg.
viii. 321; cf. ii. 195, xi. 3). Romanus and Remus are
alluded to by the word κεκρός (xi. 114), the Greek R standing for a hundred. The initials of the
lines v. 217-250 give the Greek for 'Jesus Christ God's Son Saviour Cross,' whence, without
Cross, as an acrostic of an acrostic, comes IX0XΣ, 'fish,' a mystic name of Christ (Aug. Cív. Dei,
viii. 23).

6. Otfried's metrical rendering of a form of the
Diasystema into Old High German (9th cent.)
is preceded by the acrostics, 'Ludovicum (Luthovicum)
Orientalium Regnorum Regi salus aeternam,' 'Salononi Episcopo Offriciau,' and followed by
a longer one to the effect, 'Offfr. W. monachus R. et
W. Sancti Galli monast. monachus.' Thus again
acrostics testify to authorship.

7. Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge, informs
the writer that the 'Chinese have several forms of the
acrostic. The simplest is that in which the hidden sentence is revealed by the
word in each line of a short poem. This form is
often still further elaborated by using, not
the actual words required to make sense, but homophone of a more or less misleading character;
Anglicé, 'Boughs are made bare,' etc.
we must have recourse to the words 'act' and 'action.' Hence, when we wish to designate the agency of man in its peculiar character, we must prefix the epithet. The peculiar character of human action, as the phrase is ordinarily used to mark the distinction from any sort of physical action, is that the former is an expression of consciousness. But in making this broad distinction we must notice, first, that it applies equally to all animal action as distinguished from physical and merely physiological action; and, second, in the discussion of human action the phrase is often used more widely to include unconscious actions as well as conscious actions of the human organism. The fact is, of course, that the human organism exhibits all grades of action, physical, animal, and human in the strictest sense. The only physical actions of the organism, however, which concern us in relation to our study of conscious actions, are those which are like the latter in depending directly upon the nervous system, but unlike them in not expressing consciousness, whether in the form of feeling or purpose. Of such actions of the nervous system, not expressive of consciousness, two grades may be distinguished: the simple Reflex action, and the more complex Instinctive action in which a number of movements are co-ordinated in the production of a single result—though it should be observed that the range of true instincts is very limited. It is the case of many of our actions that these actions are not expressive of consciousness, we do not necessarily imply that they have no conscious accompaniments, but only that the nature of the action is not determined by these conscious accompaniments even when present. The reflex action of sneezing is not determined by the sensations which accompany it. And similarly, though an instinctive action may be accompanied by sensation and feeling, the purposive character which it displays is not due to conscious forethought.

Of human actions, in the stricter sense, which are expressive of consciousness—or which, to use the technical term of psychology, are 'conations'—the most obvious type is the purposive action, in which the performance of the action is preceded by an idea of the thing to be done. But it is evident that such purposive action cannot be psychologically primitive, since those ideas or images of movements to be executed, which are the end of the purposive action, are formed only after previous experience of the same movements brought about in some other way. Consequently, either we must fall back upon reflex actions for a beginning, or we must hold that, in the most primitive phase of conception, a change of sense-perception, or the feeling which accompanies it, finds immediate expression in movement. To the former course, which is apt to be favoured by physiologists, there is the objection that reflexes, even though they may be primitive for the individual in the sense of being inherited nervous arrangements, must have been developed at some time in the experience of the race. In our present experience of the formation of new ideas, the transition of consciousness into action that resembles the reflex type. And unless we are prepared to assume that our inherited reflexes were originally formed by some similar process of degradation, the beginnings of action are left psychologically inexplicable. From the psychological point of view, then, we must prefer the other course, and regard as the original type of action that in which a change of sense-perception or feeling finds immediate expression in movement (cf. W. J. Ward's Art. 'Psychology' in *Edin. Encyc.* vol. xx. pp. 42-43). And this view will appear all the more plausible if we remember two points.

First, such 'impulsive' action, as we call it—the terminology of the subject is very confused—although as a rule definite enough in the adult (e.g. in warding off a blow), is to be conceived as having been originally vague, diffuse, and uncertain, as the movements of an infant are in comparison with those of an adult. Second, it is a fact recognized, and has been shown experimentally, that all mental states have this impulsive quality, this tendency to affect movement, although in our present experience these motor effects are to a great extent either quite inappreciable or only indubitably (cf. James, 'Conscience' [1890], ii. ch. xxiii.). And the difficulty of a psychological theory of action is thus greatly diminished when we see that action does not begin with particular and isolated definite movements, but that these, whether they be inherited reflexes or acquired impulses, must have been developed by the progressive restriction or specialization of movement that was originally more diffuse.

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

Before proceeding to the consideration of purposed action, we may refer very briefly to a general conception of human action, which, if true, would profoundly modify the significance to be attached to the element they may be primitive for the individual in the sense of being inherited nervous arrangements, must have been developed at some time in the experience of the race. In our present experience of the formation of new ideas, the transition of consciousness into action that resembles the reflex type. And unless we are prepared to assume that our inherited reflexes were originally formed by some similar process of degradation, the beginnings of action are left psychologically inexplicable. From the psychological point of view, then, we must prefer the other course, and regard as the original type of action that in which a change of sense-perception or feeling finds immediate expression in movement (cf. W. J. Ward's Art. 'Psychology' in *Edin. Encyc.* vol. xx. pp. 42-43). And this view will appear all the more plausible if we remember two points.
ACT, ACTION

Desire and feeling and calculating intellect, to
which the reflexion of the individual naturally but
mistakenly attributes the direction of his life.
Now, such a conception of human life may have an
appearance of profundity, but it conveys no real
import, it does not aid, on the contrary it obstructs,
the work of scientific analysis and explanation.
To appeal to instinctive tendencies is only to
involve ourselves in empty mystery; unless we can
definitely characterize these tendencies, and
show how they operate, and why they manifest
themselves in such ways so inexplicable. Yet for
this concrete analysis we must, of course, return
to the very surface processes of consciousness which
we had affected to despise, and must seek in their
definite modes of interconnexion, and not in the
vague and mysterious depths of instinctive ten-
dencies, the definite explanation of the course of
human life.

When these two conditions are fulfilled, first, that
definite movements have begun to emerge from the
earlier stage of diffused movement—an emergent
which may be greatly facilitated by the existence
of inherited nervous co-ordinations; and, second,
that images have begun to be formed, then the
higher stage of purposed action becomes possible,
indeed, it is made of all or impossible to be
executed precedes and directs its actual execution.
The idea of movement may be prompted by a
present object (with whose attainment or avoid-
ance the movement must, of course, have been
already associated), and, as promoting, the object
is an object of desire or aversion. But the range
and significance of desire are vastly widened when
not merely present objects, but objects that are
themselves represented only in idea or imagination,
are sufficed. It is in every case with the
agent is thereby delivered from his former
bondage to the immediate present, and is enabled
both to modify his present situation by the aid
of ideas derived from his past experience, and to
anticipate the future by present preparation. With
the development of such desire-promoted action
there is bound to emerge the situation described
as a conflict of desires, with its need for a volun-
tary decision between them. This decision has
often been represented by protagonists of the
Associationist school as brought about in a
quasi-mechanical way: it is the strongest
desire that prevails, and the conflict is simply a
conflict of opposed intensities. Now it is true that,
as in the case of every simple kind, the epithet ‘voluntary’
seems hardly to mark any essential peculiarity of
the process so described. The voluntary decision
between two desires of a very simple kind, depend-
ing as it does merely on their relative strength,
some hardly to be distinguished in character (save
for the fact that the process goes on in conscious-
ness) from the mechanical result of a conflict be-
tween two forces. But here, too, we must remem-
ber that the simplest type of choice, say the choice
of a ball between two, is not really representative of the
more important choices which the adult has constantly to make.
And it is just in proportion as the ‘conflicting’
desires are not simple or low-grade, but complex and
significant, that the choice becomes an expression of
character, and becomes therefore in a fuller
degree voluntary. Now, the more complex and
significant the desires are, the less it is possible to
picture their ‘conflict’ as a mere collision between
two forces of different intensities. The man who
has to decide whether he will continue in his
present accustomed vocation or accept a new career
that has opened out for him, is not simply dis-
tracted between a love of ease and a love of gain.
He is deciding ultimately between two complex
schemes of life, and to represent such a decision in
terms of a simple quantitative difference would be
a caricature. The factors which do admit of
quantitative measurement in money value may even be the least influential of all.

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

We must indicate the psychological processes
involved in this higher development of conception
and action. One practical relation that must soon be
forced upon the attention of an agent trying to
render the intelligible to himself the nature of
attaining it is that of means and end. With the fuller recog-
nition of this relationship among objects comes the
process of deliberation, in which the agent seeks to
discover the means of attaining an end, or to de-
termine which of a number of possible paths is the
best. In Aristotle’s classical analysis of the
deliberative process (Nic. Ethics, III. iii.), choice is expressly characterized as choice of the means.
Such a view of choice will not, however, apply to
deliberation in every case, although in every
case between two objects or courses of
action some end or criterion is implicitly assumed,
there is an obvious difference between the case
in which the end or criterion is explicit from the start
of the deliberative process, and the case in which it
emerges only as a balance of advantage at the end.
And we must further recognize the possibility,
of which Aristotle takes no account, that even where
we start with a certain end explicitly before us,
the deliberative process may, by bringing in the
elements of significance in our end which we had not
before fully appreciated, cause us to modify or
abandon it altogether. In short, the more impor-
tant the matter for decision is, the more does the
choice tend to express, not an isolated desire for
a particular end, but the whole of the
agent, or, what is the same thing, his ultimate and
all-inclusive desire for the kind of life which is to
him best. And the more strenuously a man lives,
the more will the unity of his character tend to
work itself out in even the simpler actions of his
daily life.

It is for choices of a more or less deliberate kind
that the term ‘will’ is often reserved in psycholo-
gical and ethical discussions. But we must not
suppose that this term connotes a power or
energy of mind. The expression ‘fist of will’
often used in this connexion is very misleading.
The man who seriously sets himself to deliberate
must mean to come to a decision. He starts, that
is to say, with some sort of decision already vaguely
outlined in the shape of possible alternatives, and
the only function of deliberation is to eliminate
what is doubtful and make the proper course of
action clear. This being done, nothing more is
needed: if the man was impatient to act, the
obstacles in his way have now been removed, and
he will act at once. The general purpose of acting
was present all through, and by means of the de-
liberative process this general purpose takes shape
in a definite volition. A fist of will, additional
and subsequent to the phase of conation in which
the deliberative process was complete, would be
to seize if it merely gave its consent, and wholly
arbitrary if it withheld it. For, if any reason
remained for withholding consent, the deliberation
could not have been complete, and it is only a sense
of such incompleteness that could make the agent
hesitate in this action. Thus it is that if we are to give
this notion of a fact of will any
meaning at all, we must regard it as merely empha-
sizing the last or finally decisive element in the de-
liberative process itself, the thought that clinches
the agent's determination to act or not to act.
In our consideration of the development of cona-
ation in the individual, we have so far been abstract-
ating from those aspects of the individual's action
which depend upon the essentially social character
of human life. In point of fact, however, the
actions of the individual for the most part do
either explicitly contain or not remotely imply a
reference to other persons, and to their agency in
relation to himself as well as to his own agency in
relation to them. And this social factor in individ-
ual action pervades itself through in the sense of the
content of the action, but in the definite control
which social influences exert over the will of the
agent. The child is no sooner able to understand
a particular prohibition or command, than he begins
to experience this social control, which in varying
forms and degrees implies the duty of life. At first
it comes to him from without as a constraint upon
his desires, but more and more it tends to become
an internal factor in his own will and character,
and so not more society's law than that of his own
nature. At first it comes to him in the form of
particular injunctions to refrain from particular
objects or to do particular acts, and his obedience
is an obedience given merely to particular persons,
but more and more it tends to take the generalized
and impersonal form of rules of action to be obeyed
merely as such. These rules become concrete, of

course, only in the personal claims and expecta-
tions which they warrant, but their control reaches
out beyond every particular case, and pervades the
whole field of thinking of the individual. Hence
the important consideration that the rules of
action express, not a consideration of means and ends
at all, but a simple obedience to rule, and that,
even where it does express a consideration of
means and ends, this consideration itself is con-
trolled through and through by the habitual regard
which we pay to social rules in all our practical
thinking.
To complete our sketch, we may ask as a final
question, how far we can bring the whole develop-
ment of conation and action under a single for-

tula. Various attempts have been made to find
an explanatory formula applicable to action at all
stages. Many psychologists and moralists have
sought such a formula in the connexion of action
with feeling and pain. This connexion has been asserted in two forms which it
is important to distinguish clearly from each other.
On the one hand, it may be held that feeling is the efficient cause of action. This doctrine is applied
over the whole range of human action, and means
that between various impulses, desires, or aims,
that one will always tend to be realized which
gives the greatest present pleasure or relieves the

greatest present uneasiness. And we must, of

course, observe that present pleasure or uneasiness
may be caused not merely by present events and
objects, but also by the mere images or thoughts
of distant events and possibilities. On the other
hand, it may be held that feeling is the end or final
cause of action. This doctrine (technically known
as Psychological Hedonism) is obviously narrower
in range, since it applies only to purposive and not

to impulsive action. It means that of various
possible courses of action represented before the
mind, that one will always be chosen which promises
most future pleasure or least future pain, pleasure
being thus regarded as the only real object of
desire. This doctrine is now almost universally
abandoned in psychology and ethics. For it
is hardly evident that there is a great deal of pur-
oposered action, at all levels of conduct, which is not
determined by calculations of future pleasure and
pain at all. The hungry man seeks food not for
the pleasure of eating, but for the mere satisfac-
tion of his hunger; the honest man may elect to
give his just debts not for the pleasure of having
been honest, but merely because he is honest and wants
to remain so. The other form of doctrine, according
to which we do what we continue present pleasure or
relieves present uneasiness, is more plausible
(cf. the change of view in the chapter on 'The Idea
Nevertheless it is open to objection on grounds
both of fact and of principle. The objections of
fact are: (1) that action often goes on for a con-

siderable stretch in the absence of any
feeling, (2) that we may persist in painful actions
in spite of their painfulness. Now we may, of
course, to save our theory, attribute this persist-
ence to the greater uneasiness experienced on
stopping. But such uneasiness would seem itself
to imply a direct interest of corresponding strength
in the object of our action, and it is surely simpler,
therefore, to refer the persistence to this interest
directly. Moreover, as a matter of principle, it
seems impossible to explain in terms of merely
quantitative variations of feeling the definite forms
which action takes. We have what to explain is not simply varying degrees of one funda-

tmental type of action, but many actions of widely
different types, and the particularity of the action
can be explained only by the particularity of the
interest which it expresses. There is thus a good
deal to be said for a view which seems to be find-
ing increasing favour with recent psychologists
(e.g. Stout, Analytic Psychology (1896), i. 224 ff.;
Titchener, Outline of Psychology (1898), § 38), viz.,
that pleasure and pain, agreeableness and uneas-
iness, are not so many factors in the causation of
activity as the feeling-tone which accompanies and
reflects its varying fortunes.
Another well-known formula for purposive action
affirms that in all cases where a particular course of
action chosen is conceived as realizing what is
there and then the agent's good (so, e.g., Green in
his Prolegomena to Ethics). The same meaning
is negatively expressed in the Socratic maxim, that
no one willingly chooses what is evil; and this
famous paradox, when rightly interpreted, only
says what cannot well be denied, that a man's
actions, not his professions, are the test and index
of his real convictions. The formula, as it stands,
however, is not sufficiently comprehensive, for
many actions are done without reference to the
agent's personal good at all, e.g. assist-
ance given to a person in distress from the mere
pity felt on seeing it.
The defect of such formulæ is apt to be that
they are framed with a too exclusive regard for special

types of action. If we want a formulæ which applies to all human action, we must fall
back on the more generalized conception used above,
and say that all human action is as such expressive
of consciousness, and that in proportion as the im-
mediate consciousness experienced, be it impulse,
desire, or general aim, is intelligent and significant,
in the same proportion is the action voluntary and
expressive of character.

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

detached
ACTION SERMON—ACTIVITY

sections. For a comprehensive and continuous account, see Sully, Human Mind (1892), vol. ii.

H. BARKER.

ACTIVITY. The designation given by Presbyterians in Scotland, and where Scottish communities exist, to the sermon which immediately precedes the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. The name is derived directly from John Knox’s Book of Common Order and from the Westminster Directory for the Public Worship of God. In both these works the celebration of the Holy Communion is described as ‘the Action.’ The use of the phrase in the earlier document may have been partly (1) to the Liturgy of Calvin, which was largely the basis of the Book of Common Order, and in which the section entitled ‘Mode of Celebrating the Lord’s Supper’ contains this rubric: ‘The ministers distribute the bread and the cup to the people . . . finally, on use of action de grâce’; (2) to the pre-Reformation use of the word actio to denote what was regarded as the essential part of the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of the Mass, wherein ‘Sacramenta conficiunt Domini.’ Knox, of course, and those who followed him, while retaining the word ‘Action,’ used it with a different signification, applying it to the celebration as a whole, or to the sanctification and distribution of the sacred symbols, without reference to any ‘sacrifice.’ While Calvin’s ‘action de grâce’ was probably the origin (though indirectly) of the term ‘Action Sermon’ being introduced in Scotland, the long and popular retention of this term is due, doubtless, to the broader application of the word ‘action’ to the entire sacramental celebration; for the designation ‘Eucharist’ (Thanksgiving) has never been widespread among Scottish Presbyterians.

The employment of the phrase ‘Action Sermon’ while still frequent, has within living memory declined, owing (1) to the somewhat diminished relative importance of the Covenanter church and the general nature of its expression or consequences; (3) distinguish one form of activity from another, as bodily from mental; and (4) describe the conditions of our knowledge of that form with which

1. (a) Activity belongs, within the world of existence, to the class not of things and qualities, or substances and attributes, but of events, processes, or changes; an activity has a beginning and an end; this is an essential characteristic of activity. (b) The definition of the designation ‘activity’ is as follows: ‘To say of any existing being used may be quoted: (1) In 1674, during the persecution of the Covenanters, John Welsh, great-grandson of John Knox, is stated to have “preached the Action Sermon” at a conventicle held near the bank of the Whittle, in Tievotllo (see Blackadder’s contemporary Memoirs, p. 305). (2) In the diary of Edward Irving for 1835, the entry occurs: ‘April 1: prestar “my Action Sermon” (see Mrs. Oliphant’s Life of Edward Irving, vol. i. p. 395).’ (3) Chapter on the ‘Manner of the Administration of the Lord’s Supper.’

1. Chapter entitled ‘Of the Celebration of the Communion.’


The term ‘actio’ is used even in classical Latin to denote a sacrificial act (Ovid, Fasti, 1, 1, 282). Honorius of Autun (Opera, 1, 103) and others describe the sacramental use of actio (with less probability) and its employment in legal processes: ‘Actio disticto quod causam populi cum Dee agon.’
ACTIVITY

activity or the expression of activity, and the amount to be put forth at any moment (Pechner, Psychophysik, 1860; Höfler, Psychische Arbeit, 1895). The activity is continuous because of the constant shocks which the equilibrium of the organism receives from the play of the enervating forces. It may be doubted, however, whether the term should be translated in this manner. Dr. Stout suggests (a body tending to continue its motion with the same velocity in the same direction) (Analytic Psychology, i. 146; but cf. 148). Such a body would be described as one which has another body and transmits its own motion, wholly or partially, to the latter. The ‘activity’ in the continuous movement of the first body would be referred rather to the initial impulse of that force which sent it on its way.

(ii.) The second criterion is that as to the conditions of activity being within the active body. From this point of view, a body is active so far forth as its changes are determined from within itself. Thus Condillac wrote of his state: ‘It is activity, then it recalls a sensation, because it has itself the reflection of the reason in the memory. It is passive at the moment when it experiences a sensation; for the cause which produces the latter is outside of it (the statue), i.e. in the odoriferous bodies which act upon its organ.’ (At this stage the statue was supposed to have only one sensorium, that of smell.) Substantially, Condillac’s statement, that ‘a being is active or passive according as the cause of the effect produced is in it or without it,’ would be accepted to-day. The difficulty would be (1) to determine what is the cause of a given change, and (2) to determine whether the discovered cause is within or without the active being. If, for example, we refer all actions of the body to purely physical causes,—brain and nerve processes and the rest,—and regard the soul or consciousness as a mere spectator or accompanist of these central processes, without causal efficacy, then there is no such thing as mental activity, but only mental passivity.†

The mind would not determine even its own changes, and act be active with respect to them, for an infinitesimal change is always a by-product of certain physical changes. Of theories with regard to the relation of mind and body, neither automatism nor psychophysical parallelism is consistent with the existence of mental activity; the latter is compatible only with a mind of its own, on one hand, the interaction theory on the other. The second difficulty—that of determining what is and what is not in the active being—may be illustrated from the controversy as to the existence of mental or psychical dispositions, or tendencies towards action, as opposed to merely physical dispositions, i.e., special arrangements or structures of the brain. Probably nine-tenths of the conditions of any mental act—an act of seeing, for example, or of hearing, an act of imagination or memory, or volition—lie beyond consciousness, or below the threshold of distinct consciousness. Our visual perception at any moment is determined largely by our own experience in the past and the general dispositions of our interests: the purely sense element,—what is given,—the affection of the retina, and the feeling of the ocular movements, is infinitesimal as a contribution to the resultant perception. Yet the term

Condillac, Traité des Sensations, ch. ii. § 11. The note may be added here: ‘There is in us a principle of our actions which we put, but which we cannot define; it is called force. We act alike in respect of all that this force produces in us and outside us. We are active, for example, when we reflect, or when we cause a body to move. By analogy we suppose, in the bodies which cause change, a force of which we know still less, and which, regard to the impressions they make upon us. Thus a being is active or passive according as the cause of the effect produced is in it or without it.’ (Ob. note a).

† See Huxley’s essay on Animal Automatism (Cott. Essays, 1894).

latter appears instantaneously and as a single act. Are the submerging factors wholly physical—the excitation of special cortical arrangements which in their turn are the direct product of past experience, or are there also mental tendencies actually present, although out of distinct consciousness, and which are re-excited by the given sensations? (1) (Manual of Psychology, bk. i. ch. 2, and Analytic Psychology, ch. 1.) The analysis of a complex tone into its partials is given as an instance:

Dr. Lipps holds that the unanalyzed note is a simple experience. The new tones which analysis discovers are, according to him, not in any sense secondary. According to him, what is analyzed is not an actual experience, but an unconsciously complex mental disposition corresponding to a complex physiological modification of the brain substance (Analytic Psychology, vol. i. p. 61).

The value of the argument here is to show that our idea of mental activity will differ according as we interpret the dispositions or tendencies from which acts of perception, of memory, of association flow as psychical or physiological, or both; if they are physiological merely, as many have supposed, they may not be regarded as internal causes of mental changes or effects, and therefore the mind is not active so far as their effects are concerned.

(iii.) The third characteristic is much more controversial than either of the others. A being is active, in popular speech, only so far as the effects or consequences of changes in it are transmitted to other beings; in other words, activity is transient causality, not immanent. In a body moving under the law of inertia, it may be said that the cause of its motion, in a given direction, with a given velocity, at any one moment, is its motion in the same direction and with the same velocity at the previous moment (Stout, Analytic Psychology, i. p. 146). Hence its motion at any moment is self-determined, i.e., both cause and effect are within the same being. And, according to many, mental activity exists only when there is self-determination in this full sense. It may be questioned, however, whether immanent activity in this sense ever fails within the scope of human experience; the continuance of a body under the law of inertia is not activity; it is absolute passivity, the movement as a whole being the effect of the original impulse. In mental activity, again, we never find that all the conditions of any mental action, are within the mind. The volition to recall a name, for example, works itself out only when the necessary physiological substratum is present and uninjured. Even the moral resolution must make use of similar physical aids. It does not appear, then, that immanent activity, so far as our experience goes, is ever anything but indirect: the mind does not act upon itself, except by exciting physiological processes, to which presentations correspond. This conclusion may seem to render introspection, internal perception, an impossibility, since knowledge is a form of action. Comte’s arguments against introspection are indeed irrefutable, so far as pure introspection is concerned (cf. Miss Martineau’s edition of the Positive Philosophy, vol. i. pp. 8, 91); but introspection on the basis of external presentations, objections, and is, in fact, the first method of psychology alone, but of all science (Wundt, Philos. Stud. iv. 1886). This introspection is merely the analysis of presentations, whether primary (sensations) or secondary (memories, etc.), through repeating the conditions of the experience itself which has given the presentation; introspection is thus in no sense a turning of the mind upon itself, it is not a different process from external perception, it is only a more accurate and detailed perception, so as
to bring out elements not previously or directly experienced. Introspection is thus, as a form of mental activity, indirectly immanent; directly, it is an interaction between the mental and the physical. The first effect of the action is a change in the physiological process (see below); this in turn reacts upon the mind, and shows a modified presentation result. All activity is of this type,—a moving body would be described as active only when it effects a change in another body; no doubt, in such a case, the original body suffers a change, but this change is not in that in which the activity is thought to result, or which is referred to the activity. In itself activity is essentially transitive. This does not exclude, of course, the possibility that the highest forms of activity are those which are indirectly immanent, i.e., in which the outcome of the activity is a change in the subject itself or self-determination.

2. The general conditions of mental activity are partly physical and partly psychical. Among the former must obviously be included the nature of the cortical systems present, their degree of nutrition, and the like. Among the latter fall all presentations and feelings. The mind is wholly passive, so far as its direct presentations are concerned; it may select among them, give prominence to some and down-play others, but their simple conditions are always a cortical process. What is true of presentations is true also of feelings and emotions: a feeling represents on the subjective side the attitude of the individual as a whole in a given situa-
tion; it is a presentation which represents changes in his environment, directly or indirectly affecting him. In both, the mind itself is passively affected, but each may be stimulative or directive of its activity. Feeling especially has been through-out human history the basis of the whole activity, becoming deeper or more intense or more persistent as the presentational side of mental life received greater expansion and greater differentiation. The activity itself has no presentational or feeling-side. Although an element, it is not one of which the subject himself can be directly aware. The immediate effects of mental activity, on the other hand, are cortical changes and bodily movements, in primitive life diffuse, indefinite, uncoordinated; later, as mental activity becomes more and more definite, coordinated, and centralized. It is only through these bodily changes that mental activity produces changes in the mind itself, effecting there the recall of past impressions, or the building up of new and creative mental syntheses. The formation of a moral character, for example, is impossible without the constant practice of moral actions. These outward actions are reflected in the physical organization, and thereby the mental organization as a whole is modified in accordance with them. Without action, a character cannot be formed; nor, being formed, can it be maintained.

3. The contrast between bodily and mental activity has been already discussed in what has been said above. We have assumed that body acts upon mind, the latter reacting to present the whole body, producing bodily movements, which in their turn may lead to changes in the cortical system, and thus indirectly to changes in the presentational field. Whether there is any real causation in the one case or the other is a metaphysical question on which we do not touch.

4. It will follow that mental activity cannot be directly apprehended either through feeling or in any other way. All that is apprehended is the sequence of conditions and of effects, so far as the latter are represented in consciousness. There is no more ground for assuming a primitive consciousness of activity as the basis of the conception of activity than there is for assuming such in any other case of symbolic knowledge,—for example, that of chemical affinity. There are, of course, primitive experiences on which these conceptions are based, but the conceptions are built upon them, not drawn out of them. The most complete description of the phenomena on which our knowledge of mental activity is founded is that of Wundt:

'If we try to find for the "striving" in the will process itself a substrate corresponding in some degree to this expression, we always come to certain feelings, belonging principally to the class of strain and excitement feelings, and which may most aptly be called feelings of the activity' (Wundt, Psychologie, iii. 249). These 'mediate the consciousness of activity, which is known to all from self-observation, and which, under whatsoever circumstances we find it, whether accompanying an external action, or an act of attention directed upon the contents of consciousness themselves, appears of a uniform nature' (ib. 232). It may be defined as a total-feeling, composed of partial feelings of tension and excitement, following a regular course from beginning to end, the completion being the sudden conversion of one of the partial feelings (that of strain or tension) into its contrast-feeling (ib. 263). They accompany every form of mental activity from the simplest upwards. Thus experiments show that mental activity is not in the first instance always a cortical process, but an activity of the brain and mind, under certain conditions. It is only at a certain time in order to penetrate to the locus of consciousness,—its 'appereception,' in Wundt's terminology. During this time we always find, according to him, the above-mentioned feeling of activity, which he regards as the veritable core of the whole mental vision is concentrated, and continues until the idea has reached perfect clearness of consciousness. It is more distinct, however, in the state of active thought or tension towards some expected impression, or in the case of thought of activity, which is the most definite. Thus the mental activity, which we thus know, is but a modality of consciousness, and the peculiar complex of feelings and sensations referred to. The feeling as a whole is a direct contrast to that which we have when an external impression, or a memory-image, arises, which does not harmonize with or correspond to the dispositions of the attention, but suddenly compels it into a direction opposed to that of its activity up to that moment; this feeling is the feeling of passivity. Each as a whole is simple and indefinable, but each belongs, at the same time, to several of the general classes of feeling, of which Wundt recognizes six (ib. 332). It is clear that for Wundt, as for others, the activity itself, the inward act, is not directly cognized at all; the complex of feelings is merely an index or sign by which we know such activities are taking place. With Dr. Ward this is still more definitely stated.

'There is, as Berkeley long ago urged, no resemblance between activity and an idea; nor is it easy to determine a pure feeling and an idea, unless it is that both possess intensity... Instead, then, of the one minimum genus state of mind or consciousness, with its three coordinate subdivisions,—cognition, emotion, conception,—our analysis seems to lead us to recognize three distinct and irreducible facts,—attention, feelings, and objects or presentations,—as together constituting one concrete state of mind or psychesis' (Berkeley, Brit. Antiq. Psych. '1890', p. 192). Neither activity (attention) nor feeling can accordingly be presented to the mind; we know them only by their presentational conditions, accompaniments, or effects.

'Our activity as such is not presented at all; we are being active; and further than this psychological analysis will not go. There are two ways in which this activity is manifested,
Activity and feeling are present in all states of consciousness, they show no differentiation of parts, possess therefore no marks of individuality by which they may enter into association with other activities, feelings, or presentations; and as they cannot enter into associations, so they cannot be reproduced or recalled in any sense analogous to that in which presentations are recalled (ib. 444). It might perhaps be said that Dr. Ward's view of the causal analysis of the unanalyzable phase of experience can never be an object or content of experience. Professor James has argued with great force against the conception that there is any peculiar consciousness of activity, more especially in the form of a feeling of innervation as it has been called—the feeling of the current of outgoing energy, in volition or attention or other active states—which is defended by writers otherwise so diverse as Bain, Helmholtz, and Wundt (Principles of Psychology, ii. 492 ff.; cf. i. 509ff.).

While in ordinary volition before the act takes place is simply a kinesthetic idea of what the act is to be—an idea which would make up of memory images of the muscular sensations defining which special act it is. All our ideas of movement are to be found in other parts of the effort which it requires, as well as those of its direction, its extent, its strength, and its velocity, are images of peripheral sensations, either "remote," or resident in the moving parts, or in other parts which sympathetically act with them in consequence of the diffuse "wave" (ib. 494). Wundt himself, as James points out, has come to admit that there are no differences of quality in these feelings of innervation, but only of degree of intensity. They are used by the mind as guides, not of which movement, but of how strong a movement it is making, or shall make. But does not this virtually surrender their existence altogether? (ib. 500). The fundamental form of mental activity, according to James, is attention, and the fact of attention is known partly through changes undergone by the idea to which we attend, and partly by muscular sensations, in the head and elsewhere, which accompany the strain of accommodation, sensory and mental. Dr. Stout has rightly pointed out that separation here separates activity from the process which is active, and makes it consist in another collateral process. It "is like identifying the velocity of a moving body with the motion of some other body" (Anal. Psychol. i. 163). James does not, however, identify the activity with the sensations by which we become aware of it; they are indexes of something which directly we cannot know. By Dr. Stout himself this is precisely what is denied: an idea must be based upon some direct experience or sensation. This idea, according to Dr. Stout, must be based on the direct experience of time-transience, as the thought of red colour is based on the corresponding sensation. The cardinal antithesis between mental activity and passivity is not merely a group of relations ideally cognized by the reflective intelligence. Mental activity exists in being felt. It may readily be admitted that change or transition is given as a direct experience; but an activity is much more than a transition. It involves (1) direction or tendency toward an end, and (2) some feeling or knowledge of effectuation in the successive phases of the realization of the end. It is impossible to see how either a tendency towards an end, or the effectiveness of a process in furthering the tendency, can be a direct experience or feeling of the mind. Causality cannot exist in being felt; and causality is an essential feature of activity. We conclude, then, (1) that there is no direct consciousness of activity; (2) that the conception of activity is an idea; founded on certain complex groups of feelings and presentations, in which similar elements and arrangements of elements constantly recur.

5. What is the simplest or primary form of mental activity? At least three possible answers may be given: (1) Effectuation of physical change, (2) Attention, (3) Apperception.

The first identifies activity with conation simply, of which the lowest form is impulse; the second, the mental element in conation to the movement of the attention; the third, to the play of apperception. In the first, which is that adopted above, mental activity is self-determination only in an indirect way; the mind cannot act immediately upon itself; it can produce a desired change and by subjecting itself to certain physical conditions or circumstances through which the change may be effected. The question of Liberty and Determinism does not turn in the least upon this of the conception of mental activity, as Dr. Stout has so aptly said, "Whatever be our opinion about our liberty or our determinism, we accord to the different moments of our mental life a decisive influence upon the nature of the following moments. We consider our actual modifications as acting upon our future modifications." Even those who feel themselves subject to an inflexible necessity do not so because their will is without efficacy, but, on the contrary, because the efficacy of every idea, every feeling, every volition is such that it does not leave the smallest place to contingency (van Biema, Revue de Metaphys. et Morale, 1900, p. 298).

But an idea has efficacy not in itself, but only in so far as it excites feeling, and thereby stimulates activity or striving. Both Dr. Ward and Professor James, from different points of view, regard attention as the primary and fundamental phase of mental activity. The effort of attention is thus the essential phenomenon of will (James, ii. p. 592); but this volitional effort pure and simple must be carefully distinguished from the muscular effort with which it is usually confounded. The latter consists of all those peripheral feelings to which a muscular " exertion" may give rise. The attention is kept strained upon an object of thought which is out of harmony with the prevailing drift of the thoughts that are growing and playing upon itself before the mind with ease. This strain of the attention is the fundamental act of will. And the will's work is in most cases practically ended when the bare presence to our thought of the naturally unwelcome object has been secured. For the mysterious tie between the thought and the motor centres next comes into play, and, in a way which we cannot even guess at, the obedience of the bodily organs follows as a matter of course (ib. p. 584). Consciousness (or the neural states and the motor states which are the concomitants of) is an impulsive (ib. p. 535). Now, it is in precisely this impulsiveness, this transition from thought to bodily action, that we have sought the primitive or essential form of the activity of mind. The retaining or strengthening of an idea in attention is only an instance of it. Attention is not a pure activity which can be called now to one idea, now to another: it is the interaction between the mind and its presentations, the degree and form of attention being proportional to the mental organization; and the effect of attention is either the idea, the content of consciousness itself, but upon the motor centres by which the physiological process underlying the idea is strengthened or heightened, and thus the idea itself brought indirectly into clearer consciousness. As Volkmann has
said, 'The willing to hold a presentation fast is not the willing of the presentation itself—and cannot therefore be directed immediately upon the presentation, but must take the roundabout way through renewing the stimulus or keeping up the activity of auxiliary (i.e. associated) ideas' (Volkmann, Lesung über Psychologie, [1864], li. p. 360). With Wundt, the elementary process is 'the apperception of a psychic content' (l.c. iii. 307), or the bringing of a presentation into the focus of consciousness. Consciousness and will belong together; that from the beginning ourselves act as a volition-process differs from the internal action of apperception only in its consequences, not in its immediate psychological nature. Considered as a phenomenon of consciousness, the former consists in nothing but 'the apperception of an idea of movement' (ib.; on Wundt's 'Theory of Apperception' see Villa, Contemporary Psychology, p. 211 ft.). If we analyze this process of apperception, we find there are three steps: (i.) the idea is perceived or enters consciousness; (ii.) it acts as a motive or stimulus, through the feelings connected with it, upon the internal will; (iii.) the will reacts upon it, and it is 'apperceived.' The sole effect of the will upon the ideas is to raise their level of reason or Intensus. All which follows springs from the mechanism of the ideas themselves. Volkman objects to the theory that it implies a will hanging above the ideas, and striking in among them, but which in itself is wholly inanimate'—a will which we must wait for stimulation from without (I.c. p. 194). The latter objection holds only if we suppose that perception precedes apperception in time, as Wundt indeed assumes: it fails if we regard the analysis as the result of a process in which the ideas can be held apart only by abstraction, but which have no separate conscious existence. The former objection is, however, conclusive: a will which acts upon our ideas and affects them directly is non-existent. We conclude that attention and apperception are alike modes of the more fundamental form of mental activity which consists in the response of the mind to a presentation, through feeling, by effecting some bodily change. The dualism of soul and body is already partly overcome in Aristotle; it is not the soul in man that thinks or learns of itself, but man thinks through the soul; i.e. the man is an organic whole. On the other hand, the dualism returns within the limits which impede the passive and active. All human knowledge depends upon experience, and rational truths are merely the highest inductive generalizations from experience; the mind is passive in the double sense: (1) that it is not efficient, but it is limited in material, and even the forms into which the material is moulded, through successive impressions; (2) that the separate phases of consciousness are transitory and fleeting. On the other hand, the possibility of these empirical generalizations implies the co-operation of an Active or Creative Intelligence which gives the ideas their reality, as eternal, imperishable existences. This Active Reason is separate from the body, as from all matter, whereas the Passive Reason is merely the essence or form of the body itself: the Passive Reason perishes with the body, the Active Reason is the eternal element in man (de Anima, iii. Cf. Siebeck, Gesch. der Psychologie, i. 2, pp. 64 f., 72). The difficulties of the theory are that the understanding of the soul must be simply identical with the Divine Consciousness itself, by which the finite mind is passively affected, so that there is no real activity of the finite consciousness; (2) that from another point of view the passive passage of the Soul into the forms is simply Truth, as an ideal system of knowledge, of which our every thought is a partial realization. It has validity, not real existence. Aristotle's theory suggested, however, that the mind is active, the human understanding at work, in all knowledge, from sense-experience onwards. This conclusion was brought out first by Alexander of Aphrodisias—2nd cent. A.D.—(ib. p. 202). In Plotinus also (3rd cent.) consciousness is not merely the passive spectator of its own experiences, but a synthetic activity, grasping together, holding together and moulding the impressions it receives (ib. pp. 333, 337). Throughout the Medieval Period controversy as to mental activity resolved itself mainly into the relation of soul to body, or the problem of the relation of the finite to the Divine mind. In Avicenna (A.D. 980–1038) the intelligence is wholly unattached to any bodily organ, and its objects are wholly distinct from those of sense; on the other hand, he distinguishes, with Aristotle, between an Active and a Passive, each of which within the intelligence itself. The latter is only in the individual soul and perishes with it; the former is distinct and separate from the individual soul, is universal, one and the same in all, and it alone is immortal (Stöckl, Gesch. d. Philosophie des Mittelalters, ii. 1 § 12).
The question of ethical activity in its modern form first emerges in Averroës (A.D. 1126–1198). He distinguishes between beings which are active, i.e. act upon other beings, by nature, and those of which the activity is conditional upon desire. The powers of the former are determined to one thing, and must, when the corresponding conditions are satisfied, necessarily, be directed into the path of this end. The latter—beings which act from desire or choice—do not enter into activity necessarily, when a fitting object is presented, but are in themselves indifferent to the object, and may desire or choose the one thing, i.e. their choice is an activity according to the object and independent of it (ib. § 21). Some of the Muslim dogmatists denied that any source of activity exists in man or in any other finite being; all movement and activity in the created world depends directly and solely upon an external cause—viz. God. That definite events appear to follow upon definite causes is due to the fact that God observes the habit of allowing it so. Each process is an accident, momentarily created by God, according to the course prescribed to Himself. Man is not really will or act, God creates in him the volition and the act; man is thus wholly passive, the blind instrument of God's will. His activity is an illusion. These ideas return in Guilinco and the rationalists. The doctrine of the soul as a substance, and therefore a source of activity, was upheld by Albertus Magnus (13th cent.) and Thomas Aquinas (ib.), and prevailed, along with a side current of scepticism, until Descartes (1596–1650). In his metaphysical theory Descartes makes mind the diametrical opposite of body; the former being active, free, the body a pure automaton: the soul is nothing that is not spiritual, unextended, immaterial; no intercourse, therefore, is possible between soul and body, except by the Divine intervention. The soul produces its sensations from itself, on occasion of, but not through, the bodily excitations. In his Psychology, however, as Weber has pointed out (Weber, Hist. of Philosophy, tr. Thilly, p. 310; cf. Descartes, Traité des Passions de l'Homme), Descartes entirely contravenes these principles and speaks of the soul as united to the body, and as acting upon it and acted upon by it in its turn. In both Spinoza and Leibniz the special activity of the soul is knowledge; it is particularly its idea; its functions or perceptions are inadequate or confused. With Malebranche, a little later with Schopenhauer, but from a totally different standpoint, the centre of activity is transferred to the will—the mind in relation to the outward world. In the English Psychologists it is jointly placed in the will and in the inward power of combining, synthesizing, and transforming the ideas. In modern psychology, as we have tried to show above, the tendency has been to reduce one of these different forms of mental activity to the other.


ADAM.—x. The name. The Heb. ְ帐号(ʿādāh) is properly a common noun denoting 'mankind,' or 'human beings,' and is hence distinguished from ʿārāh. In Gn 1:26–28 (P), ʿādāh = 'mankind'; in 2:4–25 we have הָאֲדָם = 'the man,' i.e. the first man; in 5:2 it is used as a proper name. The etymology of 'Adam' is uncertain; Gn 2:21 Jehovah Elohim forms man (ʿādāh) of the dust of the ground (ʿādāmah) is not to be taken as a scientific derivation. The usual words for 'man' in the Semitic languages generally are not cognate with ʿādām. 'Adam' has been connected with an Assyr. adum, 'child,' 'one made,' 'created'; with the Heb. root ʿād 'red,' the name having orig. pointed race; Dillmann on Gn 1:2 suggests a connexion with an Eth. root = 'pleasant,' 'well-formed,' or an Arab. root = 'to attach oneself,' and so = 'gregarious,' 'sociable.' Any connexion with ἄνθρωπος, the hero of a Babylonian myth, is most improbable.

2. Adam in the OT.—The only references to Adam are in Gn 1–5, and in the dependent passage 1 Ch 1. The common noun ʿādām is misread as the name in AV of Dt 32:8 and Job 31:24; RV corrects Dt. but retains Adam in the text of Job, putting the correction 'of' after 'Adam' for 'like Adam' in the margin. In view of the OT habit of playing upon words, there may be a secondary reference to Adam in Job and possibly elsewhere; but as 'man' or 'mankind' gives a satisfactory sense, there is not sufficient ground for recognizing a secondary meaning.

In the Priestly narrative (P) of Creation (Gn 1:26–28) Jehovah Elohim creates 'mankind' (ʿādāh) in His own image, in two sexes, makes man supreme over all living creatures, bids him multiply, and gives him the fruits and grains of the earth to eat. But whereas it is said separately of each of the other groups of creatures, 'God saw that it was good,' there is no such separate utterance concerning man; he is simply included in the general statement, 'God saw every thing that He had made, and, behold, it was very good.' In 5:1–5 Adam is the ancestor of the human race; when he is 130 years old he begets Seth in his own likeness, after his image. Afterwards Adam begat other children, and died at the age of 930. 

In the Prophetic (J) narrative (Gn 4:24–46) Jehovah Elohim mounds 'the man' out of dust, gives him life by breathing into his nostrils the breath of life, and places him in Eden to dress and keep it. Jehovah Elohim also makes the animals out of the soil (ʿādāmah) in order that 'the man' may find a helpmeet; 'the man' names them but finds no suitable helpmeet. Jehovah Elohim builds up a woman out of a rib taken from 'the man' while he slept; the woman proves a suitable helpmeet. Jehovah Elohim makes 'the man' to eat of the fruit of a certain tree of the knowledge of good and evil' planted in the midst of Eden; but, tempted by the serpent, the woman ate of the forbidden fruit, and also persuaded the man.'
man to eat. Thereupon Jahweh Elohim drove them out of Eden, and men became subject to death. After the expulsion the man and the woman became parents of three sons; one of these, Abel, was murdered by his brother Cain; while formed for the Cain and Seth, became the progenitors of the human race.

These two narratives differ markedly in form; the Prophetic narrative is frankly anthropomorphic, while the Priestly narrative minimizes the supernatural element. Both are adapted from ancient Semitic traditions, but here again in Gn 1 the mythological element is reduced to language and framework, and is altogether subordinated to the teaching of revelation; whereas in Gn 2-4 the author is evidently glad to retain a picturesque story for its own sake as well as for the sake of its moral. In other words, he uses an ancient tradition as a parable, and we have no right to extract theology from all the details.

The two narratives agree in their pure monotheism, in representing man as the immediate creation of God, without intervention of angels, sons, or other intermediate supernatural beings; in representing him as a creation of God, and not as born of God by any quasi-material process; and in representing the human race as descended from a single pair. They are also substantially at one in other points: man is God-like; in the Priestly narrative he is made 'in the image and likeness of God, and passes that image and likeness' on to his children (as in the Parable of the Mustard Seed); in the Prophetic narrative man's life is the breath of God (Gn 2); in the Priestly narrative man is given the dominion over all other creatures; in the Prophetic narrative the animals are specially formed for man's service, and to receive their names from him.

It is characteristic of the Priestly narrative that its expressive moral is found in two points of ritual: man is to be a vegetarian, and to observe the Sabbath. The Prophetic narrative, on the other hand, is concerned with the moral life: the marriage tie is to be permanently binding, and marriage is spoken of in terms which imply a preference for monogamy. Man is under a divine law; God has provided for his welfare, and not ordained his abode, his work, his food. There is moral retribution; the disobedience of the man and the woman, wrong-doing, murder on the part of Cain, are punished; but even while Jahweh Elohim punishes, He still clothes the nakedness of the woman, and protects Cain from being put to death.

Passing to other features of the Prophetic narrative, we note the inferior position of woman, corresponding to her status in the East, suggested by her formation after man, from his body, and for his service; she is also the instrument of his ruin. Again, man enjoys immediate fellowship with God; and this is not terminated by the expulsion from Eden, for Jahweh converses in the same fashion with Cain as He does with Adam; and the dwelling-place of Cain as descendant of Eden is still thought of as being in the special presence of God. When Cain leaves this dwelling-place, he goes 'out from the presence of Jahweh' and feels that he will 'be hidden from his face' (Gn 4:14).

The original sin of man, the fatal source of all his misery, was inordinate desire, indulged in contrary to the Divine prohibition. This desire is comprehensive. It is sensuous: the woman sees that the tree is 'good for food'; it is aesthetic: 'it was a delight to the eyes.' Desire is also intellectual: the tree is 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil'; the serpent promises that by eating it 'their eyes shall be opened . . . to know good and evil,' and the woman sees that the tree is 'to be desired to make one wise.' But the desire for the 'knowledge of good and evil' is not merely intellectual, it is also a desire for a deeper, more varied, more exciting experience of life, a desire to 'see life,' to use popular language. And as the serpent promises that by eating they shall become 'like gods,' this desire included ambition. In other words, the first sin consisted in defying God by giving the reins to the various impulses which make for culture and civilization. Similarly, in Gn 4:18-24 progress in civilization is due to the evil race of Cain.

The author of the source which the Prophetic narrator follows regards the life of man as accursed, a life of sordid toil, poorly rewarded, embarrassed by shame arising out of the sexual conditions of human existence, burdened by the pain of child bringing, and by her subjection to her husband. These evils are the punishment of the first sin, the consequences of the unwholesome appetite for luxury and culture, knowledge and power. Smend (Alttest. Rel. Gesch. 121 f.) has pointed out that this conception of desire does as descending from the Cainites, or the other portions of the Prophetic narrative; hence the author must have taken it over from older tradition, and it does not represent his formal and complete judgment on life, though he retains it as expressing one side of the truth.

Similarly, there are other theological implications which might be discerned by pressing details; but such implications are no part of the teaching which the Prophetic narrator intended to enforce; such details also are merely retained from ancient tradition: e.g. the feud between man and the serpent is retained as corresponding to the facts of life, but in the original story it was probably a reminiscence of the contest between Maruduk and the primeval Dragon.

Again, the story serves to explain the miserable estate of man and the sense of alienation from God; but it does not profess to explain the origin of evil or of sin. It is indeed implied that sin did not descend from man, but was due to suggestion from outside. Obviously we are not intended to deduce doctrines by combining features of the two narratives, otherwise we should be confronted by the difficulty that the serpent should be the instrument of the creatures whom God pronounced 'very good.' In the Priestly narrative the fact of sin is not mentioned till the time just before the Flood, when we are told that the earth was corrupt and full of violence (Gn 6:1); no account is given of the origin of this corruption. It is noteworthy that we are told that Adam transmitted the Divine likeness to Seth (cf. 5:2 and vv. 25); but no such statement is made as to Adam's other children. Possibly the divine likeness was a birthright of eldest son to eldest son, till it reached Noah, but not possessed by other men, hence their corruption; or again this likeness may have been shared by the descendants of Seth, but not possessed by other races. The Book of Chronicles simply traces the genealogy of Israel from Adam.

3. Adam in the Apocrypha and later Jewish literature.—As the first man, Adam occupies a prominent place in theology and tradition. An immense body of tradition gathered round the brief narratives in Genesis, and these were traced to Adam in the Apocrypha, however, are for the most part mere references to the accounts in Genesis. Thus 2 Es 3:10-19 is a summary of these accounts, followed in v. 21 by the comment, 'For the first Adam, bear

* As far as the Fall and Cain and Abel are concerned, only unimportant features of each story have yet been discovered in the Inscriptions of Western Asia; but the character of Gn 5-4 shows that the author is adapting ancient tradition.

* Not as in RVm 'desirable to look upon,' cf. Dillmann.
4. Adam in the NT.—Adam is mentioned in Lk 3:38 as the ancestor of Jesus, thus emphasizing the Incarnation, the reality of our Lord's humanity. In 1 Ti 2:14, the authority of the husband over the wife is deduced from the fact that Adam was 'first formed'; and that it was Eve, not Adam, who was deceived by the serpent. The idea that Adam was not deceived probably rests on some Rabbinical exegesis, e.g. the suggestion that Adam did not know that the apple Eve gave him came from the tree of life. Jude 14 has the casual reference, 'Enoch also, the seventh from Adam.' Also, 1 Co 11:8 supposes current, popular, and ready-made way in which women wore their hair, and as to their wearing veils, by the fact that the first woman was created from the man, and for the sake of the man, and not vice versa.

But the most important NT passages are Ro 5:12-21 and 1 Co 15:21-22, which state a parallel and a contrast between Adam and Christ. To a certain extent, Adam and Christ stand in the same relation to the human race; in each case the nature and work of the individual affects the whole race: Adam 'is a snare of death' (Ro 5:12). But while the one man Adam's one sin introduces sin and guilt and death, the one Christ's one act of righteousness justifies the guilty, restores them to righteousness, and enables them to reign in life. This 'one act of righteousness' is also spoken of as 'the obedience of one'; the general tenor of St. Paul's teaching identifies this 'act' with the death of Christ (Ro 5:18-21, 1 Co 15:21). St. Paul does not make it clear how, or in what sense, Adam's sin became the cause of sin, guilt, and death to his posterity. The statement of Ro 5:14, that 'death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the likeness of Adam's transgression,' suggests that men were involved in the guilt and punishment of Adam apart from their own sins.

1 Co 15:21-22 is not prima facie quite consistent with Romans; and there is nothing to show that St. Paul had correlated the two sets of ideas. In Corinthians, mankind inherits from Adam limitations; and Christ enables mankind to transcend those limitations. The first man is of the earth, earthly, merely a living 'soul' (ψωφίς); and such were his descendants until Christ came. 'The last man,' 'the second man from heaven,' was 'a life-giving spirit' (σῖνα), and apparently communicates this pneuma to Christians, who resemble their Master, and bear His image. In other words, by the Incarnation human nature was raised to a higher plane. But again it is doubtful how far St. Paul would have been prepared to affirm all that his words imply. The idea of a higher and a lower Adam, of a heavenly and an earthly or earthly man, is found in Philo, in some of the Gnostic systems, and in the Qabbālā.

5. Adam in Christian literature.—The Patristic commentaries on the stories of the Creation and the Fall largely follow Jewish models, and often allegorize and ornament the narrative by legendary additions; while the Gnostic cosmologies anticipate and pave the way for the mysticism of the Qabbālā. Adam becomes a Gnostic Θεός. The Ophites speak of 'the spiritual seed or ἐξ άνθρωπος as an efflux ανά τοῦ θανάτου άνθρωπος ἀνάφλος Ἀδάματος,' Greek equivalents of the Adam Qadmon or Adam Elyon which figure in the Qabbālā.

1 See Budge’s “DB,” I.22, art. “Adam, Books of.”
2 Heschel, Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis.
ADAM'S BRIDGE—ADAM'S PEAK

To derive these Gnostic ideas from the Qabbala is an anachronism; both are developments of Rabbinical mysticism. Medieval and Protestant divines, especially Calvin following Augustine, develop the doctrine of Original Sin from St. Paul's teaching: "Thus Calvin: * 'He (Adam) not only was his own self, but he involved his posterity also. ... The orthodox, therefore, and more especially Augustine, laboured to show that we are not corrupted by acquired wickedness, but bring an innate corruption from the very womb. It was the greatest impudence to deny this." *

6. Adam in Islam.—The Muhammadans accept the Christian Scripture subject to the necessary correction and interpretation; they have also borrowed many of the Jewish legends. Adam, therefore, is an important person in their religious system; and they have adorned his story with legends of their own. For instance, on the site of the Ka'ba at Mecca, Adam, after his expulsion from Eden, first worshipped God in a tent sent down from heaven for the purpose; and Eve's tomb may be seen near Mecca; it shows the outlines of a body 173 ft. by 12 ft.; the head is buried elsewhere.

ADAM'S PEAK.—This is the English name, adopted from the Portuguese, of a lofty mountain in Ceylon, called, in Sinhalese Samanala, and in Fr. Samanta-kīta or Sinamata, and it is directly from the plains, at the extreme south-west corner of the central mountainous district, to a height of 7420 feet. The panorama from the summit is one of the grandest in the world, as few other mountains, though surpassing it in altitude, present the same grandeur and extent. The sea, and the sea and sea, with sandbanks and sandbanks, around are but small things when viewed from this peak.

The peak is best known as a place of pilgrimage to the depressed rock at its summit, which is supposed to resemble a man's footprint, and is explained by pilgrims of all religions in different ways. It is a most remarkable, and probably unique, sight to see a group of pilgrims gazing solemnly at the depression, each one quite undisturbed in his faith by the knowledge that the Peak is not a footprint of the Buddha, the Saiwadee regarding it as the footprint of Siva, the Christian holding it to be the footprint of St. Thomas, or perhaps admitting the conflicting claims of the eunuch of Queen Candina, and the Muhammadans who hold the footprint of Adam. The origin of these curious beliefs is at present obscure. None of them can be traced back to its real source, and even in the case of the Buddhist belief, about which we know most, we are left to conjecture in the last, or first."

The earliest mention of the Buddhist belief is in the Samanta Pādikā, a commentary on the Buddhist Canon Law written by Buddhaghosa in the first quarter of the 5th cent. A.D. This work has not yet been published, but the passage is quoted in full, in the original Pali, by Ekeke (pp. 50, 51). It runs as follows: *'The Exalted One, in the eighth year after (his attainment of) Wisdom, came attended by five hundred Bhikshus on the invitation of Maniakkha, king of the Nagas, to Ceylon; took the meal (to which he had been invited), seated the while in the Rata Mandapa (Main Pavillon) put up on the spot where the royal throne (afterwards) stood, and making the footprint visible on Samanta Kīta, went back to India.'* Seizing that Adam's Peak is a hundred miles away from the Kalyāni Dagaha, the classic at the back of Adam's Peak, Bock, and others, also accepts the view—not the Buddhist thinking it to be the footprint of the Buddha, but the Sinhalese, and the Buddhists who think it to be the footprint of Adam. The origin of these curious beliefs is at present obscure. None of them can be traced back to its real source, and even in the case of the Buddhist belief, about which we know most, we are left to conjecture in the last, or first."

"We, my lord, how our island is called Rama, the second of the Hindu Trinity—the god who preserves and supports the universe. The island of Ramesvaram, from which Rāma is supposed to have crossed to Ceylon over the causeway built by him, is therefore a sacred spot of pilgrimage, visited by thousands of Hindus every year from all parts of India. The famous temple of Ramesvaram, with its pilared corridors, 700 feet long, is perhaps the finest specimen of Dravidian architecture in India.

LITERATURE.—Rāmāyanā (Grihūṭā’s tr. and Romesh Dutt’s condensed tr.); for an account of the temple of Ramesvaram, see Ferguson, Indian and Eastern Archaeology.

ROMESH DUTT.

ADAM'S BRIDGE.—Rāma-sattva —Rāma's causeway.—A chain of sandbanks over 30 miles in length, extending from the island of Ramesvaram off the Indian coast, to the island of Manar off the coast of Ceylon. These sandbanks—some dry and others a few feet under the surface of the water—seem to connect India with Ceylon; and this fact has given rise to the tradition that they are portions of a causeway which was constructed by Rāma, the hero of the ancient Indian Epic called the Rāmāyana.

The story of the Epic is well known. Rāma, the prince of Ayodhya or Oudh, was banished by his king, his father, for fourteen years, and came and lived in a forest near the sources of the Gōdāvari, accompanied by his wife Sitā and his younger brother Lakṣmanā. During the absence of the two brothers from their cottage, Sitā was taken away by Rāvana, king of Ceylon. After long search Rāma got news of Sitā, and determined to cross over from India to Ceylon with a vast army of monkeys and bears to recover her. It was for this purpose that the causeway across the ocean is said to have been constructed. Rāma crossed over with the army, defeated and killed Rāvana, recovered his wife, and returned to Oudh. The period of exile had expired; Rāma's father would have ascended to his throne.

The building of the causeway across the ocean is described at great length in the epic poem. And after Rāma had killed his foe and recovered his wife, he is described as sailing through the sky in an aerial car—all the way from Ceylon to Oudh. The whole of India was spread below; and few passages in the epic are more striking than the bold attempt to describe the vast continent as seen from the car. It was then that Rāma pointed out to his wife, who was seated by his side in the car, the great causeway he had constructed across the ocean.

* "Institutes, Br. ii. ch. i. §§ 5.
* For Christian Apochrapha connected with Adam cf. Hastings' DB. i. 97 ff. For the legend (as old as Origen) that Adam was buried on Golgotha, see Wilson, Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, 1890, p. 167.
* Haidī Khan and Sparrow, With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 106, 108.

*[1] F "See, my love, round Ceylon's island How the ocean billows roar, Hiding pearls in caves of coral, And the causeway far-extending.— Monument of Rāma's fame.—
Rāmānūtto unto age—
Shall our deathless deed proclaim!"

"The Hindus regard him, but as the incarnation of Vishnu, the second of the Hindu Trinity—the god who preserves and supports the universe. The island of Ramesvaram, from which Rāma is supposed to have crossed to Ceylon over the causeway built by him, is therefore a sacred spot of pilgrimage, visited by thousands of Hindus every year from all parts of India. The famous temple of Ramesvaram, with its pilared corridors, 700 feet long, is perhaps the finest specimen of Dravidian architecture in India.

LITERATURE.—Rāmāyanā (Grihūṭā’s tr. and Romesh Dutt’s condensed tr.); for an account of the temple of Ramesvaram, see Ferguson, Indian and Eastern Archaeology.

ROMESH DUTT."

* Osler, Mahābhārata and Dīpanāka (Leipzig, 1903), p. 78.
* Sir E. Tennent, Ceylon, ii, 133, dates it "prior to B.C. 801."
ADAPTATION

Adaptation and also on the basis of the lost Sinhalese history, the Adam's Peak legend is referred to in almost identical words and in the same abrupt manner. If, then, the few words about Adam Ansak and Pamaka have been inverted in a previous story, they must have been so inserted already in the lost Sinhalese Mahavamsa. It seems curious that we hear no more of these legends in the Sinhalese literature of the intervening period till almost all Sinhalese literature has been destroyed, and as what survives of it is still buried in Sis, this should not be deemed so surprising as it looks at first sight. It should perhaps be noted that in the local Sinhalese tradition, which the present writer heard when a magistrate in the adjoining district of Sitawaka, was that the footprint was discovered by King Walagamba Bahu, the successor of Asokamuni in the sixth century of the Christian era. But we have found no literary record of it. This remains to say with regard to the Pali evidence, that there is a poem called the "Samanta-Kité-sa" written at an uncertain date, and possibly by an author witha (who also wrote a popular collection of palm and elephant grammar in Sinhalese), who seems more careful of little correctnesses and little elegance than of more important matters. This work contributes nothing of value to the present question.

Fa Hian, who visited Ceylon about A.D. 412, mentions the footprint; and Sir Emerson Tennent (Ceylon, i. pp. 384-386), gives on the very excellent authority of the late Mr. Wyile, quotations from the Chinese records of Chinese geographers who speak reverentially of the sacred footprint impressed on Adam's Peak by the first man, who bears, in their mythology, the name of Pau-ku. It would seem probable that these geographers may have derived the idea from the Adamans. For there are large settlements of Arabs, or at least Mahommedans, in China, before they wrote; the Arab traders were rightly regarded as good authorities in matters relating to foreign countries, and they had already the idea of connecting the footsteps with Adam. The idea has been traced back in Arab writers to the middle of the 9th cent., and occurs frequently afterwards. Ibn Batuta, for instance, who saw the footprint of Moses at Damascus, gives a long account of his visit to the footprint of Adam on Adam's Peak. Whence did they derive the belief? Sir Emerson Tennent (vol. i. p. 135) is confident that it must have been from Gnostic Christians.

The evidence of the Saivite belief is much later. Ibn Batuta (circa 1340) mentions that four Jogis who went with him to the Peak had been wont yearly to make pilgrimage to it; and the Parakram Bâ Sirita (Parakkama Bâhu Charita), which is about a century later, mentions a Brahman returning from a pilgrimage to Anuradhapura, the Sinhalese name of the Peak. But neither does he say that the footprint was there; and indeed the latter says that the deity of the spot was Sumanâ. But in the Mahâvamsha (ch. 269?) it is stated that King Râja Sinha of Sítâwâka (A.D. 1581-1592) granted the revenues of the Peak to his courtiers. King Râja Sinha had slain his father with his own hand at the Bhikshadvara war. *

* James D'Alwis, Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. xlvii., put him in the 14th cent.; Wijsenbeek, Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, p. xlvii., in the 13th century. This may be the text of the Saivite source, as it is mentioned in the great Sinhalese Manuscript assigned to p. 72, Ganda Vanahan (JPTS, 1886) to Vadissara, who belongs to the 12th cent. a.n.

† Reinaud, Voyages Asiatiques et Turcs dans le même siècle, vol. i. p. 5 f. It is also found in Tabari.

‡ Schwartz's translation, p. 251.

had declared they would not absolve him of the crime; the ascetics said they could; so he smeared his body with ashes and adopted their faith, that of Siva. The Sanna or grant, issued by King Kirti Sri of Kandy in 1751, making a renewed grant to the Buddhist Bhikshu at the Peak, calls it the Saivite fagioi Aniydiasa. Possibly the Saivite tradition may date from this event. But it may also be somewhat older. In the Thatchana Kallâsa Mâmmiyam, a Tamil legendary work on Trincomali, it is said that rivers flow from the Peak out of Siva's foot there. The date of this is altogether unknown, and the present writer has seen only the extract given by Skeen (p. 295).

Whatever opinion they hold about the footprint, both Tamils and Sinhalese consider the deity of the place to be Samaan Dewiyo, as he is called in Sinhalese, or Sumanâ (also Samanta) as he is called in Pali. His shrine still stands on the topmost peak just beneath the pavilion over the footprint, and his image has been reproduced by Skeen (p. 258). Skeen also gives (p. 256) a ground plan and woodcut of the buildings on the Peak. Sir C. Tennent (ii. 140) gives a ground woodcut of them as they appeared in 1858; and Dr. Rost, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1903, p. 656, gives two woodcuts, one of the upper pavilion and one of the footmark. On the little rock plateau at the top of the mountain is only about 50 by 30 ft. — there is the boulder on the top of which is the footprint covered by a pavilion, the shrine of Samaan Dewiyo, a shrine containing a small image of the Buddha recently erected, and a hut of wood and plaster work occupied by the Buddhist Bhikshus. The four who were there when Rost visited the Peak told him that they had not been down from the mountain for four years. They complained of the cold, but said that otherwise they were quite contented, and had much time for study, and showed him their palm-leaf books. Rost says that the depression in the rock is now 5½ ft. long by 23 ft. broad, and that the heel of the footprint is well preserved, but the toes are not visible, being covered by the wall of the pavilion.

LITERATURE.—Tennent and Rost as cited above, and William Skeen, Adam's Peak, Colombo, 1850.

ADAPTATION.—Almost every detail of inherited structure and congenital behaviour shows fit adjustment to the needs and conditions of life, and may be spoken of as an adaptation. Wherever we look throughout the wide world of animal nature, we find illustrations of particular fitness to particular conditions. The size, the shape, the colour of an organism, the structure of parts in relation to their use and in their relations to other parts, the everyday behaviour and the only occasional activities, e.g. those concerned with reproduction, — almost every detail of structure and function is adaptive. The term may be used simply as a descriptive adjective, implying that the structure or function in question is fit, effective, well-adjusted, making for the preservation or well-being of the species. * This purely biological usage it has also a theoretical implication, that the detail in question —if it be more than an individual accommodation, more than an individually acquired modification—is the result of a process of evolution. It was not always as it is now, it has a history behind it, it is the result of evolution, whatever these may be (see EVOLUTION).

The structure of a long bone in a mammal is adapted to give the utmost firmness with the minimum expenditure of material. The sole pollen-basket on the hind legs of worker-bees is adapted to stow away the pollen; the colours and patterns on the wings of leaf-insects are adapted to harmonise with the

* A full translation of the Sinhâsa is given by Skeen. See p. 295.
foliage on which they settle; the parts of flowers are often adapted to ensure that the insect-visiters are dusted with pollen, and thus to secure cross-fertilization; the leaf of the Venus Fly-trap is adapted to attract, capture, and digest flies; the peacock is adapted to captivate the peahen; the mother monkey for the prolonged prenatal life of the young; the so-called ‘egg-tooth’ at the end of a young bird’s bill is adapted to the single operation of breaking the egg-shell;—and so on, till the whole of the animate world is indeed a mistake to dwell upon signal instances of adaptations, since (apart from degenerative changes in old age, morbid processes, inherited vices, or vestigal structures, and certain ‘indifferent’ characters which are not known to have any significance) almost every detail of structure and function may be regarded as adaptive.

To gain a clearer idea of what is one of the most difficult and fundamental problems of biology, it may be useful to consider briefly—(1) effectiveness of response; (2) plasticity; (3) modifiability, which lead on to the conception of adaptiveness.

1. Effectiveness of response.—One of the characteristics of organisms, as contrasted with inanimate systems, is their power of effective response to environmental stimuli. The barrel of gunpowder can respond to the external stimulus of a spark, but it responds self-destructively; the living creature’s responses tend to self-preservation or to species-preservation. A piece of iron reacts to the atmosphere in rusting; it becomes an oxide of iron and magnesia; but what it is to do, or how it is to respond, is a problem of primary and fundamental power of effective response; it is part of our conception of life. In some degree it must have been possessed by the first and simplest organisms, though it has doubtless been improved upon in the course of evolution. Without wrestling words, it cannot be said that inanimate systems ever exhibit effectiveness of response. A river carves through a soft rock and circles round a hard one, a glacier carves mountains in a single age, a snail grows in the course of many years. But it cannot be said that there is any advantage to river, glacier, or crystal in the way it behaves. The biological concept is plainly irrelevant. The nearest analogues, perhaps, to organic effectiveness of response may be found in the movements of inanimate machines, but the analogy is little more than a pleasing conceit, since the machine is a materialization of human ingenuity and without any intrinsic autonomy.

2. Plasticity.—But in addition to the primary inherent power of effective response, we must also recognize that living creatures are in different degrees plastic. That is to say, they can adjust their reactions to novel conditions, or they can, as we seem bound to say, try first one mode of reaction, and when another, and another, and another, and another, and another, and another, until that which is most effective. Thus, Dallinger was able to accustom certain Monads to thrive at an extraordinarily high temperature; thus Jennings reports that the behaviour of certain Infusorians may be compared to a pursuance of ‘the method of trial and error’; thus some marine fishes are plastic enough to live for days in fresh water. How much of this plasticity is primary or inherent in the very nature of living matter, how much of it is secondary and is acquired by the individual during the course of ages, must remain in great measure a matter of opinion. Each case must be judged on its own merits. It is certain that many unicellular organisms are very plastic, and it seems reasonable to suppose that, as differentiation increased, restrictions were placed on the primary plasticity, while a more specialized secondary plasticity was gained in many cases, where organisms lived in environments liable to frequent vicissitudes. It is convenient to use the term accommodation for the frequently occurring functional adjustments which many organisms are able to make to new conditions. When a muscle becomes stronger if exercised beyond its wont, we may speak of this temporary individual acquisition as a functional accommodation. See ACCOMMODATION.

3. Modifiability.—Advancing a third step, we recognize as a fact of life that organisms often exhibit great modifiability. That is to say, in the course of their individual life they are liable to be impressed by changes in surrounding influences and by changes in function, that, as a direct consequence, modifications of bodily structure or habit are acquired. ‘Modifications’ may be defined as structural changes in the body of an individual organism, directly induced by changes in function or in environment, which transcend the limit of organic plasticity and persist after the inducing conditions have ceased to operate. They are often inconveniently called ‘acquired characters.’ Thus the man’s skin living organisms persist, to a certain degree, through half a lifetime in the tropics, that it never becomes pale again, even after migration to a far from sunny clime. It is a permanent modification, as distinguished (a) from a temporary adjustment, and (b) from congenital swarthiness.

It is admitted by all that both temporary adjustments and more permanent modifications may make for survival or for an increase of well-being. Some favour survival in the long run, and others may also be indifferent (as far as we can see), or they may even be injurious to the organism as a whole, e.g. when an important organ, in response to inadequate nutrition or stimulus, is arrested at a certain stage in its development. In themselves, however, they seem always in the direction of at least local effectiveness. It is difficult to bring forward any instance where the reaction is in itself in the wrong direction. It may spell degeneration, but it cannot be assumed that this degeneration is always attained in other members of the species or in antecedent species, but the degeneration is in itself an effective response to the conditions thereof. A growing organ which does not receive adequate nutrients may stop growing; but while this may be injurious to the organism as a whole, it may be actually beneficial, and in any case it is the most effective response the organ as such could give.

The change-provoking stimulus may imply conditions with which the organism cannot possibly cope, but the parts primarily affected may be said to do their best within the limits of their modifiability. Even a pathological process like inflammation, set up in response to intrusive microbes, is an effective reaction, and may be useful, if not useful. When a mammal taken to a colder climate acquires a thicker coat of hair, when a plant similarly treated acquires a thicker epidermis, when an area of skin much pressed upon becomes hard and callous, when a shoemaker in the course of his trade develops certain skeletal peculiarities,—and hundreds of examples might be given,—we call the results adaptive modifications. The changes are effective, useful, fit,—they may even make for the organism’s so-called ‘natural selection’ to some extent. But the need for existence is keen. And yet these adaptations are not what are usually meant by ‘adaptations.’ For this term (used to denote a result, not a process) is most conveniently restricted to racial adjustments, that is, to characters which are inborn, not
ADAPTATION

acquired; which are expressions of the natural inheritance, not individual gains. It goes without saying that though these adaptations are potentially implicit in the germinal material—in the fertilized ovum—they cannot be expressed without appropriate ‘nurture’; that is a condition of all development. But the truly adaptive—what is theoretically the most difficult distinction to make in practice—quite different from acquired adaptive modifications, which are not innate though the potentiality of their occurrence necessarily is. According to the Lamarckian hypothesis, adaptations are due to the cumulative inheritance of individual modifications; but as satisfactory evidence of the hereditary transmission of any modification as such or in any representative degree is, to say the least, far to seek, and as it is difficult to conceive of any mechanism whereby such transmission could come about (see HARDWY), some other origin of adaptations must be sought for.

4. Origin of adaptations.—Within the limits of a short article it is impossible to discuss adequately a problem so difficult as that of the origin of adaptive modifications. So the origin of species is one of the fundamental—still imperfectly answered—questions which the interpreter of animate nature has to face. We cannot do more than indicate the general tenor of the suggestions which evolutionists have offered.

(a) According to the Lamarckian theory, racial adaptations are due to the cumulative inheritance of individual modifications. But there is a lack of evidence in support of this interpretation, plausible as it seems; it is difficult to conceive of any internal mechanism whereby a change acquired by a part of the body can affect the germinal material in a manner so precise and representative that the offspring shows a corresponding change in the same direction. Moreover, there are many known cases where any such transmission of modifications certainly does not occur.

(b) The general Darwinian theory is that adaptations are due to the selection of those inborn and heritable variations which, by making the possessors better adapted to the conditions of their life, have some survival value. It is a fact of observation that in many groups of organisms the individuals fluctuate continually in various directions. These fluctuating variations appear as if they followed the law of chance; it is also a fact of observation that some of these variations increase the survival value of their possessors. It is inferred that the cumulative inheritance of these favourable variations, fostered by selection in any of its numerous forms, and helped by the elimination—gradual or sudden—of forms lacking the variations in the fit direction, or having others relatively unfit, may lead to the establishment of new adaptations. The greatest difficulty in this argument is to account of the origin of the variations, and this has to be met by the accumulation of observational and experimental data bearing on the origin and nature of variations. It is also necessary to accumulate more facts showing that the selective pressures—acting directly on fluctuating variations—do really bring about the results ascribed to them. To many, furthermore, it appears that more emphasis should be laid upon the power that many animals have of actively selecting environments for which the variations they possess are adapted. Hence it is necessary to refer to the probable importance of some of the many forms of Isolation.

(c) The work of recent years—notably that of Bateson and De Vries—has made it plain that, besides the continually occurring ‘fluctuating variations,’ there are ‘discontinuous variations’ or ‘mutations,’ where a new character or group of characters not only appears suddenly, but may come to stay from generation to generation. It cannot be said that we understand the origin of these mutations, in which the organism in many of its parts seems suddenly to pass from one position of organic equilibrium to another; but the result of these mutations occurring is indubitable, and their marked heritability is also certain. Mendel has given at once a demonstration and a rationale of the fact that certain mutations, when once they have arisen, are not likely to be swamped, but are likely to persist, unless, of course, acquired modifications; hence horticulture, in particular, artificial selection has operated in great part on mutations. If this interpretation be confirmed and extended, it will not be necessary to lay such a heavy burden on the shoulders of selection. But more facts are urgently needed, and how and under what conditions mutations—whether adaptive or non-adaptive—occur, remains an unsolved problem.

(d) In his theory of Germinal Selection, Weismann has elaborated an attractive subsidiary hypothesis that the present germinal mechanism consists of a complex—a multiplicity—of organ-determining particles (the determinants), he postulates a struggle going on within the arca of the germ-plasm. Supposing limitations of nutrition within the germ, he pictures an intra-germinal struggle in which the weaker determinants corresponding to any given part will get less food and will become weaker, while the stronger determinants corresponding to the same part will feed better and become stronger. Thus the theory suggests a possible mechanism by which the survival of any form with a favourable variation may influence the subsequent variational direction of that form. The determinants are supposed to be variable—everything living is; for each character separately heritable there are in the germ multiple determinants (paternal, maternal, grand-parental, ancestral); these are not all of equal strength; there is a germinal struggle and selection, the strongest asserts itself in development, and the resulting determinate corresponds in character to the victorious germ. If we assume that the resulting determinant is of survival value, those organisms which have that character tend to survive, and their progeny will tend to keep up the same strain. But while the external selection is proceeding, it is being continually backed up by the germinal selection. Thus nothing succeeds like success.

(e) Various evolutionists—Professors Mark Baldwin, H. F. Osborn, and C. Lloyd Morgan—have suggested that although individual adaptive modifications may not be transmissible, they have indirect importance in evolution, by serving as life-preserving screens until coincident inborn or germinal variations in the same direction have time to develop. As Lloyd Morgan puts it—(1) ‘Where adaptive variation $s$ is similar in direction to individual modification $m$, the organism has an added chance of survival from the coincidence $m+s$; (2) where the variation is antagonistic in direction to the modification, there is a diminished chance of survival from the opposition $m-s$; hence (3) coincident variations will be fostered while opposing variations will be eliminated.’ As Groos expresses it, in reference to some instinctive activities—Imitation may keep ‘a species afloat until Natural Selection can substitute the lifeboat heredity for the life-preserver tradition.’ As Mark
Baldwin states it, the theory is 'that individual modifications or accommodations may supplement, protect, or screen organic characters and keep them alive until useful congenital variations arise and survive by natural selection.'

Working on the difficult problem of adaptations, we must remember the importance of the active organism itself. As Professor James Ward has well pointed out, it may seek out and even in part make its environment; it is not only selected—it acts as well as reacts. And although the details and fitness of this may have been elaborated in the course of selection, the primary potentiality of it is an essential part of the secret of that kind of activity which we call life.


J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

ADELARD.—Adelard of Bath (Philosophus Anglicus) occupies a distinctive position among the schoolmen of the 12th cent., as a chief representative of the philosophic doctrine of 'Indifference.' He was one of the mediating theories in the great medieval conflict as to the nature of universal conceptions (genera and species) and their relation to the individuals comprehended under them. It lies between the extreme Realism on the one hand, which attached substantially only to the universals, and the extreme Nominalism on the other, according to which generic conceptions were mere names, while reality belonged only to the individuals. It tends, however, to the side of Nominalism, inasmuch as it gives up the substantiality of universals, and makes the universal to consist of the non-different elements (indifferentia) in the separate individuals, which alone subsist substantially.

Everything depends on the point of view from which the individuals are regarded: accounted for as attention is fixed on their differences or their non-differences, they remain individuals or become for us the species and the genus. Thus Plato as Plato is an individual, as a man the species, as an animal the subordinate genus, as a substance the most universal genus.

This doctrine of Indifference was probably first stated in Adelard's treatise de Ecodum et Diverso, composed between 1105 and 1116. [It has recently been edited by H. Willner in I. Gesch. d. Philos. des Mittelalters, ed. by C. Bäumker and G. v. Hertling, Münster, 1903.] Adelard seeks to reconcile Plato and Aristotle, and says:

"Since that which we see is at once genus and species and individual, Aristotle rightly insisted that the universals do not exist except in the things of sense. But since those universals, so far as they are called generic and species, cannot be perceived, the doctrine of the imagination, the doctrine of the individual. Plato maintained that they existed and could be known by a superior sense, to wit, in the Divine mind. Thus these men, though in words they seem opposed, yet held in reality the same opinion."

The doctrine of Indifference was also represented by Boethius (died as bp. of Lon, 1174), whom some indeed have regarded as its originator, while others again have traced it to a supposed late view of William of Champeaux.

Besides the above-mentioned treatise, Adelard wrote in a wide range and a wide range and acquired great physical learning, especially from the Arabs, out of whose language he translated Euclid. He teaches that the knowledge of the laws of nature should be united with the recognition of their dependence on God's will. He says: 'It is the will of the Creator that herbs should grow from the earth, but this will is not without reason.' Mere authority he compares to a hatter, and desiderates that reason should decide between the true and the false.

ADIAPHORISM.—Three meanings of this word are given in the dictionaries: (1) the theory that some actions are indifferent, i.e. neither bad nor good, not being either commanded or forbidden by God, either directly or indirectly; so that they may be done or omitted without fault; (2) the theory that certain rites or ceremonies, not having been either commanded or forbidden by God, may freely be used or omitted without fault; (3) the theory that certain doctrines of the Church, though taught in the word of God, are of such minor importance, that they may be despised with impunity by the foundation of faith. [Although use of the word can be found in good authors, it is a question whether it is accurate.]

J. Actions.—Very early in the history of the Christian Church the gospel began to be conceived as a new law. Perhaps the wider meaning of the word 'law' had something to do with this. But it was to be expected that those who had grown up under a system of rigid prescription, not only in the rites and ceremonies, but in the observances and the details of personal conduct,—a prescription, moreover, that had Divine authority,—should be unable to conceive any other method of moral life. It is not strange, therefore, that L. James (12) speaks of the gospel as 'the perfect law of liberty.' The early converts to the gospel had been heathen; the customs in which they had been bred were abhorrent to a Jew; they were corrupting; and therefore those new-made Christians had to be taught and drilled in the first principles of morality. In the Early Church, before the books of the NT had been written and for many years afterwards, the OT was the word of God read in their assemblies for worship; and its prescriptions for conduct, its rules of ceremony, and its religious institutions became authoritative. It seems likely that a legalistic conception of Christianity must always preponderate in a community recently won from heathenism. Such converts remain under tutelage, and discipline, if it is to be rigidly exercised, until the fundamental principles of right living are wrought into their conscience.

Mareon urged the rejection of the OT Law. As the Church began to spread through all classes of men, and to have part in the whole of their daily life, it began insensibly to accommodate its ascetic rules to the necessities of the case. Gradually there grew up a distinction between a law of morals incumbent upon all men and a higher rule of life voluntarily assumed, but when once assumed, of the lasting obligation. The authority of the Church thus made a man might earn a higher reward than was due to the simple observance of the commandments of God (consilia evangelica). And might even deserve enough of God to be able to transfer some of his merit to others (opera supererogationis). An ascetic life was looked upon as holier than the observance of the duties of one's calling in the world. To the commandments of God were added the commandments of the Church.

The Reformers had assimilated this notion of an esoteric and artificial righteousness. The moral injunctions of Jesus and His holy example are for all alike. The works of our calling are the sphere in which to serve God. No one can fulfil the law of God, much less can any one exceed it. All are
dependent upon God's mercy; and, forgiven for Christ's sake, depending upon that grace and thankful for it, are to go forth to the performance of daily duty, pleasing Him by childlike, not by the excellence of what they do.

It has been charged that the immediate result of the Reformation was a deterioration of morals, especially in the lowest corner of morals and morals was taught, no efficient external discipline being at hand to take the place of the ecclesiastical rules and jurisdiction of the older time (see Döllinger, *Reformation*). A more successful effort was made under Calvin to hinder and to refrain from the cultivation of rigid unreasoning habits or by the adoption of a formal law (Frank, *Theologie der Concordienformel*, iv. 18 ff.).

But Christian freedom has its limits. These limits are external and internal. Our liberty must not become a stumbling-block to the weak, sinning against the brethren, wounding their conscience when it is weak' (1 Co 8:8-13). Some things that are lawful edify not (1Co 8:9); they contribute nothing (6). We are not to live in the moment, wasting the material of everlastism, who regard the OT Law as still in force in all its regulations, even concerning meat and drink.

To appreciate the answer which Christ gave to this question, we must bear in mind that the Pharisaism which He refuted endeavoured to secure by 'putting a fence around the Law,' consisting of conventional and artificial rules of life. Those who vigorously observed these the Pharisees accounted meritorious; and they put such stress on these comments and additions that by them they made the law of God of no effect. Our Lord rebuked the substitution of a human law for the simple law of God, and also the exaltation of human rules of life to the same sanctity as belonged to the revealed law. He required the inward service of the heart. Jesus was not as ascetic in the usual meaning of that word. He accepted invitations to the table (Lk 7:36), He honoured a wedding-feast (Jn 2:1), He spoke sympathetically of the children playing in the streets (Lk 18:16), He commanded Mary's sacrifice of percy creature of God to be all she could do. He submitted to be called a wine-bibber and a glutton (Mt 11:19). Neither was St. Paul an ascetic. It is evident that he did not consider it essential to his personal salvation to make distinctions of meats (Ro 14:3-5, 14-15) in order to raise questions about the life of the entertainment (1 Co 10:27), or to avoid social pleasures (*ibid.*); and he could look upon and talk about the games of Greece with no word of abhorrence or disapproval (1 Co 9:9-12). In writing to Timothy (1 Ti 4:2-3) he foretold those errorists who would 'forbid to marry, and command to abstain from meats, which God created to be received with thanksgiving by those which believe and know the truth.' For every creature of God is good, and nothing is to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving and with prayer. 'Meat will not commend us to God,' he says (1 Co 8:8); 'neither, if we eat not, are we the worse; nor, if we eat, do we the better' (see also 1 Co 7:8-9, and cf. He 5:14). It is evident that a sphere is left for Christian freedom, in which a man may, may not, use his own judgment, and in reference to which good men may differ, and no man may condemn his brother. Here we have the justification of what are described as merely aesthetic activities of human life, in which the natural delight of man in simple enjoyment has place, and where the law of beauty is supreme rather than the law of duty. No doubt St. Paul would have barred these out, because of 'the present distress' (1 Co 7:9); but his 'opinion' in contradistinction from 'the com-

mandment of the Lord' allows them, though with the important condition which has yet to adduce. They derive a sanction from the constitution of man. Under this category we put the drama, music, art, all recreation. We therefore assert that there is a sphere for the freedom of a Christian. He is not under a positive law which extends to every corner of his life. He does not move in the sphere of a moral necessity. He must exercise judgment and choice. He must abound more and more in knowledge and all discernment, and prove the things that are different (1 Th 5:21). It is wrong for us to hinder and to refrain from the cultivation of rigid unreasoning habits or by the adoption of a formal law (Frank, *Theologie der Concordienformel*, iv. 18 ff.).

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lapse of time and under changing circumstances. All rites and ceremonies instituted by men are subject to the judgment of Christian conscience enlightened by the word of God.

In the Silver Age of the Reformation a warm controversy among Lutheran theologians was precipitated by the attempt of Comenius to compile a code of ceremonies which he thought the church should follow. The controversy raged about the possibility of a vague formula which might be interpreted in two ways, one of which the one side had rejected because they served error, and the other regarded as sacred and necessary. Placius was the protagonist on the one side; Melanchthon was the target. The matter and the controversy are more clearly than is done in the Formula of Concord, 1580.

* * *

1 For the settlement of this controversy, we believe, teach, and confess with one consent, that ceremonies or ecclesiastical rites (which had been neither commanded nor forbidden by the Word of God, but instituted only for the sake of decency and utility), if they are Divine Worship or any part thereof, are to be allowed. For it is written (Heb 10:19): "In desire do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." The Churches of God everywhere throughout the world, and at any time, have the right to change such ceremonies according to necessity, in whatever way it may seem to the Church most serviceable for its edification.

2 But in so doing all levity should be avoided and all offense, and especially care be taken to spare those weak in the faith (1 Cor 8; Ro 14).

3 Times of persecution, when a clear and steadfast confession is required of us, we ought not to yield to the enemies of the Gospel in things indifferent. For the Apostle says (Gal 6:1): "Stand therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage;" and Co 2:14: "Harmoniously vailed with the beloved sister." For what fellowship is there between light and darkness?" etc.; also (Gal 2:12): "To whom we gave place by subjection, that the outward man might be perfected by sufferings, unto the praise of his name." For in such a state of things the dispute no longer concerns things indifferent, but concerning the truth of the Gospel and the preservation and protection of Christian liberty, and how to prevent open idolatry and the protection of those who would weak in the faith against offense. In matters of this sort we ought not to yield anything to our adversaries, but it is our duty to give a faithful and sincere confession, and patiently to bear whatever the Lord may lay upon us and may permit the enemies of His Word to do to us.

4 No Church ought to condemn another because Church observed more or fewer of outward ceremonies which the Lord did not institute, if only there be between them consent in all essential and in the right use of the Sacraments. We believe and truly said it was said of old: "Disagreement as to fasting does not dissolve agreement in faith." Psalms and condemnation of these false teachings, as contrary to the Word of God, viz: that human traditions and constitutions in matters ecclesiastical are to be considered by themselves as the religion of God or a part of the worship; that such ceremonies and constitutions should be forced upon the Church of Christ, as against the Christian liberty which the Church of Christ has with reference to outward things of this sort; that in time of persecution, when a clear confession is required, the members of the camp may be placated by the observance of things of this sort that are in themselves indifferent, and that it is permitted to agree and consent with them—a thing detrimental to heavenly truth; that outward ceremonies, because they are indifferent, should not be observed, as if the Church of God were not free in Christian liberty to use this or that ceremony which it may deem useful for edification.

5 (See Planck, Gesch. des Prot. Lehrrichts, iv.; Jacobs, Geschichte der protest. Erziehung, 2. t., Bickel, Das Dogmat. Interim.)

There remains the question whether each person has a right to change the ordinances of the Church according to his own judgment and taste, observing such as lie pleased, and omitting those of which he disapproves. Inasmuch as these rites and ceremonies are things indifferent, and as the custom of the Church, lest he be disorderly (2 Th 3:6, 1 Cor 11:22), Again, it may be asked by what test a rite or ceremony handed down in the Church is to be estimated. The Augsburg Confession (Art. vi.) that rites should be observed that contribute to unity and good order, and the Apology for the Confession (iv. 33), that the Church of God of every place and every time has power, according to circumstances, to change such ceremonies in such manner as may be most useful and edifying to the Church of God. A further question may be raised, as to the authority of good taste, of artistic canons, in regard to the forms and accessories of Christian worship. In this matter, without doubt, edification is of more value than artistic merit, and all must yield to the instinct of Christian love.

3. Dogmas. In order to answer the question suggested by the third definition, the distinction between a 'dogma,' a 'dogrine,' and the 'faith' must be clearly established. Dogma is the result of an analysis of the faith, and the word is properly restricted to those statements of Christian truth which have been finally declared by the authorities of the Church and accepted by the Church in its Confessions. A dogma is always subject to examination and challenge. Not even a Council of the Universal Church is infallible. Even the Ecumenical Creeds must justify themselves to the Christian consciousness by their evident agreement with the word of God. Dogrine is an explanation and elaboration of the faith which has not yet crystallized into dogma. The Faith is the gospel— the 'faith once delivered to the saints' (Jude).

Dogmas can be understood either in the original sense in which they were written, or, as they were, and are, approved by the Church, or in the sense in which they are apprehended by any age. It is conceivable that a student may discover a deflection of popular and universal faith from the idea which the original authors of a. Confessional dogma may have set forth in it. Every dogma must be understood in relation to the entirety of the faith. Each age gives especial attention to different aspects of the faith. The 'spirit of the age,' its conception of human duties and rights, its philosophical notions, colour its explanations of Divine truth and cause the emphasis laid upon different aspects of it to vary. From its own standpoint every age and clime develops first doctrine, then dogma. That, finally, is recognized as Christian dogma quod semper, quod ubique, quod ad omnium creditur. Securus judicat oribus terrarum.

Edward T. Horn.

Adibuddha (the theistic system of Nepal, including its Buddhist antecedents, Dharmasas, etc.).—Introduction.—Abel Remusat stated in 1831 that the 'learned of Europe were indebted to Mr. Hodgson for the name of Adibuddha.' And it might almost be said with truth still that nowhere else do we find a more complete account of the theory of the theistic Buddhists of Nepal (Astravis) than Hodgson has given in his Essays. Unitarian and theistic Buddhism, after having aroused keen interest, fell later into neglect, when attention was drawn to primitive or ancient Buddhism, especially by the works of Spence Hardy and Burnouf. The result of the iconographic discoveries and the Tibetan studies of the last few years seems to have been to bring it again into greater prominence. It is, however, because, although more 'Alexandrian' than Buddhist, Buddhist in fact only in name and in so far as it employs Buddhist terminology, it nevertheless is, as it were, the consummation of the philosophical, mystical, and mythological speculations of the Great Vehicle, and differs from several other systems, widespread in the Buddhist world, only by its markedly 'theistic' colouring. The system of the Astravis is, in effect, merely the half-naive (i.e. theistic), half-savite (i.e. pantheistic) interpretation of the ontological and religious speculation of the Great Vehicle in the last

* See Hodgson, Essays, p. 110.
1 From Isvara, the personal and supreme god. (See Tirtha)
2 See Schmidt, Grundlihere; Burnouf, Introduction.
stage of its development. It differs from it sufficiently clearly, however, to justify Burnouf in recognizing in the system of the Adibuddha a new kind of Buddhism—a third (or a fourth) Buddhism*; and, in order to give the reader a just appreciation of the significance of this new interpretation of Buddhism, before unheard of, it will suffice for the purpose to mention Adibuddha: 'Of all that proceeds from causes the Tathāgata has explained the cause,' was transformed into, 'Of all that proceeds from causes the Tathāgata is the cause.'

A further characteristic of the Adivārikas of Hindu and Nepalese thought, the absence from their theology of every feminine, tantric, and magical element. It is well known that Hodgson had recourse for his information to native scholars, whom he ceremoniously styles 'living oracles,' and who, in support of their statements, supplied him with fragments of texts, which were not all authentic. These mutilated testimonies, this tradition arranged with a view to meet questions conceived in an altogether European spirit, are, as far as the absence of the element is concerned, confirmed by the Svayambhūpurāṇa, which is not very tantric. We do not, however, believe that, even apart from the wide and comprehensive nature of its mythology, Nepalese theism has in reality ever been quite free from intermixture of Saivite thought.

Plan and division.—As the problem has not been examined in its entirety for a long time, and as much light has been thrown upon it by recent research, we propose to state it here, as completely as possible, from the doctrinal point of view, of course; for we shall willingly dispense with legendary, iconographic, and ritual details.

The interest of Adibuddha systems (for there are at least two of them) lies chiefly in their relation to genuine Buddhism and to Hinduism. It will be most convenient (I.) to give a brief account of those Adibuddha systems which are more or less well known, and (II.) to inquire into their antecedents, often obscure and problematic, beginning with the sources, so that we may be able in this way (II.) to 'locate,' the systems in question, doctrinally and historically, and to present a more accurate appreciation of them.

As most of these antecedents will demand separate treatment (see Avalokiteśvara, Lotus of the True Law, Mahāyāna, Mañjuśrī), a brief reference will here suffice. We shall consider ourselves to Buddhist ground, for, although this long elaboration of the elements of the Buddhist systems of Adibuddha may be inexplicable without Hinduism, it will be sufficient to note, in passing, the points of contact.

I. ADIBUDDHA SYSTEMS.—1. Adivārika system (Hodgson's sources).—There is an Adibuddha or Pravramadibuddha (Tib. dba-po san-srags, megh- gi dba-po ... skyob-mi ...), i.e. first Buddha, the system is in question, doctrinally and historically, and to present a more accurate appreciation of them. As most of these antecedents will demand separate treatment (see Avalokiteśvara, Lotus of the True Law, Mahāyāna, Mañjuśrī), a brief reference will here suffice. We shall consider ourselves to Buddhist ground, for, although this long elaboration of the elements of the Buddhist systems of Adibuddha may be inexplicable without Hinduism, it will be sufficient to note, in passing, the points of contact.

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five Buddhas of contemplation. They are not, however, incarnations of them, but rather ‘reflexes,’ pratibimba, ‘magical projections,’ nirmanakaya.

2. It is difficult to date Hodgson’s sources. The same difficulty applies to the poetical version of the Tantric Buddha, which is not a translation of the prose version of the same text. In this prose edition, the only one which the Tibetans have preserved, there is, indeed, a passage which, according to the edition of the Adiprajna, not to mention the verse edition with the title Siddhakshara, which is the unique Tantras of Jina and seems to be the basis for the five Buddhas of the Adibuddha, Adivinayaka (first protector) appears at the beginning (hada-vardhana) in the form of light (yodrinyu). He is the meditative Buddha of the five Buddhas and beats Aksobhya-kara as demigurge. It is not said that he creates the five Buddhas, but rather that he is made up of the parts of the five Buddhas.

3. The name ‘Adibuddha’ or ‘Paramadibuddha’ appears in many ancient documents. According to Cosma, who was the first and only one to determine this chronology, this name and the system to which it is attached are closely connected with the Rikalakacharya, a tantra openly Saiavite in its inspiration, which was probably introduced (?) into India in the 10th cent. and into Tibet in the 11th century.

Now, however, it is a recognized fact that the Tantras are much older than is used to be thought. If it should at least be noticed that Mahāyāna (q.v.) is called Adibuddha in the Nāmasamāgiti (500 A.D.) undoubtedly earlier than the 10th cent., if it is the case, as Taranātha believes, that Chandragomin, a contemporary of Chandrakirti (7th cent.) wrote a commentary upon it. It is not necessary to discuss the question whether the interpretation, given in the commentaries of the Nāmasamāgiti and numerous tantric works, was accepted at the time when, according to this tradition, the work itself was composed.

There were good reasons for ascribing to Mahāyāna, the Adibuddha, an Adibuddha, inasmuch as he is the personification of the knowledge whence Budhisattva, viz., ‘a Jñānasattva,’ in other words the Dharmakāya (see below) or the Dharmadhavagātā. His attributes, in iconography, are the sword which destroys ignorance and the book of the Prajñāpāramitā, the supreme book. King of sages (Vidūṣa), Lord of the Holy Word (Vagīṣṭha), he is in his eternity (trīkāta) a symbol of the Dharmadhavagātā, with a symbolism transparent enough, in the same way as the Prajñāpāramitā (later known as the Adiṣṭhamajñā in very orthodox texts is called the mother of the Buddhas. Even if, as the texts inform us, he is ‘made up of a part of the Tathāgatas,’ and, consequently, the five Buddhas emanate from his person; or if the icons please the five Buddhas on his head, or in the halo of radiance with which he is crowned; if his four faces, together with the fact that he is the spouse of Sarasvati, bring him singularly close to Brahmā, these are conceptions which do not alter his original character any more than does his accidental identification with Ananga, the god of Love, or with Siva, etc. Mahāyāna is Adibuddha, because he is the king of the Prajñā.

4. Although in certain documents Mahāyāna is a tantric Adibuddha, his origin is on the side of purely philosophical speculation. The Tantras have an Adibuddha of a different nature, nearer to Siva-Brahma than to Buddha. The Vajrasattva-Vajradhara, whom later on we shall have occasion briefly to discuss.

II. ANTEDENTS OF THE ADIBUDDHA SYSTEM.

—By more or less well-defined steps we can follow the evolution of Buddhism from its origin (Little Vehicle) to the doctrines of the three bodies and the Dhyanibuddhas.

1. Buddha in quas-nirvāna.—(1) We shall see (Agnosticism in Buddhism) that, according to the doctrine of the Vaibhāṣyavādins, and perhaps the Sthaviras, nirvāna can scarcely be anything else than annihilation. The canonical texts, however, are much less definite. It is said that the Buddha in nirvāna ‘made the grasp of the intelligence impossible, as it is impossible to measure the waters of the ocean, they have no measure.’ The whole of the Prajñāpāramitā (later known as the Adiprajna) is made up of the passage which, according to the view of Ananda, who has an idea of nirvāna as an undefinable state, very different from nothingness. This is, however, the old meaning of the word nirvāna.

(2) It is not a matter of orthodoxy, as a matter of fact, to sift the question of nirvāna, and to solve it in an unorthodox and Brāhmaṇical way, in order to people the heavens with divine Buddhas. For a ‘sutta’ of the first order represents Sakyamuni as possessed of the power of prolonging his earthly existence to the end of the kalpa (see AGES OF THE WORLD [Buddhist]). There is no doubt that it was early believed that he continued to live ‘invisible to gods and men,’ and the new theology proved less absurd. According to the Buddhavat (§ 2), a Buddha lives for a hundred thousand millions of kalpas, or more, without the beauty of his complexion being marred. Sakyamuni did not live eighty years! Only the Tathāgatas understand the vast duration of his life.

(3) The Mahāvastu relates that Sakyamuni, and as a rule any Buddha, or even a future Buddha


See Foucher, Iconographie bouddhique, Part II, and Jñānaśravamahājudrī-adibuddhaskandha, Jāpya 61. Mahāyāna is also the patron of art, architecture, and image-makers; see Haraprasad Śrāti, Cat. Durbar Library, levii.

He is nisakāja. As regards the office and work of a Buddha before nirvāna, according to the Little Vehicle, Dīya 1, 160, 17; Mahāvastu, I, 61; compare and contrast the vows of Amitābha in the Bhūkātantrāṣṭra.
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(Bodhisattva) during his last existence, has the appearance of hesitating, thinking, speaking, acting, suffering as we do. This, however, is wholly due to his condensation. In reality this marvellous being is superior to all such emotions, and remains a stranger to them. To maintain the contrary is hereby. The body of the future Buddhas is entirely spiritual. There is nothing 'mundane' in them. A Bodhisattva has really no father, no mother, no son, etc.

This 'hyperphysical' system (lokottaravāda) is more precisely set forth in the Vetalayāka school. According to that sect the teaching, Sakyamuni did not appear in person in the world, but deputed an image of himself to represent him (cf. DOCTISIM).  

(4) The Mahāvastu says that many ages ago Sakyamuni took the vow of Bodhi in the presence of another ancient Sakyamuni. The same book speaks of eight thousand Buddhas of the name of Dipankara, . . . of three hundred millions of Sakyamunis.* If we identify this ancient Buddha with ours, make all the Dipankaras, all the Sakyamunis, all the Dhanavijayas, etc., into one single Dipankar, one single Sakyamuni, and adopt the docetic theory of the Vetalayakas, we obtain the system of the 'Lotus of the True Law.' Countless ages ago, may rather in the beginning, Sakyamuni became Buddha; his appearances on earth, in which he seems to become Buddha, to enter into nirvāṇa, are purely magical. Although it was quite late when the Mahāvastu received its final shape, the characteristics to which we have drawn attention seem to be ancient. For the Lotus the termānus ad quem is A.D. 265. As for the docetic theory, it is held to have been condemned at the Council of Pataliputra (circa B.C. 246). Although the historical existence of the Council may be doubtful, the impression remains that the Buddhas had early reached the following conceptions:—

(a) Sakyamuni survives his earthly parinirvāṇa, and prolongs the 'trance' (dhāyana), from which he has never in reality issued since the moment that he became Buddha. There is no occasion, therefore, for the Bodhisattvas, in the meantime, when he will enter really into nirvāṇa. 'The Blesses Buddhas, well equipped with knowledge and merit, fields of benevolence and compassion, shelters of the multitudes of beings, holding a perpetual concentration of mind, are neither in the samādhi (worldly) nor in nirvāṇa' (exaptāta nirvāṇāvivākṣā). So it is said in the Dharmaśīlātātra.†

(b) In the orthodox theory (Vaibhāṣyāvādin), Sakyamuni on becoming Buddha entered 'nirvāṇa with residue,' the residue being the body without an active 'soul' or thinking organism, which nevertheless continues to live and speak. But no speaking is possible in dhāyana, therefore this body is only magical. Very probably the Buddhas sometimes, in addition, Sakyamuni during the whole of his earthly existence had only been the magical substitute of the real Sakyamuni, who had long since entered into eternal Buddhism.

The steps are as follows:—The Bodhisattva comes from the budhā, or budhavatva, to enter a human womb. The Budhā remains in the Tūṣā heaven [is it there that he became Buddha?] We do not know, and produces a double of himself. The Budhā, while he has been Budhā, becomes Buddha, or for such a long time that it comes to the same thing, reigns high up beyond the Tūṣā; he acts and saves creatures, it is because

* Cf. Kern, Jhansāil, 66, n. 2. The budhāontology and mythology of the Mahāvastu are contrasted, see, for instance, in p. 308, where the five (human) Buddhas are confronted with the three (Dipankaras). Cf. Harth, Journal des Savants, 1899.

† The same doctrine is found in the Sūtratattvagrabhāṣā. Sūtrabodhisattvas are represented in Avalokiteśvara (t.e.), and Mahāsūtrāntaka (t.e.), the Sūtrabhūdika or the Sūtra who is in personified by the Buddha, and who is in the body of the Buddha who beheld him. Thus it can be said with Waddell (Buddhism of Tibet, p. 319) that the Buddhas have two 'real bodies,' a buddhā-body and a non-buddhā-body. See art. Mahāvīra.

2 Celestial Buddhas are, in fact, no more real than their magical reflexes. From the very moment that a Bodhisattva becomes Buddha he is merged in 'nirvāṇa' or 'voidness '; but, owing to his merit as a time, or for so long a time that it comes to the same thing, reigns high up beyond the Tūṣā; he acts and saves creatures, it is because

+ Sūtra, n. 302. Cf. na buddhā parinirvāṇo na dharmaḥ parinirvāṇo (Sūtra-bhāṣya). The identification of 'nirvāṇa,' with some state of beatific meditation is clearly indicated by the Lotus of the True Law, ch. xi; cf. Kern, Geschichtsa.in, li. 166. Elsewhere dharmākaya = sudbhākaya.
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buddhas’ was fixed, the number was not very uniformly ob-
serve. At one time eight or nine Bodhisattvas of the first
rank are shared very unequally among the buddhas; another,
each Buddhas, a single Bodhisattva, whose name is usually
colourless and seems to be derived from the sculptures.

3. Confusion of the Buddha and the Bodhi-
sattvas. In the preceding discussion it follows
that the relations between Buddhas and Bodhi-
sattvas are complex and do not lend themselves
to precise definition; there is often a confusion be-
tween the two concepts, and traces of this con-
fusion are easily found. In the Mahāvastu the
Bodhisattvas, from the very first stages of their
spiritual development, receive the title of ‘perfect Buddhas.’
In the Bodhicharyavatāra, the work of a very careful theologian, the
Jinas, or the Buddhas who have attained Buddhahood and are
in enjoyment of a quasi-nirvāṇa, are evanished in the
world; they are entreated to delay their parinirvāṇa.
Avalokita, a Bodhisattva by nature, is
at least once termed Bhagavat, and there
are numerous texts in which the Buddhas are active.
In the Mahāvastu, however, it is necessary to come down
as far as the Kārāṇḍavyūha (p. 91, 8) to read in so many
words that nirvāṇa is accompanied by thought.

We have seen that, spiritually regarded, the
Buddhas are by the three fathers and
to the Bodhisattvas, who
are not, from the mystic of the point, of
may be, and has been, interpreted upon a twofold
principle. The first, which is at one and the same
time Buddhist and Brahmanical (see p. 89), is
that of the Nirvāṇa the Upanisad; the
second, genuinely Hindu, is that of process or emanation (see p. 100).
These two principles are
in other respects very closely connected.

Concerning this mysterious relationship between
the Bodhisattvas and the Bodhisattvas
is valuable information to be got, on the one hand, from the
sculptures of Gandhāra, Magadha, etc.; and, on the
other, from texts clearly related to iconography,
whether they inspired the latter or were themselves inspired by it.
We shall begin with the evidence of the
texts.

In the Amītyāurdhvānāsūtra, Avalokita, who
is only a Bodhisattva, besides the hundreds of ‘magical’ Buddhas (see p. 89) radiating from his
body, has his heads, and magical, that is to say, emanating from Avalokita.
Mañjuśrī, a Bodhisattva raised to the dignity of
Adibuddha, sometimes bears on his head small
figures of the five Dharmānubhuddhas, to signify that he has
emanated them. Conversely, the five Buddhas separate themselves from him (ephuratsparivatChatadhatagata); and the
carving that illustrates this expression actually rep-
resents them ranged above his head, following the
profile of the statue; which is merely another way
of setting them in order in the generating hale.

On the other hand, the ancient sculpture places
five Buddhas in the attitude of meditation in the
frieze above five Bodhisattvas.† It is, we think,
reasonable to recognize in these five Buddhas Śa-
kyamuni’s predecessors, and Mañjuśrī, i.e., the ‘historical’ Buddhas of our age.‡
They are not saints who have attained nirvāṇa, for the Lotus
distinguishes clearly between the Buddhas who
have passed away and of whom only stūpas remain,§ and
the Buddhas ‘provisionally eternal,’ whose
contemplative existence is indefinitely prolonged,
such as Amītyā and Śākyamuni. Some
would recognize in them the so-called Dharmānubuddhas,
and assign to one of them the name of Amītyā.

This seems to be a hazardous inference, even when

† See Burgess, ‘Elura Cave Temples’ in ASW, vol. 5, pl. 29;
§ See JRAS, 1906, p. 390. When the Buddha is going to
preach the Law, five fences miraculously appear.

‡ The Thātoṣ, however, assigns to five (see Tantra).
This doctrine of the three bodies was stated to
by Schmidt, Grundriss des buddhismus. See also
Jahn, Inschriften von Pattadambā (Ztschr. f. Ind. Altert., 1906, 1),
Trīkāya (=triṃśā) is a name of the Buddha (Trīkāya).

The Buddha, as identified with the Bodhisattva Śākyamuni, is
called Tripurūra (Kern, Vermerning, 32). But in the present
writer’s opinion, this conception of the Triad (Dharma, Buddhas,
the idea of ‘procession,’ which is wrongly attached to
the word Dharmānubuddha, is rejected, and it is
in harmony with the doctrines of the Lotus to
suppose that the Buddhas are here represented in
the quasi-nirvāṇa which is their rational state.
If, further, they assume the attitude of teaching,
this is referable to their hands double the p. 98),
and if they act and save creatures, it is because a
Buddha always preserves some of the character-
istics of a Bodhisattva.

This activity, however, is not their proper func-
tion; and the Bodhisattvas, placed below them in
the relief, are their servants for the present and
their successors in the future, having entered later
and independently of them on the road that leads to
Buddhahood. Nevertheless, in these motionless
saints, placed above the Bodhisattvas and provided
with lotus and thunderbolt, we have the prototypes
of the Jinas and Dharmānubuddhisattvas of Hodgson.

Somewhat later, apparently, we find in sculpture
a symbol which draws closer the bonds between
the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. We refer to the
practice (perhaps of Greek origin, for it is met
with at Palmyra) of placing a miniature image of a
Buddha in the tiara of the future Buddha.
It was, we believe, first employed in the case of
Avalokita, whose relation with the head of 
Buddha which emanates from the head of Avalo-
kit in the Amītyāurdhvānāsūtra, is that of a
Buddha-father, but rather that of a Buddha-patron.
And this interpretation, which we believe is founded
on the literature, justifies the three heads which we have
found above regarding the Buddhas in the Gān-
dhāra frieze.

If we come down to the time attested by the
śāhas, or tantric incantations, and perhaps it
will not be necessary to come down very far,
the practice of thus placing a small figure in the
tiara has become classical, and the position of the
five Dharmānubuddhas is fully established.*
They are seen on the heads of numerous divinities, especial-
lly when they are in the company of the Buddhas, and in the
images of Buddha-fathers. They bear
as husband’s rather than fathers.
A sixth Buddha, Vairasattva, also appears (see p. 99).
In the case of Mañjuśrī, as we have seen, the
five Buddhas are all united in a single head-dress.

4. Doctrine of the Parida. This
one contradictory data which have just been set forth are
fused into a theology, or rather a Buddology,
which, taking them all into account, justifies especially the
antithesis of the Dharmānubuddha,
the so-called human Buddha, and the Bodhisattva.
But this theology goes beyond the mythological
and polytheistic conceptions of the Buddhism of the
Great Vehicle, and tends towards the unitarian
systems which form the subject of this article.

The Buddhism of the Great Vehicle is summarized in
the texts which enumerate the triads or
(kāya). This doctrine has been alluded to above,
and we shall now state it in its least unorthodox
form, which is undoubtedly the most ancient.

Buddha has three bodies: dharmakāya, sambhā-
ra-kāya, nirvāṇa-kāya.†

* For the five Dharmānubuddhas in Japan, see K.dasānaya,
Muse Guimet, 1890; at Java, in 779, Minutes of the Buddhists
Society, April 1886, and Dakakusa, J.Taking, p. xvii.
† The Thātoṣ, however, assigns to five (see Tantra).
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writer’s opinion, this conception of the Triad (Dharma, Buddhas,
The dharmakāya, or 'body of the law,' is the real identical nature of every Buddha, and of every being. The ancients, without using the word, gave to the thing the name of dharmamāṇḍam dharmatā, 'the manner of being of that which is,' that is to say, of being produced by a cause and of being transpersonal. The Mādhyamikas, on the other branches of the scholastic Great Vehicle, and evidently the older, made it clear that by this term must be understood the 'void,' śūnyatā. There is no difference between nirvāṇa and sammāthā, the latter expressing the successive existence of phenomenon which has the true character of the void, or of the external disguise of this character, every individuality, is mere appearance. On entering nirvāṇa the individual takes possession of his dharmakāya, which, as we have seen, is the 'void.' But under the name of 'void,' which was identical with the 'element of things' (dharmadhatu), it was easy to understand a real substratum, free from any form which could be understood or expressed in words. The Mādhyamikas themselves are not always on their guard; and the Yogāchāras, who form the other great school of the Mahāyāna, have taken the 'void' to mean unreality of the phenomena, reality of the absolute, or the 'mere thing' (vastumātra). Admitting the existence of thought alone, they saw in the dharmakāya, which is the 'outside the speculation, hostagāthaka' (i.e. the identical nature of all beings (bhūtatattvād, dharmaṅdhatu), thought in its quiescent state (ālayavijñāna), whence issue, by a series of illusions, all individualities and all characters.

The nirvṛttadhatu, or magical body, like the different illusions which every magician can produce, is the body which Sākyamuni displays to men from the moment when he became Buddha.†

The 'real' body of the Buddha (the body of the law not being a body at all) is the body of the sambhogakāya, a supermundane body, marked with the thirty-two signs, etc., in which the Buddhas enjoy their full majesty, virtue, knowledge, and blessedness. It is the privilege of saints to perceive this body, which belongs to the world of Buddhas, not to the human world. When Kṛṣṇa (who is only a nirvṛttadhatu) showed his 'true' form to Arjuna, it was a marvellous sight, a symphony of light and jewels, a symphony of knowledge and love, for it ceases lessly proclaims the voice of the True Law (rta-rātri). It is the source of the joy of the Bodhisattvas. Its home is in the Land of Amitābha (Akanisthābhavana, elsewhere Sukhāvati, Vulture Peak, etc.). Yet the first person, from a chronological point of view, to whom a sambhogakāya, a body of bliss, is ascribed, is not, as the present writer understands it, a Buddha, but a Bodhisattva, viz. Avalokiteśvara. It is remarkable that the classical doctrine of the three bodies is silent upon the glorious form of the Bodhisattva in general. These distinctions, however, on the one hand, form so strange a way as the human world, that they are, in reality, of no importance. All these conceptions merge into one another, and in exact theology the sambhogakāya is just as illusory, on its side, as the nirvṛttadhatu. The latter is a Salāgī (nothing) to do with the Three Bodies. An icon is raised to the dignity of representing the dharmakāya by a special consecration, and particularly by the introduction of relics, of bands covered with dhāraṇīs, etc. (Grīnvedel, Myths, 111).

* This śūnyatā is termed acarya in the mystic and tantric schools.

† The 'real extremity' or 'end of the being,' bhūtakāla, the place where the being ceases, that is, the śūnyatā, nirvāṇa. But at the same time it is the crowning thing and their first principle (primary cause). Compare what the Chinese philosophers made of the śūnātākāra, 'aspects of nothingness,' a creator who receptive and uncreated. See above, 1, 170.

‡ It is clear that this body, since it has neither blood nor bones, cannot leave any remains; its nirvāṇa is only illusion, na buddhaḥ pratirūpaṁ (Sūryagārabhadra).

1. Dhyānabuddhas.—At first, however, the progress made in mythological and religious speculation is neither so great nor so rapid as in ontological. The Mādhyamikas regard the dharmakāya as the essence from whom every germ of rebirth had been by himself destroyed; who survived the destruction of the germ of rebirth as the 'living emancipated one,' and at death entered into nirvāṇa, nothingness or mystery. He was afterwards assigned a place among the 'never-reborn saints,'† termed in Pali Akanisthāgāmino, who attain nirvāṇa after having ascended from one heaven to another to the summit of the world of forms. He therefore possessed an acquired and perishable sambhogakāya. When it was understood that he lived in taking the 'void' to mean unreality of the phenomena, reality of the absolute, or the 'mere thing' (vastumātra), it was evident that Vairochanas, the most glorious Buddha, and all the Madhyamikas, were equally, and exhaustively, said the same things. The Azayavijñana, quoted in the previous note, is a self-contradictory being. In principle there has never been but one dharmakāya, while the worlds are inhabited by millions of Buddhas, who have a right to this dharmakāya, and succeed more or less in appropriating it, and who in their sambhogakāyas are so many celestial Jinás or Dhyānabuddhas. Each of them, as such, has control of a 'Buddha field' (Buddhaksetra), of a world more or less blessed according as he has conceived his mission as Bodhisattva. Moreover, every Buddha has his own domain, and when he pleases, in his magical body (nirvṛttadhatu), or is replaced for this purpose by a worthy Bodhisattva.†

The imagination which runs riot through the universe is subordinated to religious instinct. There must be gods, but there need not be too many. Among the innumerable Buddhas there is one, Amitābha, the Buddha of the setting sun, the god of Infinite Light, who, thanks to his ancient vow, has won for himself the happy office of presiding over a universe in which there is no death, no evil destiny, 'the Land of Infinite Light,' a paradise, open to the gods of ours. There are none but Bodhisattvas, and only a few Arhatas. That world is a

* For further details see J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 943 ff. The one branch of the Great Vehicle is at once Siva, the various forms of Siva, and the multitude of created beings. It is worthy of note that according to Wessely, the Saktisthas (of the Little Vehicle) acknowledge the sambhogakāya.

† Köpen (ii. 93) is of opinion that there is some relation between the five so-called Dhyānabuddhas on the one hand and the four trances and the Anāgāmin (never-reborn saints) on the other. There is no evidence in support of this view. But the Anāgāmins seem to furnish a good illustration of what a Buddha may be after his apparent destruction.†

‡ The doctrinal theories, therefore, undergo several modifications. Atimitābha, a visible form, is named sambhogakāya. He is, however, described as dharmakāya, a qualification which he alone is permitted to him only so far as he is Vajradhāra, according to the passage cited by Foucher, Isomorphie, ii. 24; and, regarded as sambhogika, he receives the name of Amitābha. In the same way Akṣobhya is the name of the dharmakāya, whose sentient appellation is called Vajraśānti, as found in the Lankasāndhī (for the two Vairocana and two Ratnasambhavas). A very unorthodox relationship is thus established between the three bodies and the three worlds of formlessness, of form, and of desire (ākāśikā, ākāśikā, kama). But the dharmakāya is in principle quite a different thing from the arūpa.†

Among the most curious enumerations, that of the thousand Buddhas of our age, published by Schmidt (Mém. de la Soc. de St. Pé, 6th ser., I), in which Vairocana and Amitābha are made of the śūnyatākāra, 'aspects of nothingness,' a creator who receives the name of Akṣobhya (S. 100, 167, 351, 999), gives a fairly clear idea of the system of the present Madhyamika. See also J.R.A.S., i. 1709. See further, Mahāvaipulya, iii. 999, where Vairocanaabhadra is the most glorious Buddha.
'Happy Land,' a Sukhdvati, or, as the Visnupurana says, a Sukhd. Although Maitreya has a paradise, a Buddha, who at different times attracted the attention, now of religion, of mythology, or again of mysticism. From among the myriads of Buddhas they are chosen to represent at one and the same time the dharmakaya and the sambhogakaya. As they are connected with the five human Buddhas, the five magical appearances of our age, it may easily be inferred that the number five originates in this ancient enumeration; and that just as the human Buddhas may have one or more Buddhas of the same name, so too religious or ontological, so our names seemed ill fitted to designate their sublime 'substrata.' In the same way as Sakyamuni, as eternal, bears the name of Amitsyas, and as uncreated light, of Amitabha, so Maitreya, also known as Akshobhya, and Maitreya Amoghasiddhi. But Kern has warned us repeatedly that it is dangerous to be too enthusiastic; and as the Dhyanibuddhas, these have taken the place of the Dhyanibuddhas, much better attested in literature and more historical, so the Dhyanibuddhas, who are called the Brilliant (Vairochana), the Imperishable (Akshobhya), the Jewel-born (Ratnasambhava), the Sure-Success (Amoghasidh), are in the fifth, sixth, seventh, etc., colours, whereas it is certain that there are five Indras, five Rudras, five Kusikas, Kern suggests that for the same reasons there are five Dhyanibuddhas. And we are quite willing to believe that it is in mysticism, in idolatry, in the solar cosmogony, etc., that we must look for the predominating factors in this divine nrsi.

Such is the polytheistic system of the Dhyanibuddhas. Even when Vajradhara is given only a secondary place, as the second body of Akshobhya, the whole of this system is always an integral part of it. Every Buddha, at least in his 'blissful' form (sambhoga), has a wife, and begots a Bodhisattva; he is brought into relation with a mandala, with a dharana, an element, etc. It is attained in various ways, either by raising to the presidency one of the five Buddhas, usually Vairochana, or by the sixth, a Buddha, at times a combination of the five elements, the five skhandhas, or the five Buddhas. His wife is Vajradhavarti. But it is possible to attain this system by the psychology which is essentially practical, with its physiological presuppositions quite clearly defined, and aiming at the reinstate- ment of the faithful in its true nature, and the attainment into Vajradhara. He has but to take possession, by means of the combined rites, of the bodhisattva essence, of the 'thunderbolt-body' (vajrakaya) in its most perfect form.

2. The Adibuddha system consists, properly speaking, in superimposing on the five or six Buddhas (Vajradhara included) a Being who, however invisible and inactive he may be in principle, is recognized as Buddha, i.e., Vairochana, is identical with Siva. On Vairochana as an Auro, see Vuyut, 171, 5; as a Maitri- pika god in Lalitavistara, see Monier-Williams Dict., p. 1025. On the pre-emminence of Vairochana consult also Sieni, Mand- oed, book, p. 178, and Swed, Myth, p. 120, et seq., etc. In Japan, the identity of the Siva of the Auro and the Siva of the Shingon sect, Nippon Jidosha, p. 172, n. 24, Mv. Guimet, Bib. d'Études, t. viii., especially the Society who Vajradhara or Vajradhara is a respect from Sakyamuni, as a god analogous to the Adibuddha of the old (7) school of the Tibet. The Tibet regards Vajradhara as an emanation of some kind, or, as it is called 'buddhis-reflexes' from Akshobhya (Lamkim, p. 362).

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nevertheless a god. His body, which is a 'body of law,' is called samantabhāda, 'universally propitious,' a title borrowed from the Bodhisattva of that name. There are attributed to him the thirty-two marks, etc., of the Buddhahas and of Great Men, which are, as we saw, the character-istics of the befitting body. More fortunate than Brahma, he is worshipped. The ordinary Buddhhas, etc., are not his 'reflections' in an inferior world; he is different from them, for they proceed from him at a fixed moment of his existence. In place, therefore, of the underlying and scarcely visible identity of the ten formally ontological system of the five Buddhhas, there is substituted emanation or creation by means of dhāyāna.

It is evident that such a doctrine of the Adibuddhas is as much theistic as Buddhist. We must not, however, be led astray by words. If there is a shade of difference here, it is only a shade. Truth, as far as Buddhism knew it, is to be found not in Adibuddhas of the Advaita, but in the worship of the celestial Bodhisattvas.

The doctrine of emanation, although it has its connecting links and its ultimate origin on the side of Hinduism, has, nevertheless, a raison d'être in Buddhism. Here we see the final step of the speculations which converted Sākyamuni into a master magician, into the Vajrayāna, a system of the magicians, Yogis, to use the usual term. This character becomes evident when it is noticed that cosmic emanation is fashioned on the pattern of the creations by means of dhāyāna.

What, then, is the ultimate difference between the system of emanation and the orthodox doctrine of the Great Vehicle? The Great Vehicle taught identity and the essential nothingness of things; but, while thus far very orthodox, it considered individual beings to be distinct from their very beginning. The saṅghā, has no beginning; it is the result of ignorance (avidyā), which is primeval. The saṅghā is the same thing as nirvāṇa, but nirvāṇa will not be realized until the end.

On the other hand, the Great Vehicle does not confuse magical creations (nirmitakas) with real beings. The latter do not actually exist under the form which they adopt and by which they are known. But at least they are known, and they are truly existent illusions; while there is no real thought of magical creations. As regards the first point, however, nothing was more logical than to suppose the 'womb of the Tathāgata' originally virgin, to make the cosmos issue therefrom, and to represent it as returning again in nirvāṇa. The Brahmanas had paved the way, and this system fitted in admirably with the doctrine of cosmic revolutions in the course of the ages. And, as far as the second point is concerned, although ancient speculation, comparatively sober and self-confident as it was, refused to ascribe thought to the magical creations of magicians, it is doubtful whether we are justified in drawing the same conclusion when the magician is the dharmakāya personified under the form of a meditative Buddha. What he sees in his meditation is real and, as it were, autonomous, since it does not exist except this meditation and we ourselves are thought. The absolute idealism of the Yogāchāras and the nihilistic monism of the Madhyamikas entail all these consequences whenever they are brought into cosmogonic mythology.

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philosophy of the Hebrews: 'A rebuke entereth deeper into one that hath understanding than an hundred stripes into a fool' (Pr 17:10).

1. Admonition, as a means of maintaining social discipline, whether in the family or in larger social group, has been and is a part of the laws and customs of peoples in almost all stages of civilization. It exists among the primitive races of the Indian peninsula; it is a recognized part of Muhammadan penal law, and it held a place in the penal code of ancient Rome. [Ulpian, ‘De jure civili’ (ad. 1894), ii, 28]. When the Christians of Apostolic times began to form themselves into organized communities, admonition was one of the principal methods of upholding and enforcing ecclesiastical discipline. Admonition was a duty that was to be performed by all the Christian workers and all the Christian communities (Gal 6:2, 1 Th 2:1, Ti 4:2, 2 Ti 4:2; Herma, Vis, ii, 43), and it was incumbent on every believer to admonish a brother overtaken in a fault (1 Th 5:14).

Admonition in the primitive Church was of two kinds: (a) private, pastoral admonition, and (b) public admonition before the assembled congregation. Public admonition consisted either in a solemn exhortation to the offender to amend (2 Co 7:9-10), or in an exhortation to the Church (1 Clem. ad Cor. 54:2; Sohn, Kirchenrecht, 33 f.). The object of admonition in the primitive Church was to perfect all the members in the Christian character (Col 1:9), and it was to be administered not in anger, but in a spirit of anxious, paternal, affectionate solicitude (1 Co 4:20).

2. When we consider the extent and importance of admonition in the primitive Church, as well as the existence of this principle in the ancient Roman penal code, it is natural to expect that admonition would find a place when the Church of later ages ultimately elaborated a complicated and comprehensive legal code of its own. Admonition formed part of Canon Law; it was not regarded as a part of the Roman law. The punishment, however, was administered, as a warning. This warning preceded the actual punishment, which consisted in the excommunication of the offender, and it was usual in ordinary cases to repeat the warning three days before reporting to the final act of excommunication (Corpus iuris canoniz, Edito Romana, 1582 [editions of Richter, 1839, and Friedberg, 1881]; Kahl, Lehrsystem des Kirchenrechts und der Kirchenpolitik, Freiburg, 1894, p. 142; Actes du Congres pénitentiaire international, Rome, tome i, 1892-93). Admonition may hold a more or less definite place in the ecclesiastical constitution of most Protestant Churches.

3. Admonition as a means of dealing with offences against the secular law exists in several modern penal codes. The old Italian and French systems of criminal law admitted the principle of admonition, and at the present time it exists in a more or less restricted form in the penal codes of a considerable number of European communities. It may be extended ad infinitum when the offense has been committed by a juvenile, in others it is applicable in the case of adults as well. As used in the English law it is not the advice, warning, reprimand or exhortation which a judge is always at liberty to give when a prisoner is before him, whether he has been acquitted or convicted. It is to be regarded as a real punishment, solemnly pronounced by a judicial tribunal, and requiring a proper observation of all the rules of legal procedure. Admonition in the old penal codes did not exist (Priest, Science pénale (1890), p. 468; Alimenas, Revista pénale, xxvii, 557).

Admonition is a form of punishment which must always be of very limited application in cases which come before the criminal courts. Most cases which are of so trivial a character that they can be satisfactorily disposed of by a resort to admonition, are cases which are seldom brought before a judge at all. Owing to this fact, admonition is very little used in some of the countries where it exists as a penalty on the statute book. The prominence which the practice of admonition has acquired in recent years has been attributed to a great and growing reaction against the abuse of short terms of imprisonment for petty and insignificant offenses. Many of these offenses are not, strictly speaking, criminal in character; they are for the most part offenses against highway acts, police regulations, education acts, municipal regulations. The growth of large cities has increased offenses of this kind enormously, insomuch as crowded populations require a much more complicated network of regulations than thinly populated communities; and the growth of regulations is always accompanied by an increase in the number of petty offenses. Petty offenses of this kind are usually dealt with by the infliction of a fine; and when the offender is able to pay the fine and when the fine falls upon himself, this penalty is perhaps the best and most effective method of dealing with them. But many cases occur in which the offender is not able to pay the fine, in the case of juveniles, in which the fine falls upon the parents; in most of these cases the only alternative to a fine is imprisonment, and imprisonment, inflicting as it does a stigma which can never be removed, is felt to be too severe a penalty for the trivial nature of the offense. Hence the demand for some form of punishment which will avoid the odium of imprisonment for offenders unable to pay a fine. To some extent English law does deal with such cases. For example, where a charge is proved against an accused person, but the offense is so trivial that it is inexpedient to inflict punishment, the court may dismiss the information altogether, or it may convict the offender and discharge him conditionally on his giving security, with or without sureties, to be of good behavior, or to appear for sentence when called upon (Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879, sec. 16; Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887, sec. 1). These humane and praiseworthy provisions of the English law to some extent supply the place of judicial admonition as used in some Continental States, but they do not succeed in abolishing short sentences of imprisonment, which are the bane of all existing penal arrangements, and which perhaps produce more evils than they cure.

W. D. MORRISON

ADOLESCENCE (adolescere = 'to grow up').

The period of growth that intervenes between mere childhood and complete adulthood or maturity. The term was formerly restricted to the latter part of this period (from 18 to 25), but later writers have followed a suggestion of Clouston (Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases, Philadelphia, 1884, p. 375 [3rd ed., Lond. 1892]) that the term should be extended so that adolescence should begin at the age of 12. Accordingly, adolescence extends from about the age of 12, when premonitory mental symptoms of puberty appear, to about 25 for males and 21 for females, when the reproductive powers are ripe. The phenomena of these years display a sufficiently definite progression to justify a subdivision of the period into early, middle, and later adolescence, the middle sub-period covering the two or three years from about the age of 15 during which the transition is most rapid and the mental life most turbulent. All these age-boundaries are necessarily only average and approximate.

I. The most obvious mark of adolescence is the attainment of reproductive power. But this is only a centre for a remarkable group of phenomena. The curve of growth, both for weight and for
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height, takes a new direction; the proportions of bodily parts and organs change; hereditary tendencies crop out; new instincts appear; there are characteristic disorders, particularly of the mind and nervous system; new intellectual interests and powers spring up spontaneously; the moral sense is more or less transformed; emotion greatly increases in quantity, character, and appreciation (literary, artistic, ethical, religious) multiply in number and depth.

These phenomena have the deepest significance for both the organic and the personal life. In respect to the personal life, which is here our chief concern, adolescence presents a peculiar state of flux or plasticity of all the faculties, followed by the assumption of a new type of organization. As a general rule the 'set' that character now takes remains through life. Even the vocational and other special interests that distinguish one's mature years commonly take their rise here. It is a time of peculiar responsiveness to religious impressions, and conversely it is the period when nearly all careers of criminality, viciousness, or incompetency and all the practical exercises of adolescence for moral and religious growth are great so that a special article will be devoted to this topic. (See GROWTH [MORAL AND RELIGIOUS, PERIODS OF]). Certain abnormal tendencies of adolescence will be treated in the article on MORBIDNESS. The remainder of the present article offers only such general description as may assist towards a correct perspective for the manifold problems of morals and religion that have their centre here.

2. For physiology the importance of adolescence lies in the ripening of a new organic function, that of sex. If we carry forward this physiological notion in the direction of biology, we perceive that adolescence marks a change in the relation of an individual to the species. The significant fact now becomes the attainment of racial, as distinguished from merely individual, functions. Extending our horizon, in the next place, from biology to sociology, we note that adolescence is the period in which individual life becomes socialized. Here begins the possibility of the family and all the derivatives from family life that are summed up in the terms 'society' and 'the State.' But the genesis of complete social existence is likewise the genesis of complete individuality. In infancy and childhood, though individual impulses have, as their mental side, a decided access of intellectual and ethical independence, and of self-conscious purposes of relatively wide sweep.

Advancing, now, to the ethical aspect of these relations, we may say that adolescence tends toward the attainment of complete ethical personality, through release from a predominantly egoistic motivation of life. Self-realization now advances beyond a series of particular egoistic satisfactions (a characteristic of childhood), and requires the organization of the self into a larger whole as a member of it. This involves at once increased self-guidance, yet a deeper sense of obligation; a heightened individuality, yet an individualism that is transfigured into social self-realization. This movement outward from the merely particular self is of the highest importance for religion. For the movement may, and, wherever adolescence has been carefully studied, does go on to include the individual's relations not only to human society, but also to nature, and to God or the gods. It is characteristic of adolescence to become interested in the whole 'other-than-myself,' to feel its mystery, and to endeavour to construe it in terms of selfhood and sympathy.

Viewed from the standpoint of the Christian consciousness, adolescence is the normal period for attaining communal devotion, as it has been through the organization of the self into larger social wholes such as the family, society, the State, humanity, and the all-inclusive social relationships that Jesus called the Kingdom of God. But this is only the culmination of a view of adolescence that is present, more or less clearly, in all religions. The custom of signaling the arrival of puberty by initiation into the tribe and its religion by means of symbolic ceremonies, bodily markings and mutilations, or by other civil and religious exercises of world-wide and it reaches through all strata of cultural development (see Hall, Adolescence, ch. xiii., and an art. by A. H. Daniels, 'The New Life,' in Amer. Jour. Psy. vol. vi. p. 61 ff.).

4. The close time-relation here existing between sexual development and the growth of the highest sentiments and impulses cannot be a mere coincidence. It is too constant, and the parallel between the biological and the psychological transformation is too close to permit a serious doubt that these two lines of growth need to be included under a single concept. Living organisms display two fundamental functions, nutrition and reproduction, the former of which attains its immediate end in the individual, the latter in the species. They are the physiological bases of egoism and Altruism respectively. The physiological and the ethical here present a single law manifesting itself on two planes. In infancy and childhood we have a type of life that, in the main, presents on the physiological side a predominance of the nutritive functions, and on the ethical side a predominance of self-regard, while in adolescence nutritive and reproductive functions are blended and unified, just as are also egoistic and social impulses. Of course, childhood is not exclusively egoistic, for fatal impulses and social environment guide conduct and even habits of feeling into social channels; but the inner, emotional, self-conscious realization of one's social nature waits for adolescence. Now, the mental states that characterize this change directly reflect the new physiological condition, though they pass beyond it, as though it were only a door of entrance. The new interest in the opposite sex tends to humanize the adolescent's whole world. All heroism becomes lovely, not merely the heroic devotion of a lover; Nature reveals her beauty; in fact, all the ideal qualities that a lover aspires to possess in himself or to find in the object of his love,—all the sympathy, purity, truth, fidelity,—these are found and looked for in the whole sphere of being. Thus the ripening of sexual capacity and the coming of the larger ethical and spiritual capacities constitute a single process going on at two distinct levels.

The evidence of this connexion thus derived from normal growth is strengthened by abnormal and pathological phenomena. Personality eunuchs in childhood commonly display a peculiar insensitivity to social and religious motives. Further, nothing tends more positively towards the production of morbid moral and religious states during adolescence than defective physiological
ADOPTIANISM has familiarized us with the idea of tracing an Adoptianist Christology to an earlier period. We propose, therefore, to treat of Adoptianism in the broadest sense, bringing under this head all writings which speak of Christ as the adopted Son of God.

1. The keynote of the Christology of the 2nd cent. is struck in the opening words of the ancient homily known as 2 Clement: 'Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ, as of God, as of the Judge of quick and dead.' Ignatius emphasizes the divinity of the Word and ascribes to Him a more than human freedom: 'Thus He has been from ages eternal and invisible, immutable, and unchangeable. He is the Son of God.' (Ad Philad. 2.)

Harnack, however, contrasts with such teaching, to which he gives the name 'Pneumatic Christology,' the teaching of such a writer as Hermas, whom he claims as a teacher of Adoptianist Christology. Whereas Ignatius and Clement and their followers carry on the tradition of pre-existent Christ on the lines of NT writings (Ep. Hebrews, Ephesians, Johannine writings), Harnack regards Hermas as a witness to a truer doctrine. According to the Shepherd of Hermas (see Sim. v. and ch. xi. 12), in Hermas's words (Hist. of Dogma [Eng. tr.]. i. 191 n.):

'... The Holy Spirit—it is not certain whether He is identified with the chief Archangel—is regarded as the pre-existent Son of God, who is elder than creation, nay, was God's counsellor at creation. The Redeemer is the virtuous man chosen by God, who being begotten from eternity, exists in time. As He did not define the Spirit, but kept Him constantly as His companion, and carried out the work to which the Deity had called Him, nay, did more than He was commanded, He was, in virtue of a divine decree, adopted as a son and exalted to μεγάλα ευνωσία και κυριαρχία.'

We may agree with Lightfoot and others that Hermas sometimes confuses the Persons of the Son and of the Spirit, but this is as far as the evidence leads us. It is surprising that an obscure shopkeeper without philosophical training should make slips in the work of analysis of Christian experience, which is the great task of Christian theology!

In Sim. v. Hermas distinguishes accurately enough between the Lord of the vineyard, the Servant, under which figure Hermas speaks of the Son; and the Son, referring to the Holy Ghost, he writes (vi. 5) that God sent the Holy Ghost to dwell in the flesh of Christ, he does not mean that the Holy Ghost is the power of the Godhead in Christ, but that the pre-existent Christ was a spirit being. Such teaching is found in Ignatius and the Apostolic Constitutions, Jerome, Tertullian, etc. (Harnack, Adv. Haer. v. 1, 2; Tertullian, Apol. 21, adv. Prax. 8. 36.)

As Dorner (Doct. of Person of Christ [Eng. tr.], i. 131) writes:

'So far is Hermas from Ebionism... that he rather seeks in part to retract the representation of the Son as a servant in the Similitude, and even to represent His earthly work as power and majesty; whilst what remains of the humiliation, such as His sufferings, He treats as the work of His free love, as the means of the taking away of our sins, and as the point of passage to a higher position.'

What Harnack reads into the Christology of Hermas is really the teaching of a much later writer, Paul of Samosata. No doubt it is true that the pre-existence of Christ was ignored or denied in some quarters. One class of Ebionites held a low view of the divinity of the pre-existent Christ, regarding Him as an ordinary man though superior to other men (Euseb. HE iii. 27). Some writers held that the Baptism was the beginning of His Divine Sonship.

2. This tendency to minimize the Divine glory of Christ reached a climax in the writings of Paul of Samosata, a rationalist Monarchian, who laid stress on the unity of God as a single Person, denying any distinction of the Wisdom or Word.
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of God. 'A real incarnation of the Logos was thus impossible; He existed in Jesus not essentially or personally, but only as a quality. The personality of Jesus was entirely human; it was not that the Son of God came down from heaven, but that the Son of man ascended up on high' (Bethune-Baker, History of Doctrine 168b, p. 60; cf. Whewell). He was deified after His Baptism or His Resurrection was not clearly taught, but the union between God and Christ was, according to this view, one of disposition and will only.

3. The truth is that this tendency to minimize, was probably the Latin translation of his works were read in Spain from the 6th century. Theodore discusses the indwelling of God in Christ, in his work 'On the Incarnation.' What is in holy men an indwelling of the God in their hearts is really a disguise, but brought him into a close relation to God on a higher plane. From His Birth the co-operation of the Divine Word with the man raised Him to the level of perfect virtue. 'The Man Christ... is thus the visible image of the invisible Godhead; and at His union with the true Son of God, He possesses the privileges of a unique adoption, so that He also the title of Son of God belongs' (Swete, Thes. of Mopsuestia on John, etc., p. 187). Theodore seems to prefer the term 'conjunction' of natures rather than 'union,' and uses the metaphor of the union of husband and wife in marriage to express the union of two Natures in one Person. But in his desire to avoid Apollinarian error he opened the way for Nestorianism, who taught that there was a 'conjunction of the two Natures, an indwelling of the Godhead in the manhood united morally or by sympathy.' Such a union is mechanical, not vital. 'I separate the natures,' said Nestorius, 'but the reverence I pay them is just.' The strong point in his theory was the recognition of the Lord's true manhood. As Bright puts it, 'Nestorianism was really Trinitarian in one aspect, but in another it was inevitably, under whatever disguise, Humanitarian, or, in modern phrase, 'Adoptianism.'

5. We pass on to consider the links which bound the later Spanish Adoptionism to earlier heresies. There seems no doubt that Muhammad rulers who claimed to patronize Nestorian Christians as more enlightened than their brethren. When the Arabs overthrew the Persian kingdom, they found Nestorian Christians strong. Muhammad himself is said to have cultivated the literary friendship of a Nestorian monk Sergius, and he gave privileges to Nestorians. They followed the Arabs everywhere, where, the Khalifs appreciating their learning, and probably followed the Moors into Spain. Gams (Kirchengesch. Spaniens, ii. 264) suggests that the mysterious 'Brothers of Cordova,' whom Eipandus, the first teacher of the heresy, quoted as witness speaking much to him (he wrote to Felix in 790), were Nestorians. Alcuin traces the origin of the new error to Cordova (writing to Leifrad, he says: 'Maxime origo hujus perfidiae de Corduba civitate patet; ne si non furemur Nestoriani, they may very well have been students of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose works were read in the West. Gams also points out (op. cit.) that in his controversy with Migetius, Eipandus quoted Elytus (the Syriac), suggesting that knowledge of his works seems to imply the presence of Nestorians in Spain.

6. Eipandus, Metropolitan of Toledo, was an old man when the trouble began (c. A.D. 780). It appears that he had successfully opposed the objections of Migetius of Mopsuestia, who railed at his showing a lurking remnant of Priscillianism. Migetius taught that God was revealed in David (as Father),

in Jesus (as Son), in St. Paul (as Holy Ghost), on the basis of an absurdly literal exegesis. (Thus he quotes David in Ps. 44 (45), 'Eructavit cor meum uterum bonum'). From this extreme Eipandus turned to its opposite, and taught what with vehemence he declared to be the teaching of all the Fathers, and of Whence, and his abler ally, Felix, bp. of Urgel, intended to teach the unity of Christ's Person while distinctly distinguishing the Natures. They found the term 'adoption' in common use in their Spanish Liturgy, and they argued that it was a fitting term to express the raising of man to the dignity of Divinity. They taught that the Son is 'adoptive in His humanity, but not in His Divinity.'

It does not appear that the term 'adoption' in the Liturgy means more than 'assumption.' Eipandus was rightly concerned to guard the reality of the human nature assumed, but overstated the case in his antithesis, teaching a double Sonship: the 'Son of God, Christ, is Son genus et natura; as man, He is Son adoptio et gratia.' He roundly accuses his opponents of teaching Eutychianism, that the manhood was derived from the being of the Father.

7. Felix followed on the same path. He transferred to the Person what was true of the nature. He taught that Christ as a servant needed grace, was not omniscient or omnipotent. As the Only-Begotten Son, Christ, 'I and the Father are one' (Jn 10). As the 'First-born among many brethren' (Ro 8) He is adopted with the adopted sons. Only thus can we be certain of our adoption. Felix applied the phrase 'true and peculiar Son' (sacer et proprietas juris) to the God-Logos as man, and did not shrink from the proposition 'the Son is believed one in two forms'; he distinguished between 'the one' and 'the other,' 'this one' and 'that,' may, he called the Son of Man God by adoption ('omniosus deus'); meaning that He became God). He taught a dwelling of God in man, of the man who is united with Deity (Harnack, op. cit. v. 235). The Son of Man has two births, a natural birth of the Virgin, a spiritual birth by adoption and grace, begun in Baptism, completed at the Resurrection. Felix, indeed, taught that Christ was sinless, but that 'the old man,' i.e. our sinful nature, is regenerated in Him. Alcuin (li. 18) found it difficult to believe that Felix was sincere when he seemed to regard Christ as needing regeneration.

8. When Eipandus published his theory in letters, the Abbot Beatus and the Bishop Etherius (Eterius, Heterius) entered the lists against him. He was amazed at their rashness. Toledo was not accustomed to take lessons from Arians! He called his opponents names, of which 'servants of Antichrist' is a mild specimen. The controversy extended from Spain to France; and the Pope, Hadrian I., was drawn into it, not unwilling to deal with an independent Metropolitan. When Felix joined in the fray, the Synod of Regensburg was summoned, in A.D. 792. Felix defended himself in the presence of Charles the Great, but was vanquished in debate, and was sent in the company of Abbot Angilbert to the Pope. In Rome he signed a recantation; but when he returned to Urgel he repented of it, and fled into Saracen territory.

9. On his return from England, Alcuin wrote his first treatise against Felix. About the same time Eipandus and the Spanish bishops sent a treatise to the bishops of Gaul. Aquitania seems to appeal to Charles to restate Felix. The Council of Frankfort met in the summer of A.D. 794, and was attended by representatives of the Pope as
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ADOPTION (among lower races).—1. Artificial kinship is a well-recognized and widely practised mode of strengthening societies founded, as savage and barbarous societies are, on real or pretended community of blood. By means of artificial kinship, strangers are adopted into a clan or kindred. Various methods have been employed for this purpose, the most celebrated of which is the Blood Covenant (wh. see). In all societies based on blood-kinship, children are a common asset of great value, for the continuance of the society depends on them. Wealth of children is the supreme desire of families, and it matters comparatively little whether they are legitimate, or even whether they really have the family blood in their veins or not. Where natural means of obtaining children fail, therefore, artificial means are often freely resorted to. Moreover, the importance of children to the society leads to their being regarded with special tenderness and consideration; and even where there is no want of issue, children are adopted from motives of compassion. This is the case, to mention only two examples, among the Japanese, among the Pueblos of New Mexico. Of the natives of Loges, an island off the coast of British New Guinea, we are told that on the occasion of a blood-feud after a successful raid, when it is customary to torture to death and eat the prisoners, the leader of the raid, being the owner of the prisoners, will sometimes save their lives and adopt them, according to sex and age, as father, mother, brother, sister, or child (Colonial Rep. No. 185, Brit. New Guinea, Coron. Rep. 1894-1895, p. 51). Elsewhere in New Guinea and the adjacent islands the purchase of children for adoption by women, either childless or with only small families or widows, or by families with children of one sex only, is a common practice (Kohler, in STBV, xiv. 365).

Adoption is also practised by the Papuans (c. A.D. 798), Alcuin (c. Felic. ii. 12) taught that 'in adsumptione carnis a deo, persona perit hominis, non natura.' The idea was inherited from the Gallican Faustus of Riez, who had taught: 'Persone per heresiam consumuntur, sicut personae in persona Christi ad hijum adhuc potest, quia persona in persona Christi ad hijum adhuc potest, quia persona in Persona Christi.' This was probably dictated by circumstances (Hewitt in I Handbk. Amer. Ind., ii. 291).

In every Christological controversy sacramental teaching has been involved. In Arian times, Hilary of Poitiers (de Trin. viii. 13) pleaded standard Eucharistic doctrine as a witness against error. Eusebius and Beatus were right to show that the assumptions of their opponents brought about some misunderstandings in Eucharistic teaching. But Harnack overstates his position when he argues that 'even in the instance of Beatus, the realistic conception of the Lord's Supper turns out to be a decisive motive against Adoptionism' (op. cit. 291). It is not pleasant to note that Alcuin (Ep. ad Elip.) wrote warmly in praise of the character of Felix, whose charm was also admitted after his death by Agobard (op. cit. 2).

LITTERATURE.—Letters of Elipandus. (Recueil Chret., v. 594; Reredit. et Beati ad. Elip. Lib. 3 [Migne, Patr. Lat. 96]; Alcuinus, ad. Elip., ad. Felic. Lib. 110, 101; Polianus, Lib. 3 [Migne, 96]; Agobardus [Migne, 104]; Guas, Kirchengeschichte Spaniens, ii. 2, 361 ff.; Bandesien, Basilisc. u. Alarz; Möller, art. 'Adoptionismus' in FICH.

A. E. BURN

So among the Osages and Kansas of North America children and women taken prisoners are preserved and adopted, especially into such families among their captors as have lost any of their members, either by sickness or war (Hunterson, Memoirs of a Captivity, 249). The Omaha practice adoption of child, or child, or child, or child, or child, and, some living person bears a real or fancied resemblance to the deceased (Dorsey, in 3rd Report of BE, 265).

2. The effect of adoption is to transfer the child from the old kinship to the new. He ceases to be a member of the family to which he belongs by birth. He loses all rights, and is divested of all duties with regard to his real parents and kinsmen, and instead enters upon new duties and acquires new rights as the child of the family to which he is transferred, and of which he is now regarded in all respects as a native-born member. Very early in the development of the family as a social unit, in addition to the care of a parent during sickness and old age, the duty of performance of his funeral ceremonies and the cult of the ancestral manes were reckoned among the most important duties of a child. These are not always mentioned by ethnographical writers among the reasons for adoption; yet, where the religion of the people described lays stress upon them, they must always be taken into account. Thus the old Moravian writer Cranitz, in describing the customs of the Eskimos...

Some of the North American tribes occasionally extended the practice of adoption so as to make it by analogy a trans- mission between entire persons. Thus the Five Nations adopted the Tuscarora on their expulsion from North Carolina, about the year 1720, and admitted them first as a boy, then

through successive stages, as if they had been a single person, up to full equality. The Iroquois seem to have adopted the Iroquois in a similar manner. In both cases the object was purely political, and the form of alliance (for such in effect it was) was probably dictated by circumstances (Hewitt in Handbook Amer. Ind., art. 'Adoption').
of Greenland, assigns as the only reason for adopting children that the family has no children or only little ones, and that the husband in such a case adopts one or two orphan boys to assist him in providing food and to take care of his family in future times, adding that ‘the wife does the same with a girl or a widow’ (Crantz, History of Greenland, i. 165); whereas we know from his own statements elsewhere in the book (pp. 205, 237), as well as from others, that an elaborate burial was given to a deceased Eskimo, that ghosts manifested themselves in various ways, asking for food by name, and that the dead were ‘a kind of guardian spirits to their children and grandchildren’ (Kink, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, 44, 63). Hence we may be led to infer that the reasons enumerated by Crantz were by no means the only reasons for adoption in Greenland. The inference is greatly strengthened by the express testimony of a careful observer about the Eskimos of Behring Strait, that ‘a childless pair frequently adopt a child, either a girl or a boy, preferably the latter. This is done so that when they die, their son or daughter may be the one who will have to make the customary feast and offerings to their shades at the festival of the dead. All of the Eskimos appear to have great dread of dying without being assured that their shades will be remembered during the festivals, fearing that, if not, those shades will depart, and that the people will never see them again in the future life’ (Nelson, in 18th Report of BE, 290).

3. Whatever may be the case among the Eskimos of Greenland, therefore, it is quite certain that those of Behring Strait practise adoption for reasons which include the perpetuation of the cult of the ancestral manes. At the other end of the habitable world the Bantu are distinguished by their devotion to the worship of ancestors. The race is so prolific that it rarely happens that a man dies without issue. When among the Baronga of Delagoa Bay the head of a kraal passes away without leaving a son, it is said that his village has departed, his name is broken. This is regarded as a supreme misfortune; and to avoid it the childless man marries his nephew and the adoption of his sister’s son. He gets a sister who is expecting to become a mother to come to his village, and there to give birth to her child. If a boy be born, he is made the heir, and is said to have been restored to his great-grandfather. If a girl be born, this purpose a chief may, it seems (though one below the rank of chief cannot), even adopt a stranger (Junod, Les Baronga, 121). The misfortune involved in the breaking of the name by the failure of children appears more clearly from a Zulu prayer to the family manes.

The worshipper says: ‘Ye of such a place, which did such and such great actions, I ask of you that I may get cattle and children and wives, and have children by them, that your names may perish, but it may still be said, “That is the village of so-and-so yonder.” If I am alone, it may be I shall live long on the face of the earth without any children, and shall come to an end; and you will be in trouble when you have to say good-by; for at the time of my death my village will come to an end, and you will have no place into which you enter; you will die of cold on the mountains’ (Callaway, Religious Customs of the Amazulu, 224).

The Zulus are a people closely related, as well as geographically contiguous, to the Baronga. From what is here explicitly set forth concerning Zulu ideas, it may be legitimately concluded that the underlying motive for adopting a son in the manner practised by the Baronga, is that of providing for the worship of the dead by means of the sacrifices to be offered from time to time by the adopted son and his descendants.

4. It is, however, among races of higher civilization than the Eskimos or the Baronga that the connexion of adoption with the family cult is most clearly visible. Without anticipating what will be said below in special articles, it may be noted that the adoption ceremony often bears witness to this connexion. In Cambodi a solemn ceremony, though not absolutely essential to the validity of adoption, is often performed, and plays a great part in Cambodian custom. It is needless to state the ceremony in detail. Suffice it to say that the following invocation is therein repeated: ‘To-day, at a propitious hour, this man who, in consequence no doubt of a mistake on the part of other entrais, asks to be the son of so-and-so. Let so-and-so be his father, so-and-so his mother! It becomes us now to inform you of the matter, the deed was born, a formal adoption! Grant us favours and prosperity!’ The formal adoption then takes place by the adoptive father or some other person on his behalf asperging the adopted son with water, counting nine, and crying: ‘Come hither, run, O nineteen vital spirits!’ Finally, the cotton threads with which the water has been sprinkled are bound to the wrists of the son thus admitted into the family (Aymonier, in Excursions et Reconnaissances, xxv. 189).

5. The ceremony of adoption has varied greatly. There is reason to believe that it originally consisted of a formal simulation of the natural act of birth, or of suckling. The former, as appears from the legend of the adoption of Heracles by Hera, recounted by Diodorus, was known in ancient Greece, and the same writer expressly tells us that it was still the practice of the barbarians. The Roman form seems to have been similar. It is still observed by the Turks in Bosnia; and a Slavonic folk-song exhibits an example of adopting the son to be adopted into the palace and passing him through her silken vest that he might be called her heart’s child (Krauss, Sitten und Brauche der Süd-slaven, 599 f.). The symbolism is, if crude, so natural that we need not be surprised at finding it very widespread. A story of the Taimehians, a British Columbian tribe, represents a woman who purposed to adopt a child as sitting down and having the child placed between her legs, as if she had just given birth to it (Boas, Indianaische Sagen, 226). Some of the Indian castes place the child in the lap of the person adopting it (Crooke, Tribes and Customs of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, i. 59, 89). Saint Dominic was the adopted son of the Blessed Virgin. Accordingly, Roman Catholic painters have not hesitated to represent ‘the whole count- less host of Dominicans crowded under her dress’ (Milman, History of Lat. Christianity, vi. 22 note). Although in England adoption has not been recognized within the historical period, a vulgar superstition lingered into recent times, that a mother might legitimize her child born before marriage by taking them under her clothes during the marriage ceremony, seems to point to the existence at an earlier period of a rite of adoption simulating the act of birth.

6. Among the races of the North of Africa the ancient rite was by suckling. It is constantly alluded to in Berber and Kabyle stories. It is mentioned in stories told to-day in Egypt, and was probably the usual form among the ancient Egyptians (Bastu my name is namer, 138, 358, 359; Wiedemann in Am Urquell, iii. 239). The development of the paternal at the expense of the maternal line of descent has in Africa and elsewhere transferred the rite to the man who adopts a son. Among the Gallai at Kambat, in the Eastern Horn of Africa, the son to be adopted sucked blood from the breast of his adoptive father (Paulitschke, Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, i. 193). In Abyssinia the son to be adopted takes the hand of the adoptive father and sucks one of his fingers, declaring himself to be his child by adoption. Sir George Robertson was thus constituted his adopted father by an old Kafir in the Hindu-Kush. On another occasion a man desirous of being his adopted son smeared butter on his left breast and sucked it (Robertson, Kafirs of the
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Hindu-Kush, 203, 30). The Circassians practise adoption by the suckling rite. The woman offers her breast to the son to be adopted. So far is this carried, that if a murderer can by any means, even by force, succeed in sucking the breast of the murdered man, whom he has in succession, he becomes the son; and it ends a vendetta if the offender can simply manage to plant three kisses on the breast of the mother of the injured man (Dairinsky, in ZYlV, xiv. 168 ; LAnthropologie, vii. 229).

These rude ceremonies, of course, disappeared from the higher culture long before the custom of adoption itself passed away.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

ADOPTION (Chinese).—Adoption is in China principally a religious institution, based upon ancestor-worship, which demands perpetuation of the family and the tribe. The most sacred duty of a child, inculcated by the ancient classics, consists in absolute obedience and submission to the will of its parents, combined with the highest degree of affection and devotion. This duty, called hiao, naturally does not terminate with death. Father and mother, having entered the spiritual state, then become the patron divinities of their offspring. They reside in their temples at home, and are adored, in wooden tablets inscribed with their names. The sons and their wives have to feed and clothe them by means of sacrifices prescribed with great precision by formal customary law, in order to protect them from hunger and cold, privation and misery, and themselves from punishment and misfortune. The hiao extends also to grand-parents, and still more remote ancestors of the family, who likewise are tutelary divinities. Last of all the sacrifices should be made to both a nearest male and a duty for everybody to have sons, in order that they may continue the ancestor-worship. The saying of Mencius, "Three things are unprofitable, and the worst is to have no sons," is a dogma of social and religious life to this day. Daughters are of no use in this respect; for, in accordance with the peremptory law of exogamy dominating China's social life probably from the earliest times, a daughter leaves her paternal tribe to enter that of her husband, and is thus considered the adoption of her husband's ancestors.

A married man who has no son, either by his principal wife or by a concubine, is therefore bound to obtain one by adoption. According to anciently existing and the laws of the State, he may adopt only a son of his brother, or a grandson of his father's brother, or a great-grandson of his paternal grand-uncle, and so on; in other words, an adopted successor must be a member of the same tribe, and thus a bearer of the adopter's tribe-name; and moreover, he must be a member of the generation following that of the adopter.

An adopted successor holds the position of a genuine son; he possesses the same rights, and has the same personal performances to perform. Adoption is unusual, and at any rate not necessary, for those who have sons of their own; and it is unlawful for any man who has only one son to give him away for adoption.

The adoption of a son may, of course, be sealed by a written contract, but in most cases no such contract is made. It is an important event for the family, and, like all such events, is superintended by the elders of the family, whose tacit sanction is necessary. The intervention of the clergy is not required nor given, and as long as no glaring transgression of the laws of adoption is committed, and no complaints are lodged by the elders, they will not interfere. The consummation of the event is in the main religious, being solemnly announced to the soul-tablets in both homes by the respective fathers; and the son has, with prostrations and incense-offering, to take leave of those in his father's house, and in the same way to introduce himself to those in the house of his adoptive father. Should his natural father and his adoptive father have the same family-altar, it is, of course, only one announcement before it.

J. J. M. DE GROOT.

ADOPTION (Greek).—1. Origin and meaning of the institution.—In the midst of the Greeks and Romans there were three things closely connected, and at first inseparably, connected,—the family organization, the family worship (that is, the worship of the dead ancestors of the family back to the common ancestor of the group of families constituting the clan or gens, gens), and the family estate. It was the rule in both Greek and Roman law that the property could not be acquired without the obligations of the cultus, nor the cultus without the property or some share in it (Vato, Laws, v. 740), and the laws of the Ionians, actioning the facts, for the Ionians, actioning the facts, are given in full, with tr. and comments, in Roberts, Introd. to Greek Epigraphy, Part i. p. 826 f. The regulations concerning adoption are given in full, with tr. and comments, in Roberts, Introd. to Greek Epigraphy, Part i. p. 826 f.
ADOPTION (Greek)

that which Nature had denied' (Cic. pro Dom. xiii. 14) is frequently expressed by the orators (cf. Is. ii. 10; δε τι ζωντα γεγορωφουσα και τελευτα- 

σαντα θανον αυτω και εις τον οπου χρονον τα ουτω- μενα αυτον ποιησας. Id. ii. 46: οπαπα δε των τελευτα- 

σαντα και άνωνων βολησαν καταστημα, ινα μετα το 

λα τα παιδια γι' ουκ εκεινοι μενα τωμ μη έγγυης κατα- 

αναθημα τα τα δι' αυτου του αδελφου." Αντιπαθεια τα 

τας εκεινους. Nevertheless, this idea became over- 

laid with others as rationalism prevailed. The Athenian of the days of Isaeus adopted a son, in very many cases at least, primarily in order to legate, or to make him a citizen. In other words, adoption, gradually losing to a large extent its early significance as a means of supplementing 

nature (Demos. xlv. 43: δος ου ο λογος μη έξηωρησθει,) was used as a means of testamentary bequest, thereby over- 

coming a legal disability. For it must be remembered that 'Intestate Inheritance is a more ancient institution than Testamentary Succession' (Maine, op. cit. p. 207), and that normally (i.e. if he had a legitimate son) an Athenian could not make a will — so the law is uncertain. If method of testing whether 

was strictly enforced, at least in the 4th cent. B.C. (cf. Meier u. Schömann, Der attische Proceß, p. 591 f.; Wyse on Is. lii. 42 and vi. 28). If he died without legitimate male issue, and without a will, the inheritance was ascertained, in an order fixed by law, were his heirs. The Athenian will, therefore, 

though only an 'inchoate testament' (Maine, op. cit. p. 208), together with adoption, which was the form in which a testamentary disposition of property was as a rule made, interrupted the ordinary course of descent of family and property. In 

other words, an Athenian, availing himself of the right of adoption inter vivos or by testament, very often was actuated by the desire of disinheriting some one of his possible heirs at-law (Demos. xlv. 63: δε εκει γα δει των κοιλακεων εις ελοντων 

φυγωναγωγουν και ταυ προς τους οικελων διαφοροι 

πωλακες φιλονεκατες τουτοι μεν ποιησαιται). This 

fact explains not only the frequency of disputes over wills and inheritances at Athens, but also the method of disposal of property followed by the plebeians, e.g. Isaeus. The impression gathered from the speeches is that it was perhaps impossible for an 

Athenian to safeguard the heir of his choice against 

the assaults of disappointed relatives. And, herein 

a great contrast to the Roman courts, the tend- 

encies of Athenian jurisprudence were often 

petitives rather than for the will' (Arist. Prob. 

xxix. 3).

3. Methods of adoption.—In Athens there were three methods of adoption: (1) adoption inter vivos, i.e. during lifetime (cf. Is. ii. 14; δειδων 

ον των γυμνων αυτω παρεδωκε δια το επιμελεια, με 

ποιηται, σκην εν διαθεσις γραματις, μελλων αποδηλωτης, 

δειδων ελον τως); (2) adoption by will, taking effect only on death of the testator (see quotation above); (3) adoption by the next-of-kin succeeding to the estate, or his issue, was adopted into the family of the deceased as his son. (The rules of 

this method of adoption are not known, and our evidence is meagre. Instances are the following—Is. x. 40, 

vii. 31; Demos. xliii. 11, this last an example of 

such adoption deferred for many years, and per- 

formed in the end simply as a manoeuvre in view 

of law and Custom. See Wyse, note on Is. x. 8). In 

Gortyna the procedure of adoption is of archaic 

simplicity, the act being public and oral, as its 

* For these annual offerings to the dead, see Wyse, The 

Speeches of Isaeus, note in loco.

So in Gortyna testimonies are unknown, even in the rudimen- 

tary form introduced at Athens by Solon. The code seems, 

in fact, concerned to combat the tendencies which produced 

the testament.

name there (δημοσια, 'announcement') denotes 

'Announcement of adoption shall be made in the 

Agora, when the citizens are assembled, from the 

stone from which speeches are made. And the 

adopter shall give to his ιμαια α victim and a 

pitcher of wine. The Spartan mode (Herod. vi. 

57) must have been similar to this.

4. Conditions regulating adoption.—The con- 

ditions under which adoption in Athens was 

possible were as follows. Since adoption was 

in reality a sort of willing, it could be performed 

only by him who was competent to make a will, 

that is by a citizen of maturity. In other words, 

adoptions, gradually losing to a. large extent its early significance as a means of supplementing 
nature (Demos. xlv. 43: δος ου ο λογος μη έξηωρησθει,) was used as a means of testamentary bequest, thereby over- 
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though only an 'inchoate testament' (Maine, op. cit. p. 208), together with adoption, which was the form in which a testamentary disposition of property was as a rule made, interrupted the ordinary course of descent of family and property. In 

other words, an Athenian, availing himself of the right of adoption inter vivos or by testament, very often was actuated by the desire of disinheriting some one of his possible heirs at-law (Demos. xlv. 63: δε 

εκει γα δει των κοιλακεων εις ελοντων φυγωνα 

γωγουν και ταυ προς τους οικελων διαφοροι 

πωλακες φιλονεκατες τουτοι μεν ποιησαιται). This 

fact explains not only the frequency of disputes over wills and inheritances at Athens, but also the method of disposal of property followed by the plebeians, e.g. Isaeus. The impression gathered from the speeches is that it was perhaps impossible for an 

Athenian to safeguard the heir of his choice against 

the assaults of disappointed relatives. And, herein 

a great contrast to the Roman courts, the tend- 

encies of Athenian jurisprudence were often 

petitives rather than for the will' (Arist. Prob. 

xxix. 3).

3. Methods of adoption.—In Athens there were three methods of adoption: (1) adoption inter vivos, i.e. during lifetime (cf. Is. ii. 14; δειδων 

ον των γυμνων αυτω παρεδωκε δια το επιμελεια, με 

ποιηται, σκην εν διαθεσις γραματις, μελλων αποδηλωτης, 

δειδων ελον τως); (2) adoption by will, taking effect only on death of the testator (see quotation above); (3) adoption by the next-of-kin succeeding to the estate, or his issue, was adopted into the family of the deceased as his son. (The rules of 

this method of adoption are not known, and our evidence is meagre. Instances are the following—Is. x. 40, 

vii. 31; Demos. xliii. 11, this last an example of 

such adoption deferred for many years, and per- 

formed in the end simply as a manoeuvre in view 

of law and Custom. See Wyse, note on Is. x. 8). In 

Gortyna the procedure of adoption is of archaic 

simplicity, the act being public and oral, as its 

* For these annual offerings to the dead, see Wyse, The 

Speeches of Isaeus, note in loco.

So in Gortyna testimonies are unknown, even in the rudimen- 

tary form introduced at Athens by Solon. The code seems, 

in fact, concerned to combat the tendencies which produced 

the testament.
adopted son usually retained his old name, altering only the name of his father in writing his full signature, and if necessary that of his demi (see Kell in Rhein. Mus. xx. (1865) p. 539 f.).

6. Rights and duties of an adopted son.—The son of an adopted father was, as one from the family of his natural father into that of his adoptive father: he lost his relationship to his natural father, and all rights inherent therein (Is. ix. 33: oidei γὰρ πόσοτο ἐκφώντοι γενομένων καλέθροφος του οὗ δέθεν ἐξ- πορθή, ἵνα μὴ ἐπληροῦ τα κατὰ τὸν όνομαν; but he did not lose his relationship to his mother (if we may trust the statement of Is. vii. 25: μορφὸς δ’ οίδεις ἵναι ἐκφώντοι, ἀλλ’ ὀμοῖοι ἐνήργει τὴν αὐτήν εἰναι μεταφράτα, καὶ ἐν τῷ πατρίῳ μνή μη τοις καὶ ἐκταφοῦ— which would seem to mean that an adopted son still retained his rights of next-of-kin so far as they belonged to him through his mother). He became the legal and necessary heir of his adoptive father, taking up and continuing the estate of his new family, and possessing the right of burial in its sepulchral vault (if legitimate son of the legitimate father he was entitled to enter without legal formalities into possession of his estate upon his adoptive father’s death (Demost. xlv. 19: εἰσέσταται ὁποῖος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὅπου ἔκειν τὸν θάνατον ὧν εἰσαχθήθη). Of course (εἰς τὸν θάνατον) may be, on the other hand, were forbidden to enter on occupation before their claim had been established in a court of law (ἐπιταξια). Cf. Is. δρ. iii. 6: οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβοῦσαν κρατᾶν πρὸς ὑπήκοον. Id. vi. 8: λαγωνίας δὲ ἔχον, τὸ πατρίδι του ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ἐν λόγῳ ἐξαποθεμένοις. Cf. To. ii. iia. 60). Like a son of the body, an adopted son had no option of refusal of the inheritance, as had heirs at law (Demost. xxxiv. 4. Αἰτ. Πλω. 676, p. 169; 92, p. 246). He was a legitimate son born to his adoptive father subsequently to the adoption, the adopted son ranked with them for equal share of the property according to the law of inheritance (Is. vi. 63: καὶ δοξαίρησιν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραφα, ἐν πανομοσγείῳ παῖς ἐγγεγράφατο, τῷ μόρῳ ἐκατέρω ἐξήν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ κληρονομιῶν ὄμοιο ἀμφότεροι. Id. vi. 25: τῷ νόμῳ κελεύοντος ἄπαντος τοῦ γραφόντος ἀμορφός εἰναι τῶν πατριών).†

The inheritance of a son adopted inter vivos came to be diminished, for the adopter the father’s limited power of testamentary disposition was, theoretically at least, irredeem abrogated; only in case of a testamentary adoption could any control over the disposition of the adopted son’s property be exercised at all by the general way (Is. x. 6: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει τοῦ κλήρου Δικαίωμα δῆ τῷ Μεκεσίου Δικαίωμαν ἡδὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τοιαύτῃ). If the adopted son left behind him a legitimized son of his body (γέγραφος οὗ) in the position of his adoptive father, thereby fulfilling the object of his adoption, he might return to his natural father’s house, and there resume all the rights and duties of a son, relinquishing all such claims in respect of his adoptive father’s estate (Is. vii. 25: δὲ τὴν πατρίδα τοῦ πατρὸν οὗ ὑπέκου ἱκώριο, εἰ μὴ παῖς γενομένων καταληφθῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατριουμα). He could not, however, so leave behind him an adopted son; he had, in fact, no power himself of adoption, either in his lifetime or by will, so long as his own status was that of an adopted son; he transmitted the estate only to an heir of his body (Demost. xlv. 63: οὐ δικαίως δῆτον τῶν παιδιόν ὑπὸ τοιαύτῃ ἐγένετο ἐναγέρῳ ἐκκαθαρίζοντος ἀλλ’ ἐγκαθελέτον μὲν γεγονομένου, The Gortynian Code allows the adopted son to repudiate his inheritance.†

The Gortynian Code treats the adopted son less generously, giving him only the rights of a daughter when the adoptive father leaves legitimate children; that is to say, if there are other sons, he is to receive half a son’s portion; if there are daughters only, he is to share equally with his adoptive sisters. The Code is concerned to depose the artificial son from a position of equality with natural heirs.

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It is obvious that by adopting a daughter's son a man could guard against contentions for the hand of his daughter, and defeat the designs of rapacious relatives; nevertheless, instances of adoption of a grandson (son of a daughter) on the part of a grandfather are rare (Wysse on Is. viii. 36).

7. Decray a the interment—Was it possible under Athenian law to adopt a daughter? A woman could not perpetuate in her own person the house and its cult, which was one of the main objects of adoption. Nevertheless, examples of the adoption of a daughter are found. Isæus furnishes two examples of a woman giving her son by will (xi. 8 and 41); but in the first case the will was perhaps also heiress ab intestato, apart from the adoption, and it is also doubtful whether the adoption was not inter vivos. A third example puzzles the lawyers (Is. vii. 3: διέθετο την αδελφή και θέκων την κόρην ανείπωτη, εκεί δι' αυτής, προκειται δι' αδελφή, διδότω αυτήν Λακατείδι). It is generally taken to mean that in his will Apollodorus adopted his half-sister, who was also his heir ab intestato, thus acquiring the right of a father to dispose of his property in a marriage (Is. vi. 36). But Apollodorus had not become the adoptive father of the girl when he made his will and settled the marriage, since the adoption was only to take effect in the event of his death on foreign service.

The adoption of a daughter (πυτραγωγεῖ), certainly not contemplated in earlier times, but never expressly forbidden, probably grew to be practised (though to what extent we know not) largely as a family manoeuvre, as public sentiment became less strict, and the definitely religious aspect of the institution tended to fade from view. There are other traces of this change. Thus in the fragmentary speech of Isæus in defence of Euphiletos there is a reference to the adoption of non-Athenians irregularly for personal reasons (Is. xii. 2: έπειτα ἕκαστον πατροκόλημα έθρονι, ἀνέρᾱς ευπροσότερα, δως τιμήσω πατρός δια αυτῶν ἀθηναίων γεγονότων). Similarly, the necessity of providing a male descendant came to be felt less strongly. It is clear that many Athenians in the 4th cent. B.C. died unmarried and without troubling to adopt a son (Is. xi. 49; Demos. xlv. 18). The Code of Gortyna exhibits the same change. It is by no means certain that by its adoption it was not permissible even when the woman already had both sons and daughters. Its less stringent regulations, however, furnishing heiress to the deceased's estate, is a fact that the next-of-kin might, as at Athens, shirk his spiritual duties to the deceased if he cared to waive his claim to the estate; and the case with which the bond created by adoption could be broken (by simple announcement from the stone in the Agora before the assembled citizens); and, above all, the fact that the adopted son might eventually decline his inheritance (which was his only on the express condition that he should take all the temporal obligations of the deceased)—all testify to the gradual transformation and decay of the old institution.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

ADOPTION (Hindu).—The adoption of a son (putracarya) amongst the Aryan Hindus, as observed by Sir R. West, is essentially a religious act. The ceremonies in an adoption, as described in the Sanskrit lawbooks, resemble the formalities at a Christian marriage, like marrying, in the transfer of paternal dominion over a child, which passes to the adopter in the one case and to the husband in the other. One desirous of adopting a son has to procure two garments, two earrings and a finger-ring, for a learned priest, sacred grass, and fuel of sacred wood. He has next to give notice to the king (or to the king's representative in the village), and convene the kindred, no doubt for the purpose of giving publicity to the transaction, and of having the son acknowledged as their relative by the kindred. The adopter has to say to the natural father, 'Give me thy son.' The father replies, 'I give him'; whereupon the adopter declares, 'I accept them for the fulfilment of religious duties, I take thee for the continuation of lineage. After that, the adopter adorns the boy with the two garments, the two earrings, and the finger-ring, and performs the Purarhita-Homa or Datta-Homa, i.e. a burnt-sacrifice coupled with certain invocations of the Brahmans, and the adoptions by will (xi. 8 and 41); but in the first case the will was perhaps also heiress ab intestato, apart from the adoption, and it is also doubtful whether the adoption was not inter vivos. A third example puzzles the lawyers (Is. vii. 3: διέθετο την αδελφή και θέκων την κόρην ανείπωτη, εκεί δι' αυτής, προκειται δι' αδελφή, διδότω αυτήν Λακατείδι). It is generally taken to mean that in his will Apollodorus adopted his half-sister, who was also his heir ab intestato, thus acquiring the right of a father to dispose of his property in a marriage (Is. vi. 36). But Apollodorus had not become the adoptive father of the girl when he made his will and settled the marriage, since the adoption was only to take effect in the event of his death on foreign service.

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ADOPTION (Japanese).—Adoption, now widely prevalent in Japan, is not a native institution. If
ADOPTION (Muhammadan).—In Arabia, in the days of Muhammad, a man could adopt another person as his son (Arab. tabanā). The Prophet himself adopted Zaid ibn Hāriṣa. The latter was carried away in his youth as a slave and came into Muhammad’s possession in Mecca. Some of his own tribesmen recognized Zaid and told his father Hāriṣa, who went to Mecca to offer a reward for his son. Zaid, however, chose to remain with the Prophet, upon which the latter gave him his freedom and adopted him as his son, saying, ‘He shall be my heir and I his.’ Since that time he was called Zaid ibn Muhammad.

Many other instances of adoption are known in Arabic literature. But as a rule it does not appear that in Arabia adoption was practised exclusively for the purpose of saving the family from extinction. Often the idea apparently was merely to incorporate a certain person into a family, for one reason or another; as, e.g., when a man, on marrying a woman who already had children from a former marriage, adopted her children as his own. Children of slave girls, begotten by the owner, were regarded as slaves, but some sort of son was adopted as his own children (as was the case with the famous poet Antara when he had given proof of ability). He who, having shed blood, fled from his tribe and found a protector in another tribe, was sometimes adopted by the protector, and his name was Miqdād ibn Aswād, for example, who belonged to those who had accepted Islam in the very beginning of Muhammad’s preaching, had fled originally from his tribe Dahā, and later on was adopted in Mecca by al-Aswād, his protector. His real name was Miqdād ibn ‘Amr. (Cf. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 1903, pp. 52-55, 135 ff.).

It is to be understood that at that time an adopted son was regarded as in all respects the equal of a real son. The following event, however, caused Muhammad to abolish the old rule, and to declare that adoption was only a fiction and did not entail any consequences as regards rights. Zinah, the wife of the above-named Zaid, Muhammad’s adopted son, had aroused the Prophet’s passion to such a degree, that he persuaded Zaid to repudiate her, upon which he married her himself. This caused great scandal. It was objected that by his act he had done away with the essential principle that an adopted son (Arab. daʿī) was not a real son, so that to call an adopted son a real son was wrong, inasmuch as the process of adoption could never create any bonds of blood-relationship. Marriage with the repudiated wife of an adopted son was therefore not contrary to the will of Allah.

This passage is therefore of more importance as a canonical cause of adoption not being regarded in the canonical orthodoxy of Islam as a valid institution with binding legal consequences.

ADOPTION (Roman).—The domestic religious observances, whether Shinto, Buddhist, or ancestral, just as if he were the real son. Their neglect, for want of a heir, would be considered a great calamity. There is no ceremony of adoption, but registration at the public office of the district is essential.


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ADOPTION (Roman)

only by thirty kists (Cic. Leg. Agr. ii. 31). For the words of Tacitus (Tac. Hist. i. 16: si te ... sufficed to break the bond of patriapotea in the case of a daughter or grandson. See Mommsen, Staattrecht, iii. 31*.

in the applicable mode peculio ius, subjection principis) (Suet. Aug. contione), adrogatio of the Emperor 17 Galb. died, the Emperor Antoninus Pius to the pontifices, for the Emperor continued the moria aut quidem Nee quicquam by adoptio his rights was conferred by Diocletian for the Emperor's life, as described. Originally, adrogation was transferred by the procedure called cesso in iure of the adoptive father.

According to the law of the Twelve Tables, a son thrice transferred by his father to another, under the solemn forms of the mancipatio, or sale por es et libram, 'by the copper and the scales,' was freed from paternal control ('pater si filium iuris senum duit, filch the adoptio was to be transferred with it to his adoptive father. Personal dignities of the adopted (e.g. magisterial powers) remained entirely unaffected in all their claims. It is obvious that adoption would annul any will previously made by the adopted. If the person adopted had himself children under his potestas, these also fell to adoption to the adopter, and became legally his grandchildren. Hence Tiberius was compelled to adopt his own son, for the person adopted by adrogatio by Augustus (Suet. Tib. 15: 'cocetus prius ipse Germani) faciat sui filium adoptare. Nesciquam postea pro patre familias egit aut ius, quod amiserat, ex illa parte retinuit. Nam neque dominus, ne heredatem quidem aut legata percepit ubi alter quam au peculio referre accepta').

(b) Adrogatio originally and always confined to patricians.—It must be remarked that the above mode of adoption was essentially a religious mode, and applicable only to patricians, who alone were organized in true gentes (cf. Greenidge, op. cit.

* Justinian allowed the adoptive father only the usufruct, unless the adopted son did not having been emancipated from his adoptive father's possession.

† Gaius, i. 102: 'minima capitis deminutio est, cum et civitas et liberae libertut, sed status hominis communis; quod accidit in his qui adoptantur."

p. 9), as is evident from the fact that the assembled Curia and the priestly college were the chief actors in the ceremony. On the other hand, the restriction of this mode of adoption to those who were sui iuris cannot be regarded as a primitive characteristic, for the reason that the prime end of adoption, the continuance of the name, which was in danger of extinction through failure of natural heirs, could just as well be effected through the adoption of a filius familiae, i.e. one who was still under patria potestas, provided that he had reached the age of puberty, for on the death of his adoptive father he would himself become the pater familias. And again, it is impossible to believe that the Rome of the regal period actually possessed no means of adoption save of those who were sui iuris—rather would it probably of somewhat rare occurrence that one already sui iuris should put himself by adrogatio in the potestas of another. If, then, the ceremonies of adrogatio were originally also not applicable to sons still subject to their father's potestas, we shall be driven to confess that the mode of adoption of a natural son of a roman freedman, so far as we now know to us; for the earliest method that we hear of as applicable to persons alieni iuris, is the purely civil and probably originally plebanian form by threefold sale hereafter described. Originally, therefore, adrogatio was confined to those who were sui iuris and to those who were under patria potestas. In historical times, however, it had come to be restricted to the former and relatively much less frequent case, while for the other the fictitious sale offered a more ready means of adoption.

2. Adoptio properly so called.—Adoptio in its more proper sense, that is to say, the transference of a filius familiae from the potestas of his natural father to that of an adoptive father, was accomplished by the aid of legal fictions in two distinct acts—(1) the dissolution of the link with the natural father, by means of fictitious sale, mancipatio; (2) the transference of the son to the potestas of the adoptive father by the procedure called cesso in iure of the adoptive father.

The custom was for the purchaser then to remaniplicate (remanipulatio) to his natural father, who thus for a moment held him in his turn as mancipio, no longer as filius familiae, subject to his potestas). Then followed the second act, completing the adoption. This took the form of a fictitious process of law (legatio actio) before a magistrate—the Praetor at Rome, the Governor in the Provinces. The adoptive father instituted a vindicatio filii in potestatem, claiming him as his son. He who was holding him for the moment in mancipio (the natural father, therefore, if remanipulatio had taken place) making no demur to the claim, if this were done, the father would, of course, take no further part in the ceremony. His place being taken by the second act of the proceedings by the third person, to whom the mancipatio had been made. It was written down from the words of the Twelve Tables, that a single sale sufficed to break the bond of patria potestas in the case of a daughter or grandson. See Mommsen, Staatsrecht, iii. 379.
ADOPTION (Roman) 113

the magistrate adjudged (addixit) the adopted to the claimant as his filius, subject to his patria potestas. Hence this form of adoption is spoken as of adoptio apud praeorem, as contrasted with adoptatio, which is per (or apud) populum. It is the form on the earliest record to be found by Cicero (de Fin. 24: 'in eo filio... quem in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat'), and by which Augustus adopted Gaius and Lucius, his grandsons, in B.C. 17 (Suet. Aug. 64: 'Gaum et Lucium adoptavit, domi per assentum libram emptos a patre Agrippae'). These complicated forms were gradually simplified, and finally Justinian made simple declaration on the part of the two principals before a magistrate sufficient, the son to be adopted also being present and consenting.

Some effects of adoptio.—Like adoptatio, true adoption involved a capitis determinatio, destroying the agnatic rights of the adopted in his natural family; but he still retained his rights as a cognate therein, and as such was entitled to succeed in the third degree to the estate of an intestate natural father. In his adoptive family he gained the rights both of an agnate and of a cognate; but if he were emancipated by his adoptive father, he re- \...

2. Adoption of females.—Women properly could not adopt, either by adoptatio or by mancipatio, as they could not possess patria potestas. But in A.D. 291 Diocletian allowed a woman to adopt her stepson (principinus) to replace deceased children. This adoption in this case acquired rights of inheritance. Further, it could be adopted, originally not properly by adoptatio, though not for the reason assigned by Aulus Gellius ('cum feminis nulla comitiorum communio'), but because the marriage ceremony of confarreatio provided for a new mode of entrance into another family. Finally, however, adoptatio by Imperial rescript became applicable to women also.

The permission to adopt a female marked, it is clear, a decaying sense of the real significance of the institution. For if, as was, perhaps, most often the case, the adopted daughter was of no consequence, and the marriage displacement from the family, by certain forms, at any rate, fell into the potestas of her husband, and became a member of his family and gens (see Greenidge, op. cit. p. 17). The same evidence of decay is seen in the abuse of the institution for political purposes by Clodius, which presumably could not have happened had the feeling of the community been seriously concerned. Under the early Empire, adoption was practised to enable persons to escape the penalties of the childlessness and to qualify under the provisions of the Lex Julia and Papia. Poppaea, which prescribed that a candidate for office who had children, or who had been preferred to one who had none or few (see Tac. Ann. vi. 17). It became necessary for the Senate to decree that pretended adoption (manumission having at one followed the adoption) should be null and void (Tac. Ann. xx. 17: 'persecutorum caelestis praetissimus mox, cum propinquis comitibus et sordide spectabili orbis educandus filios, praetereaque in provincias later patres scribit statim emissum manu, quo adoptantur').

The general impression given is that, at Rome, as compared with Greece, the institution of adoption more rapidly and completely lost its connexion with religious and social conditions.

3. Name.—Among the Romans, adoption introduced a peculiar modification of the name. The person adopted laid aside his original names and assumed those of his adoptive father, adding, however, an epithet to mark the genus out of which he had passed; that is to say, he retained his gentile name in an adjectival form. Thus C. Octavius, when adopted by the will of his maternal grandfather, became C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus.' The system was, however, far from uniform; and in a few cases the epithet is derived from the name of the familia, not from that of the gens. The case of M. Junius Brutus is an example of another anomaly.

4. Imperial adoption.—The power of continuing the family by adoption gained a peculiar significance in connexion with the early Empire. For theoretically the princeps could not name his successor, though he might do much to guide the choice of the Senate and army. Neither designation nor heredity was recognized. Constitutionally, however, it was open to the princeps to appoint a consort in the Imperial power, who, on the death of the reigning emperor, would have a practical, though not a legal, claim to the chancery. The natural course was to appoint a son to that position; but if the emperor had no son, he could adopt whomsoever he chose as his virtual successor, the danger of such a course being minimized by the paternal control he possessed over his adopted son. The act of adoption by the princeps was in fact commonly called, therefore, by Tacitus, comitia imperii (Hist. i. 14); but the custom hardly attains its full significance until the adoption of Trajan. The accident of the childlessness of Augustus gave the institution its prominence in early years (cf. Suet. Aug. 64, 65; Tac. Ann. xii. 26; Suet. Tib. 17; Dio Cass. lviii. 3).

5. Adoptatio testamentaria.—There remains to be noticed a species of adoption spoken of by Pliny as adoptatio testamentaria. The most conspicuous
ADOPTION (Semitic)

example is the will of Julius Caesar adopting Octavius (Suet. Cos. 83: 'in ima cera C. Octavianum etiam in familia nomenque adoptavit'). The adopted in such a case could not fall under the patria potestas of the adoptor, who was dead; hence the adopted could not become heir or successor, and with no child, in fact, no claim to the deceased's estate, except in so far as the will specifically granted such. The only legal effect, then, was to permit the adopted to bear the name and call himself son of the testator (adsumere in nomen). Octavius, it is true, availed himself of his testamentary adoption by Caesar's will which provided privilege from the Curia adorning him to the testator (Appian, Bell. Civ. iii. 94: 'et suum filium, 

, cohabebat adhaec cata mosum Corintios. ...

... Γάρ δέν τε άλλα λαμπρά, καὶ ἐξελεύθερον παλαιτί τε καὶ πλουτών, καὶ διὰ τάδε λεγεί μάλιστα δ Καίρα, εἰς τήν πτοιέα θάνατ, κατά διαδόχους οί γενε-

μεν, καὶ τντην εἰδέθη. Cf. Dio Cass. xlv. 35, xlv. 5, xlv. 47); but his is an exceptional case. By his will Augustus adopted Livia (Tac. Ann. i. 8: 'Livia in familia Julian nomenque Augusteae adoptata'). Augustus, and at the same time his son, adopted her and Tiberius his heirs. In later times this species of adoption took the form of devising an inheritance under condition of bearing the testator's name. This mode was, in fact, in use as early as the Roman Republic (Brutus, 212: 'Crassum istius Libinum filium, Crassi testamentum qui futur adoptatur'). Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was adopted by the will of his uncle, and so became Q. Cecilius Pomponianus Atticus, his uncle's name having been Q. Cecilius; he also obtained 10,000,000 sesterces (Cic. ad Att. iii. 29). Dolabella was so adopted by a woman, but Cicero had doubts as to the propriety of this—though, as he humorously remarks, he will be better able to decide when he knows the amount of the bequest (Cic. ad Att. vii. 8: 'Dolabella vide Livia testamentum cum duobus hereditatibus esse in triente, sed inueniiter mutare nomen. Est poenitens eam, rectamne sit nobili adolescenti mutare nomen mulieris testamento; sed id philosophorum devarum-

seuos, quam est vivens, quantum quasi sit in triente triente'). Whether Dolabella accepted the bequest we do not know; at any rate he did not change his name. Later, Tiberius found no difficulty in accepting an inheritance without observing the conditions (Tit. 6: 'Post remissionem in urbe factam a M. Gallio senatore testamento adoptatus, heredita adiit max nomine abstinuit, quod Gallius adversarum Augusto partium fuerat'). For other examples of this method of adoption, see Suet. Galb. 4: Dio Cass. xi. 51; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. ii.

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W. J. WOODHOUSE.

ADOPTION (Semitic).—1. Adoption in Babylonia.—In the great Babylonian Law Code (Code of Hammurabi), adoption of various kinds is referred to and regulated.

(1) Reasons for the custom.—An obvious reason for the adoption of children in its existence was the need of childless persons, who desired to provide themselves with an heir, that the family patrimony might not be alienated. But in Babylonia, as in old Israel, a man whose wife was childless could, if he had a son or maid-servant, enter into relations with a maid-servant for this purpose. And these alternatives suffered in Israel to meet such cases so well that adoption was entirely unknown.

Besides, adopted children in Babylonia were sometimes taken into a family where sons and daughters were living. Johns* suggests that the real cause most often was that the adopting parents had lost by marriage all their own children and were left with no child to look after. Adopting another's child was to adopt a child whose parents would be glad to see him provided for, to look after them until they died, leaving the property they had left after portioning their own children. But this was by no means the only operative cause. Sometimes the children were adopted to safeguard rights to property, sometimes as a matter of convenience; † in some cases a child was apparently adopted as an apprentice; slaves could be taken for the purposes of adoption, and in the process gained their freedom; and not only sons, but daughters, could be thus secured.

(2) Method.—Adoption was effected and legally safeguarded by a deed in the usual form of a 'tablet of adoption' or 'sonship' (dappa apsstitas, marutum). This was sealed by the adopting parents, and the copy of the deed was delivered to the adopted child. The wills and obligations of the contracting parties were fully set forth, and so long as the tablet remained unbroken, and the seal intact, the position of the adopted child was secure. In cases of informal adoption, and when no formal papers were drawn up, the relationship was not legally binding, and the child could return to its own father's house.

An exception was, however, made in the case of an artisan who took a child to bring up, and who, when he taught him a handcraft. Under these circumstances the child could not be claimed.

The term apsstitas is interesting. It is the abstract of apäté, 'son,' and therefore (m. 'sonship.' It was, however, used to denote the filial relation generally speaking (a daughter to a parent), and thus came to have the general meaning 'share' (that which belonged to a son or daughter by inheritance). Apsstit might be granted by a father to a son during the lifetime of the former, the father handing over his property to the son, only stipulating for maintenance during the lifetime.

(3) Conditions and kinds of adoption.—The conditions were fully set forth in the 'tablet of adoption' or defined by the Code. The obligation resting on the child might be to support the adopting parent (details of the 'tablet of adoption' were supplied in such cases are given in many tablets); or one of service (as when a lady adopts a maid to serve her for life and inherit a certain house). The adoption of a child (e.g. a daughter) by a lady of fortune was evidently regarded as a good settlement for the child. Certain classes of people appear to have had no legal claim to their own children. These were the palace-favourite (or warder?) and the courtezan.§ If the children of such, after being adopted, attempted to repudiate their adopting parents, the action was punished with the greatest severity (C.H. §§ 192, 193).

In other cases, however, the possibility of repudiation of the relationship on one side or the other was contemplated. It appears that a clause implying repudiation (on the part of parents of a son, vice versâ) was regularly inserted in the contract, though it could be enforced only by direct appeal to a law-court. Thus parents, according to the contracts, could repudiate adopted sons if they so

* Babylonian and Stephan Lawns, p. 154.
† The complicated and many-sided nature of adoption may be well illustrated by a case cited by Mr. S. A. Cook (Laws of Moses and the earliest code of Hammurabi, p. 191): 'El-hulis, who had been adopted by his uncle, married a widow with one son; he has no children, and proposes to adopt the stepson. The uncle, however, objects, since under this arrangement his property would pass through Bel-kész into the hand of strangers, and it is accordingly agreed that if the marriage continues to be without children, Bel-kész shall adopt his own brother as heir.
§ Cited by Johns, op. cit. p. 159.
* Cf. Johns, op. cit. p. 159.
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wished, the son taking a son's share and departing. This looks like an attempt to contract outside the law. Failure on the part of the adopted child to carry out his obligations was good ground for disinheritance; but the penalty could be inflicted only on a subsequent adoption. If he were found bound, in the first place, to do all in their power to reconcile the parties. With this object in view, judgment was sometimes reserved.

The votary and the koutarion formed a class by themselves, and were the subject of special legislation. They were not supposed to have children of their own, but possessed the right to receive adoptive children. They returned for exercising this right in favour of a certain person, they usually stipulated that such person shall maintain them as long as they live and otherwise care for them (Johns, op. cit. pp. 158-159).

2. Adoption not practised by the Hebrews.—As has already been pointed out, no mention of the practice of adoption occurs in any of the Hebrew Law Codes. No term corresponding to *adolescence* exists in Hebrew,* nor does the Greek term (*adolescence*) occur in the LXX, while in the Greek Testament it occurs only in the Pauline Epistles. In fact, the practice of adoption would have endangered the principle of the maintenance property of the possession of the original tribe, which was the object of such painful solicitude, in the Mosaic Code (cf. Nu 27:1-11). It is obvious that the reasons which operated in Babylonia were not inoperative in Israel, and that in the same way, and with greater force and complexity, and more deeply involved the subject. The selfishness of childlessness was met in the earlier period by polygamy, in the later by facility of divorce. [See, further, MARRIAGE.]

In fact, the Biblical history of the patriarchs shows that practice of polygamy is explicitly attested. Sarah, being barren, requests Abraham to contract a second (*secondary*) marriage with Hagar (Gen 16:1), and Isaac's wife Rebekah bears a child by her maid Ephratah. (Gen 21:4). Isolated cases of possible adoption, or something analogous to it, however, met, with in the OT literature. Thus, (1) three cases of informal adoption can plausibly be said to occur in the OT—those of Moses, adopted (Vulg. *adoptavit*) by the Egyptian princess (Ex 2:22); of Genubath, at least, one case of adoption possible (1 K 11:18); and of Esther, who was adopted (Vulg. *adoptavit*) by her father's nephew Mordecai (Est 2:11). It is noticeable that in all three cases the locale is outside Palestine, and the influence of foreign ideas is apparent. Further, (2) something analogous to adoption is implied in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh, sons of Joseph, to whom Jacob is represented as giving the status of his own sons (Gen 48:8) "And now thy two sons... are mine; Ephraim and Manasseh, even mine sons. Theirs shall be mine". As a full son, Jacob each receives a share in the division of the land under Joshua, Joseph thus (in the person of his two sons) receiving a double portion. This, however, is not really a case of adoption, but one where the rights of the firstborn were transferred (for sufficiently grave reasons) to a younger son (cf. Gen 40:4 for the sin of Reuben, vv. 25-29 for Joseph's elevation). To Joseph in effect are transferred the privileges of the eldest son; cf. further 1 Ch 6:5-6. (3) The levirate law has also some points of contact with adoption. The brother of a man dying without children entered into a union with the widow, in order to provide the dead man with an heir. The firstborn in this case received the name and the heritage of the deceased. Some fathers (e.g. Church Augustine) have actually given the name of 'adoption' to this Mosaic ordinance. But the two things are obviously distinguished by fundamental differences. In real adoption the adopting parent exercises an act of deliberate choice. Thus the levirate law is not a case of adoption in any real sense, but 'the legal substitution, made for sufficient reasons, of a fictitious for a natural father' (Many).

3. Legal adoption unknown among the Arabs.—Of ancient peoples, who among the Arabs no clear and certain traces exist. The practice of polygamy was sufficient to meet cases where the need of adoption might have been felt. See, further, art. ADOPITION (Muhammadan), above.

4. Theological explanation of the idea of adoption.—Adoption is an initiated institution, was evidently unfamiliar in Palestine during the NT period. None of the NT writers uses the technical Greek term *adolescence* except St. Paul. He doubtless employed the term because, having been born in Cilicia, he had received a partially Greek education, and was acquainted with the institutions and terminology of the Greeks, among whom adoption was commonly practised.

Among Christian authors, from Pindar and Herodotus downwards, *adolescence* is regularly found.

Theologically the conception of adoption is applied by St. Paul to the special relation existing between God and His people, or between God and redeemed individuals. For the former sense, cf. Ro 8* (Israelites... whose is the adoption, and the sonship, and the glory, and the promises). Here the people of Israel as a whole is thought of. The redemption from Egyptian bondage was specially associated with the thought of Israel's becoming a nation and God's adopting the Israelites. According to Law and primitive thought the sense of the Christian use of the term adoption is to be found in the writer of the Shema' (cf. Singer, *Heb.-Eng. Prayer-Book*, pp. 42-44, 98-99). In the four other passages in St. Paul's Ep. where the word *adolescence* occurs, it has an individual application, and an ethical sense, denoting 'the nature and condition of the true disciples of Christ, who by receiving the spirit of God into their souls become the sons of God' (Thayer), cf. Ro 8*; Gal 4, Eph 1; in Ro 8* the phrase to *adolescence* is used for the child of promise, according to the law, and the service of God, and the promises'). The same thought is also prominently expressed in the Synagogue Liturgy (esp. in the Thanksgiving for redemption and adoption, ch. 19, in which immediately follows the recitation of the Shema'), e.g. Singer, *Heb.-Eng. Prayer-Book*, pp. 42-44, 98-99). In the four other passages in St. Paul's Ep. where the word *adolescence* occurs, it has an individual application, and an ethical sense, denoting 'the nature and condition of the true disciples of Christ, who by receiving the spirit of God into their souls become the sons of God' (Thayer), cf. Ro 8*, Gal 4, Eph 1; in Ro 8* the phrase to *adolescence* is used for the child of promise, according to the law, and the service of God, and the promises'). The same thought is also prominently expressed in the Synagogue Liturgy (esp. in the Thanksgiving for redemption and adoption, ch. 19, in which immediately follows the recitation of the Shema'), e.g. Singer, *Heb.-Eng. Prayer-Book*, pp. 42-44, 98-99). In the four other passages in St. Paul's Ep. where the word *adolescence* occurs, it has an individual application, and an ethical sense, denoting 'the nature and condition of the true disciples of Christ, who by receiving the spirit of God into their souls become the sons of God' (Thayer), cf. Ro 8*, Gal 4, Eph 1; in Ro 8* the phrase to *adolescence* is used for the child of promise, according to the law, and the service of God, and the promises'). The same thought is also prominently expressed in the Synagogue Liturgy (esp. in the Thanksgiving for redemption and adoption, ch. 19, in which immediately follows the recitation of the Shema'), e.g. Singer, *Heb.-Eng. Prayer-Book*, pp. 42-44, 98-99).

Adoption in this sense implies the distinction that exists between the redeemed and Christ. 'Adoption is by grace; Jesus is by nature.' Adoptionem propterea dicit, says Augustine, ut distincte intelligatur unicum Dei filium. (The thought of spiritual adoption is freely expressed in Ps 141, 15.)

In later ecclesiastical language *adolescence* became a synonym for baptism (cf. Sueter, *s.m.). According to Sueter, *theophrastus* thus defines the term: "*adolescence* is the new man, ap. to *theophrastus*.


G. H. BOX.

ADORATION.—As this word is used, both in literature and in common practice, it seems to imply, on the one hand, admiration of qualities that are good and beautiful, and, on the other, a recognition of power in what possesses them. Further, it usually carries with it the idea that the object of adoration is immensely greater than the being who adores.

* In Galatians, adoption of the Greek type may be in the Apostle's mind; in Romans, of the Roman type.

* Lightfoot on Gal 4:5.
It is natural to speak of adoring God or a god, and of adoring Nature: somewhat less natural to speak of adoring another human being: hardly natural at all to speak of adoring a mere idol under which the idea is conceived as in some way possessing an intrinsic force of its own. Kant, for instance, might possibly have adored his Geometrical Imperative, 'The Moral Law within,' which he compares in majesty to 'the starry heavens without,' for he seems to conceive it as something more than that which apprehends it.

The word—adoration—is, in short, still felt in the word. Prayer, however, commonly implies the belief in some gain to him who prays, and this need not be felt in adoration. Indeed, it may be said that the pre-eminent characteristic of the adoring mood is the merging of self in the want of other, or love. In fact, it is a self-imposed ignorance of the other, of the fear to be so near divinity as to be able to be so near God. The whole temper of the individual is admirably illustrated in Browning's lines about the love that 'spends itself in silent and invisible expense' (Paradoxes, part iii, ad fin.).

It is well to note expressly that adoration must reach a certain pitch before the term 'adoration' is felt to be appropriate. The bare recognition of power is, of course, never enough. Adoration of some kind must always be an ingredient, even if it is only the adoration of such power, as in devotional worship. It is, indeed, this element of adoration that appears to give the principle of division between magic and religion. 'But in the lower forms of worship, as in the one just mentioned, the adoration is incomplete, the adoration is felt to be incomplete also. For its completion we seem to require, on the one hand, an embodiment of all that would satisfy our own ideal, and, on the other, the presence of a force that is more than our own. The types of adoration, therefore, complete and incomplete, are as diverse as the diverse types of those religions that definitely worship a power beyond the worshipper. Strictly speaking, it would appear that religions such as Buddhism, which do not recognize such a power, should be excluded from this class, and that adoration, as we have defined it, has no place in them. But for the Semites and the Europeans at least, history plainly shows how vital an element it has been in their religious development. The whole growth of Hebrew monotheism out of the surrounding idolatry, until its final sharp separation, is one of the best examples of the way in which the holy objects into the presence of which was truly to be adored. Lack of power on the one hand, lack of righteousness on the other, are sure signs that the true God has not been found. Anything that suggests either delusion or weakness must be excised, and the heaven then is but the work of men's hands (Is 37:19); and Israel must not turn His glory into 'the similitude of an ox that eateth grass' (Ps 106:13). The god that makes a man's son pass through the fire is Molech, not Jehovah (Jer 7:25). No such god may stand beside Him.

It is this belief in a completely satisfactory object of worship, and this passion to show it to others, that have been among the great moving forces in Mahomedanism, as in every missionary enterprise since missions began. But the Hebrews among all nations, have felt the rapture of this mood, and have given it the most complete expression in poetry.

The break-up of Greek religion was directly due to the fact that the old mythology provided images too imperfect to satisfy the heart's longing to adore. Plato and Euripides show the bitter dissatisfaction with their forefathers' imaginings, and the search, never fully satisfied, for something better (see, e.g., Plato, Euthyphro; Euripides, Bacchae, Troades).

The same dissatisfaction and the same search are manifest during the early days of the Roman Empire, only in a far more prosaic form, insomuch as there was far less imaginative. The eager acceptance of strange worship at Rome, and the attempt of Augustus to set up the worship of the Emperor above them all, are proofs of this, as pitiful as they are ludicrous.

Christianity, it might be thought, would have solved all these difficulties for those who accepted it. And it is noteworthy that perhaps the only expression of pure adoration in literature worthy to be set beside the Hebrews' was the divination of the Christian Paradise at the end of Dante's poem. It may be added that the liturgies of the Church have always been particularly successful in the place they have given to praise as distinguished from prayer. But not to speak of the profound and complicated conceptions of Trinitarian and Unitarian conceptions, it is clear that the fierce quarrels over the use of images and the honour due to the Saints exhibit the essential features of former struggles. The Iconoclasts and Reformers can always find some who, like Wordsworth, definitely make the leap and unite Nature with God.

LITERATURE.—F. B. Jevons, An Introduction to the History of Religion, London, 1889; C. F. Keil, The holy objects with the presence of which was truly to be adored. Lack of power on the one hand, lack of righteousness on the other, are sure signs that the true God has not been found. Anything that suggests either delusion or weakness must be excised, and the heaven then is but the work of men's hands (Is 37:19); and Israel must not turn His glory into 'the similitude of an ox that eateth grass' (Ps 106:13). The god that makes a man's son pass through the fire is Molech, not Jehovah (Jer 7:25). No such god may stand beside Him.

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ADORATION (Biblical).—The god of the simpler and lower forms of a sentiment approaching to adoration is that which is felt in presence of a fellow-man mightier and more majestic than oneself. Kings and conquerors, in the days when might was right, were always anxious to inspire their subjects with a profound dread of their person, and instead of a cringing, self-debasing attitude in their presence. Agas of tyranny and submission made servile fear and abjectness almost universal in Oriental lands. Dread in the presence of a god is an expression of profound respect, and is indicative of lowly self-abasement. We see this in the case of Ruth before Boaz (Ru 29); the Shunamite before Eliaha (2 K 4); Abigail (1 S 25); Mephibosheth (2 S 9), and Joab (2 S 14) before David; and in the 'reverence' paid to Haman by all the king's servants save Mordecai (Es 3). 2. These instances do not seem to furnish us with any sentiment higher and worthier than mere dread of power; and in presence of the indications of power in nature men have ever been wont to pay homage akin to that paid to rulers and lords. The sun is certainly the most wonderful object in nature, and has called forth adoration in every age. Though this was discouraged and forbidden by the monotheistic leaders of Israel (Dt 4:20), it could not be entirely suppressed. Even in the times of the Exile, in the
Temple at Jerusalem, there were those who turned their faces to the east and worshipped the sun (Ezk 8:18); and in the Oath of Clearing Job protests that when he beheld the sun and moon, his heart had not been secretly enticed, and he had not kissed his lips to them (31:12). The stars also, which move through the heavens in silent majesty, and evoke incessant wonder and awe, have for millenniums received devout adoration, and have been believed to rule the destinies of men. Even in Israel, the host of heaven, received worship in the time of the kings (2 K 17:22). Similarly, when anything mysterious suddenly occurred, it was regarded with dread and reverence, especially when it was conceived of as a manifestation of a terrible Power behind all things. At the dedication of the Tabernacle, when fire came forth and consumed the burnt-offerings upon the altar, all the people fell on their faces (Lv 9:24). And in Elijah's time, when fire fell and consumed the prophet's burnt-offering and the wood and the stones, the people fell on their faces and cried, 'Jahweh, he is God' (1 K 18:38). Similarly, Ezekiel fell on his face when he beheld the cherubim (10:3); and when he saw the glory of the Lord, returning from the east to inhabit again the visionary Temple (Ezk 43:1), when the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord (43:5).

3. The appearance of angels is stated on several occasions cause great dread and the outward manifestations of adoration as when Abrahan (Gn 18:2), and also Lot (19:1), bowed themselves with their faces to the earth. So when Manoah and his wife saw the angel 'ascend in the flame of the altar', they fell on their faces to the ground (Jg 13:22). The same is narrated when his eyes were opened and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way (Nu 22:31), and of the women at the tomb of our Lord when they saw the two men in dazzling apparel' (Lk 24). It was a sentiment more of abject terror, with less of reverence, that caused Saul to 'fall straightway his full length upon the earth' when he saw what he considered to be the ghost of Samuel (1 S 28:29).

4. Idolatry evoked in Israel the same outward signs of reverence, and the adoration of nature and the image was believed to be indwelt by the genius or divinity, and was usually treated with deep reverence; as when the vast multitudes on the plains of Dura prostrated themselves before the image which Nebuchadnezzar set up (Dn 3), and when Naaman spoke of bowing himself in the house of Rimmon (2 K 5:14). If not a deterioration from reverence, it must be a survival of a very early stage of idolatry, when we read of men kissing the image (Hos 13:1; 1 K 10:19); cf. the stroking (f) the face referred to in 1 S 13(1).

5. The loftier our conception of God becomes, the more profound is our sentiment of adoration. So long as men conceive of God as such an one as themselves, they are aptly able to that of a ruler or monarch; but as God recedes beyond our comprehension, the more sincere and profoundly reverent does our homage become. And when at length the term 'boundless,' or 'infinite,' employed either in a spatial, temporal, or intellectual sense, is applied to God, then adoration reaches its ideal. There is an excellent drastic influence in the conception of Infinitude. 'Mystery,' as Dr. Martineau says, 'is the grand redeeming power that purifies the intellect of its egotism and is its prig of pride.' (1861, liii. ch. xiv.). But the contemplation of the abstraction, 'the Infinite' or 'the Absolute,' can scarcely evoke adoration. It is when we realize that Infinitude is not a void, but is permeated with the energy of an Eternal Mind, that we prostrate our souls in holy adoration. When the OT saints could rise to the attitude of conceiving of God as 'the high and lofty One that inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy' (Is 57:15); and when in the prayer of Solomon we read 'heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded' (1 K 8:27), we have as sublime instances of adoration as the OT furnishes.

6. Mystery is the mother of adoration. It is true that in a sense adoration is based on knowledge: 'we worship with wisdom and understanding' (Ps 148:7); but it is an essential of sincere adoration that we should not fully know. Even on the lower human plane, what we revere is higher than we. If there is any one before whom we are inclined to bow the knee, and yield the veneration of hero-worship, it is the man of overpowering intellect, transcendent wisdom, or superlative goodness. Similarly, the very mysteries of the Divine foster adoration and evoke worship. The writer of Ps 8 was in a genuine state of adoration when he considered, 'How great art thou, O Lord, and dreadful thy works! Never mind that God has the power of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which He had ordained, and then exclaimed, 'What is man!' Self-abasement in the presence of majesty is an essential element in adoration, and the work suggested to the Psalmist the incomparable magnificence of the Workman. This finds sublime expression in that most beautiful of the Nature-Psalms, Ps 104. The subject is a thunder-storm which gathers over Lebanon, and passes southward until it dies away in the wilderness of Paran. The storm-cloud is Jahweh's chariot, and as the advancing cloud tips one after another the mountain-tops of Palestine, the Psalmist sees within Jahweh the image of His Father, filling the earth, and causing the mountains to quake before Him. As the storm dies away, the setting sun gilds the gathering clouds with tints of preternatural splendour, and to the Psalmist it seems the very entrance to the temple and palace of God. The beauty of the scene entrances him. He sees a door opened in heaven. In imagination he is with the angels, who, like himself, have been enraptured with the marvelous spectacle, and he exclaims, 'How glorious are His works!' In his temple adoration he contemplates these celestial beings, who, like himself, are filled with adoration at the majesty of God, that the Psalmist addresses the words, 'Give unto Jahweh, O ye sons of the mighty, give unto Jahweh glory and strength.'

Equally sublime is the adoration of the Divine omniscience in Ps 139. The consideration of the intimacy of God's knowledge of him, wherever he is and whatever he does, produces in the mind of the Psalmist the self-abasement which prompts him to hide himself from God's presence (v.7); the fascinating sense of mystery: 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me' (v.4); and also of adoring love: 'How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God' (v.7) is closely akin to that of a ruler or monarch; but as God recedes beyond our comprehension, the more sincere and profoundly reverent does our homage become. And when at length the term 'boundless,' or 'infinite,' employed either in a spatial, temporal, or intellectual sense, is applied to God, then adoration reaches its ideal. There is an excellent drastic influence in the conception of Infinitude. 'Mystery,' as Dr. Martineau says, 'is the grand redeeming power that purifies the intellect of its egotism and is its prig of pride.' (1861, liii. ch. xiv.). But the contemplation of the abstraction, 'the Infinite' or 'the Absolute,' can scarcely evoke adoration. It is when we realize that Infinitude is not a void, but is permeated with the energy of an Eternal Mind, that we prostrate our souls in holy adoration. When the OT saints could rise to the attitude of conceiving of God as 'the high and lofty One that inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy' (Is 57:15); and when in the prayer of Solomon we read 'heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded' (1 K 8:27), we have as sublime instances of adoration as the OT furnishes.

The most worship-filled of the Psalms is a group of seven, containing 93 and 95–100. They have a common theme: the recent enthronization of the Divine King on Zion; and one might say that the keynote of the entire group is to be found in the words: 'O come, let us worship and bow down; let us kneel before the Lord our Maker' (95). This group contains the passage which most readily comes to our lips when we desire to express the mystery of God's dealings and yet wish to 'come into His presence and into His sanctuary'; and the mysteries of God's goodness are round about him: righteousness and judgment are the foundation of his throne (97), and it gives to us the ideal of adoration: 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness' (96). The attributes of God which evoke the adoration
of the author, or authors, of these Psalms are these: (1) The majesty of God: 931 951 961 994; (2) His providential care: 951 991 1001; (3) His creative power: 951 991 1001; (4) His righteousness and holiness: 971 981 991. 4. The effect of the contemplation of the Divine holiness is best seen in the vision of the youthful prophets. The sight of the hoary aging being in heaven, veiling their faces with their wings in view of the eternal Light of the excellent Glory, filled Isaiah with profound awe; and the sound of the antiphonal song of these holy ones, caused by the indescribable glory which filled him with such abasement that the only words he could utter were, 'Woe is me, for I am undone.' It was at his lips that the consciousness of his own impurity caught him. 'I am a man of unclean lips, he cried; and it was there that the canterbury stone from off the altar was applied—after which he felt able to join in the worship of the holy ones, and to become a messenger of the Lord of Hosts. 5. In the NT there is no very marked advance in this position rendered to God, because the attributes of God which usually evoke our adoration were almost as fully revealed in the OT as in the NT. We note, however, that the disparity between God and man is more completely realized, so that the prostration of adoration is considered to be a fundamental expression of the feeling of the mind, as it were by others on that ground. When Cornelius was so much overawed by the mysterious circumstances in which Peter was sent for and came to Cesarea, that he fell down at Peter's feet in lowest reverence, Peter refused such obeisance as being ex- cessive to a fellow-man. 'Peter raised him, saying, Stand up; I myself also am a man' (Ac 10:38); and in the Apocalypse of John, an angel rejects the same obeisance, on the ground that he is a fellow- servant with John and with all who obey God's words, significantly adding, 'Worship God' (Rev 22:8). And yet we find that the Lord Jesus never refused lowly homage, which implies the consciousness that adoration was fittingly paid to Him. The recorded instances of reverence paid to Christ and His acting, especially in the parables, elicit the consideration of the motives which prompted it. There was probably a conflict of feelings in Peter's mind when he fell down at Jesus' knees, saying, 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord' (Lk 5:8), but the incident was by far the most sublime of the Lord's superlative holiness. When Mary 'fell down at his feet, saying, Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died' (Jn 11:32), the sentiment was one of adoring love, which invests its beloved one with undefined power. The sense of need clinging vehemently to One who, they believe, has love and power enough to reach to the depth of their misery and need, was the sentiment most apparent in those who came to Jesus for His miraculous help, e.g. the leper (Mt 8:3), S. Peter (9:20), the Syro-Phœnician woman (15:25), and the Gadarene demoniac (Mt 8:27), respecting all of whom we read that they 'came and worshipped him': while of the father of the demoniac boy we read that he 'came kneeling down to him' (Mt 17:15). Adoration of superhuman power was the feeling uppermost in the minds of the disciples, when, after Christ had come to the ship, walking on the sea, they 'worshipped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God' (14:33). Not only power but love was present to the thoughts of the blind beggar who had been excommunicated from the synagogue when he paid adoration to the Lord Jesus (Jn 9:8). Jesus that they had cast him out, and sought the poor outcast; and when Jesus restored His sight to him as the Son of God, he said, 'Lord, I believe,' and worshipped Him (18). And there was a deep adoring love in the minds of the disciples when they were met by the risen Lord, and they 'held him by the feet and worshipped him' (Mt 28:17). 9. Adoration of the Lord Jesus became more profound in the Christian community as their knowledge and faith increased. It was not a devout adoration that the dying Stephen beheld Jesus standing at the right hand of God, and said, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' (Ac 7:56). There was incipient adoration in the words of St. Paul, who, when he saw the ascended Christ, 'fell to the ground and worshipped Jesus, and said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' (9:4-6). There was a deeper adoration when in the Temple he prayed so long and so fervently that in ecstasy he saw his Lord again, and received from Him the definite commission to devote his life to the Gentiles (22:1-23). But how much richer was the knowledge, and more intense the love, and more profound the adoration, when he could say to the Ephesians: 'For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may have the love of Christ which passeth knowledge' (Eph 3:14). The Revelation of St. John is filled with adoration to 'him who sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb.' The vision of the writer among the candlestick led to a new song, 'in which the sentiments of adoration, which are equally impressed by the wonders of Christ's death, and in join in the song, 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain,' etc. (5:11). In ch. 7 we have the writer's songs of adoration: first, that of the redeemed, the multitude which no man could number (7:10), and then that of the angels, who fall before the throne on their faces and worship God (7:11-12). In 11:1 we again see the lofty adoration of the 24 elders, and in 14:1 we read of the 144,000 who had been redeemed from the earth. All through this book partial knowledge, eagerness for more knowledge, and withal a profound mystery, combine to produce the loftiest type of adoration which the creatures of God, terrestrial or celestial, can experience and render. 10. It remains now that we should tabulate the various attitudes of adoration which are mentioned in the OT and NT. They are the same as are found in other Oriental countries (Heb. naga, Gr. παρευρέσθαι), in which the one who was paying homage lay down abjectly with his face on the ground, as if to permit his lord to place his foot on his neck (Jos 10:28, Ps 110:1). This attitude is mentioned in 1 S 25:4, 2 K 4:4, Est 5:2, Lk 8:2; (2) Standing, as slaves stand in presence of their master. The Pharisee stood and prayed (Lk 18:10), and many of the Pharisees prayed standing in the corners of the streets (Mt 9:18). (3) Kneeling, i.e. kneeling with the body resting on the heels or the sides of the feet. It was thus that 'David sat before the Lord' when he was filled with amazement at the message of Nathan, announcing the eternal establishment of his kingdom (2 S 7:4). (4) Kneeling (Heb. מַעֲנֵה [2 Ch 6:4, Ps 93:), מְעָן [1 K 7, 10, Ezr 9], Gr. γονατίζω),
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with the body erect, or bent forward so that the head touched the ground. Solomon, at the dedication of the Temple, 'knelt on his knees, with his hands spread forth towards heaven.' The prediction of Messianic days is that 'every knee shall bow' (Le 49:26; Ro 14:11, Ph 2:9).

Lord Jesus in Gethsemane 'kneaded down' (Lk 22:44), and also 'fell on the ground' (Mk 14:35). St. Paul knelt in the building used as a church at Miletaus (Ac 20:37), and also on the beach at Tyre (21:16). (5) Bowing the head to rest the chin on the chest (Heb. 7:2, Gr. ἀληθευ;) used of Eliazer when he found that God had directed his way (Gn 24:27-48); of the elders of Israel when Moses told the story of the burning bush (Ex 4:17), and when they received injunction as to the celebration of the Passover (12:7); of Moses when Jehovah proclaimed His Name before him (34:3); of Balaam (Nu 22:20) and of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 20:18). (6) Uplifting the hands: used of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (1 K 8:42; cf. also 1 K 2:1, 3:4, 1 Ti 2:8). Then, as we have said, there is one reference to 'kissing the hand' to the sun or moon as a sign of adoration (Job 31:17).

ADORATION (Jewish and Christian, post-biblical) I. Jewish.-(1) The outward posture of adoration did not differ from what had gone before (see above), only in post-Biblical literature its various forms were more strictly prescribed. This was a natural consequence of the predominance of the Pharisaic party, with its love for abstract ritualistic observances. It was ordered that on entering the Sanctuary the worshipper should make thirteen prostrations (מעננת), a form of adoration which consisted in the spreading out of hands and feet while the face had to touch the ground. Another outward act of adoration was kneeling with the head bent forward so that the forehead touched the ground; a like posture, accompanied by kissing the ground, was an intensifying of the act. The most exaggerated form of adoration, however, was that of the high priest uttered the Holy Name of God (Jahweh); at the mention of this name every one present threw himself prostrate upon the ground, face downwards (Jer. Yoma iii. 40 d).* The importance attached to the outward expressions is also exemplified by the dispute that took place at the beginning of the Christian era between the Hillelites and the Shammaites, who regarded standing as the most fitting attitude, won the day, and at the present time the Jews recite it standing. The same position is assumed during the saying of the Shemone' E'or (the 'Eighteen Benedictions'), which is one of the central parts of the morning service; indeed, its technical name is 'Amidah ('Standing'); because, as it is one of the chief acts of adoration, the most appropriate attitude is that of standing while it is being recited (cf. for the position assumed during prayer, Mt 6:8, Lk 11:16). Throughout the Middle Ages, down to the present day, the Talmudic prescriptions regarding attitudes of adoration have been observed. Thus, the throwing of oneself at full length upon the ground took place only on the Day of Atonement, but while at other times prostration was restricted to bowing the head or standing, or, less frequently, kneeling.* A notable exception to this is, however, afforded by the Karaites; these professed in all things to reject Rabbinical traditions and to revert to Biblical usage only; they regarded eight external attitudes in adoration as indispensable, viz. kneeling, bowing the head, bending the upper part of the body until the forehead gently touched the ground, violent bowing of the head, complete prostration, raising the hands, standing, and raising the eyes to heaven. t It will be noticed that kissing the ground or any object is not included among these, because in the OT this act of adoration was usually connected with non-Jahwistic worship (see preced. art. § 4).

(2) God alone is adored by the Jews, though the veneration paid to the Torah ("Law") both as an abstract thing of perfection, and also in its material form ("the scroll of the Law"); reaches sometimes an extravagant pitch. One can see not infrequently in the Synagogue, worshipers stretching out their hands to touch the roll of the Law when carrying it from the Ark; the hand that has touched the sacred roll is then kissed; moreover, during the ceremony of the B'g'boa, i.e. the 'elevation' of the scroll of the Law, the whole congregation stands up in its honour; this act is regarded as a special privilege or mispahat.§ There are certain intermediate beings between God and men to whom great veneration, bordering on adoration, is paid; indeed, in some passages these intermediate beings are identified with God, and in so far can truly be said to be worshipped; but the later Jewish teaching on these beings is so contradictory—sometimes they are spoken of as personalities, at other times as abstract forces, at other times as Divine attributes—that it would be precarious to regard them definitely as objects of adoration.

They are: Metatron, the Memra ("Word") of Jahweh, the Shekhinah, and the Raish hakodesh ("Holy Spirit") of the Messiah, in so far as He is represented as the incarnation of the Divine Wisdom, which existed before the world was created.¶

2. Christian. — (1) The attitudes of adoration among the early Christians were borrowed, as one would expect, from the Jews and the Gentiles. Throughout the first few minutes the Jewish custom was followed is seen in Tertullian's description of Christian worship, given in de Corona Militis iii. He says that on Sunday and the whole week of the festival of Pentecost, prayer adoration is to be said in kneeling. This is thoroughly in accordance with Jewish precedent, for 'the synagogue custom (minhag), as old as the first Christian century, omits the prostration on all festivals and semi-festivals.'

(2) Adoration among Christians, almost from the commencement, has not been confined to the adoration of the Deity. It is true that in the Roman Catholic Church degrees of adoration are officially recognized (see above, p. 118†), but in actual practice this differentiation of adoration has always been observed. Apart from worship offered to God, adoration is offered in the following instances:—

(a) Adoration of the Eucharistic elements.—The doctrine of Transubstantiation was held centuries before it was officially declared to be a dogma of

* The references to European Jews; those who live in the East follow, like the Muhammadans, the practice of prostration in earlier ages.

† JB l. 111.

¶ A very small acquaintance with the Jewish religion will show that this is no exaggeration.

§ In the Synagogue this word is used in the technical sense of 'privilege,' not in the Biblical sense of 'command' (cf. bar Mispah). See further, Oesterley, Church and Synagogue, viii. (1890) p. 19.

t Cf. Hamburger, RE i. 739 ff.

†† JB l. 111.
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the Roman Catholic Church; from it followed of necessity the adoration of the 'Eucharistic Christ.' Roman Catholics, of course, maintain that inasmuch as the elements of bread and wine in the Mass become the actual body and blood of Christ, they worship Christ, and Him alone, in the Mass. The adoration of the elements takes place at their elevation after the consecration; and the adoration is of the highest kind, viz., cul tus la trium. Communities, many in number, exist for the purpose of offering perpetual adoration to the consecrated elements; day and night, at least one person has always been before these images and adores in silence. In these communities each member has a particular hour assigned to him or her at which regular attendance is required for this purpose in the church or private chapel. The raison d'être of this perpetual adoration is that it should be in imitation of the holy angels and glorified saints who serve the Lamb 'day and night in his temple' (Rev. 7:12).

(b) Adoration of the Cross.—As early as the time of Tertullian the Christians were accustomed of worshipping the Cross. St. Cæcilia (d. 455) points to a tendency which, as the witness of later writers shows, soon became a settled practice. He says: 'Quod quidam distictissimis monachorum, habentes zeum Dei sed non secundum scientiam, simpliciter in teis, fereantur illae lignes, resque juxta humerus circumferentes, sed seditionem, sed visum cunctis videntibus intulenter.' St. Aldehaim (7th cent.) speaks of certain Christians as 'Crucicolo,' and, indeed, not without reason, if it be true that Alcin, who lived at the same period, was in the habit of saying before the Cross: 'Tuam crucem adoramus, Domine, tuam gloriosam re- colimus passionem; misere nostri.' Moreover, stone crosses have been found at Mainz, belonging to the second half of the 9th cent., bearing the inscription: 'Sca. Crux nos salva.' It was, therefore, not without reason that 'Latria to the Cross' was forbidden by the second Council of Nicaea (787). Two festivals in honour of the Cross were observed in very early days, and known up to the beginning of the 16th. One is the 'Invention of the Cross,' which is observed on May 3 in memory of the alleged finding of the true cross by Queen Helena; the fact of the 'Invention' is testified to by Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. According to the story, Helena, the mother of the Emperor, procured the inscription, and part of the Cross to Constantine; the rest was kept at Jerusalem in a silver case, which was carried in procession and worshipped by the faithful on certain days in the year. This custom had died out by the time of the patriarch Sophronius (d. 560); it was, however, continued in St. Sophia's at Constantinople till the 8th century. The other festival is that of the 'Exaltation of the Cross,' held on Sept. 14, in memory of the Emperor Constantine's victory over the Persians. At the present day supposed pieces of the true Cross are possessed by some churches; the piece of wood (sometimes very minute) is placed in a glass case, resembling a 'monstrance,' which is sealed up by the Pope or the Bishop; the glass case is kissed and adored by the faithful, and is also used for blessing the congregation. What must have materially contributed to the adoration of crosses and crucifixes was the custom of putting relics inside them, for veneration.

In spite of Conciliar prohibition, St. Thomas Aquinas taught that the Cross was to be adored with latria, i.e. supreme worship, and argued that one might regard it as an image of Christ. In this way: (1) in itself, as a piece of wood or the like, and so no reverence is given to a cross or to an image of Christ; (2) as representing something else, and in this way we may give to the Cross relatively—i.e. to the Cross as carrying on our mind to Christ—the same honour as we give to Christ absolutely, i.e. in Himself.

(c) Adoration of the Sacred Heart.—This cult originated with the mystic, Margaret Mary Alacoque (d. 1690). In the year 1675 she announced that Christ had appeared to her, and said that He appeared to her, and showed her 'His most holy heart upon a throne of flames, encircled with thorns, and over it a Cross'; that it had been revealed to her that Christ desired that His heart should be specially honoured, as satisfaction for the many offences that had been committed against Him in the Holy Sacrament; and that special adoration should be offered to it on the Friday after the octave of the festival of Corpus Christi.

The idea of the adoration of the heart of Christ had, however, already been expressed, for in the 16th cent. the Carthusian monks Lansenpr had recommended pious Christians to assist their devotion by using a figure of the Sacred Heart. The cult was at first vehemently attacked,—the term cardiolatry was applied to those who practised it; but in spite of this it grew in popularity, and in 1759 a special office and Mass were accorded it, with the condition that the 'Heart of Jesus' was to be regarded only as the symbol of His goodness and love, . . . intelligens hujus missae et offici, qua celebritas non agatur, sed institutum et symbolice renovari memoriam illius divini amoris, qua Unigenitus Dei Filii humanam suscepit naturam, et factus oedebis usque ad mortem, prebere se dixit exemplum omnibus' (i.e., dominibus, quod esset usque ad mortem). A little later, an explanation of the principle underlying the cult was put forth in the bull 'Auctorem fidelis' (1754), in which it is said that the faithful worship with supreme adoration the physical heart of Christ, considered not as mere flesh, but as united to the Divinity; they adore it as the 'heart of the Person of the Word, to which it is inseparably united.' Stress is laid on the distinction between 'objectum formale et materiale.' The cult became more and more popular under the influence of the activity of the Jesuits; through their instrumentality the whole month of June was dedicated to the Sacred Heart. In 1850, at the desire of the French bishops, Pius IX. raised the festival of the 'Heart of Jesus' to a festival duplum major, and ordered it to be observed by the whole Church. In August 1864, Margaret Mary Alacoque was canonized, an act which still further popularized the cult.

*Quoted from his Works (iii, xxxv, s. 3 et 4) by Addis-Arnold, op. cit. art. 'Adoration of the Cross.'


§ Called 'Holy Cross Day' in the Calendar of the English Prayer-Book.

‖ Lefsehe, de Vita Const. i. 97-92.
In spite of the fact that officially a distinction is made between the material and the symbolic, and that the whole cult is declared to be only an expression of the dogma of the adoration of Christ's humanity united with His Divinity in the heart, it is certain among very many devout, though uncultured, believers the adoration is characterized by gross materialism; for the heart which is adored is spoken of as that which was pierced by the spear upon the Cross; and, in urging the excellence of the object of adoration, the late Bp. Martin of Paderborn (d. 1138) wrote thus: 'The real object of meditation concerning the most holy heart of Jesus, the same name itself implies, is the actual heart of Jesus, the actual heart of Jesus, and not merely His love symbolized by this heart. . . . It is the real, bodily heart of Jesus which does not yield what he is paying for and intention buy. We must, however, carefully distinguish between what by improved processes of production is really cheaper and what merely seems so; for it is the craze for cheapness that is largely responsible for the extent to which adulteration is practised. Owing to imperfect education and an often consequent misguided social ambition which lead people to ape the habits of those better off than themselves, without either the taste or the means to indulge in those habits, there is a very great demand for substitutes or imitations of articles of luxury, which gives the opportunity to the dishonest dealer, already disposed by self-interest and by pressure of competition and by the difficulty of detection, to adulterate.

The evil is not entirely modern. Even in the Middle Ages, under the guild system, regulations were required to secure that for a fair price an honest article was given. Night work, for instance, was forbidden, and a workman was required to show evidence of skill before he was permitted to practise his trade. Publicity was in the main the remedy against dishonest dealing, and owing to the simplicity of wants and to the simple character of the processes of manufacture, and to the close relations of producer and consumer, the remedy was tolerably effectual. In modern times these conditions are absent, and the practice is so prevalent, that, in defiance of the doctrine caveat emptor, legislation has been required to protect the ignorance of the consumer, the impossibility of educating a taste that is continually being debased by the consumption of adulterated articles, and the frequent danger to life and health, have necessitated this departure from the doctrine of free choice, particularly with regard to articles of food.

The consumer is still at the mercy of the vendor of shoddy clothes, etc., but in food and drugs at least he is protected, although it must be admitted that the penalties inflicted are often inadequate and the laws ineffectives; pre-Reformation days, and that in many cases an adaptation of heathen cults. English documents of the Reformation period prove conclusively that among the things protested against were the rendering to the Virgin Mary and the Saints the honour that was due to God alone; the belief that these were able to give gifts which are in reality Divine; the belief that the ears of the Saints were more readily opened to the requests of men; and, finally, the practice of regarding Saints as tutelary deities.

One other point must be briefly referred to: the word 'adoration' is used in reference to a newly elected Pope. Immediately after election the Pope is placed upon the altar; the Cardinals, who then crown him and render him homage, are said to go 'to the Adoration.' Again, when a Pope is elected spontaneously and unanimously, without the 'scrutiny' having been made beforehand, he is said to be elected 'by adoration.'

ADULTERATION—Adulteration may be defined as the use of cheaper materials in the production of an article so as to transform it into an inferior article which is not by the purchaser or consumer readily distinguishable as inferior. There is not necessarily in the production the intention to deceive; and the substitute is not necessarily deleterious. Indeed, in some cases an inferior article may be more wholesome than the poorer qualities of the counterfeited article, as in the case of margarine and other substitutes for butter. The essential point is that the consumer does not get what he is paying for and intention buy. We must, however, carefully distinguish between what by improved processes of production is really cheaper and what merely seems so; for it is the craze for cheapness that is largely responsible for the extent to which adulteration is practised. Owing to imperfect education and an often consequent misguided social ambition which lead people to ape the habits of those better off than themselves, without either the taste or the means to indulge in those habits, there is a very great demand for substitutes or imitations of articles of luxury, which gives the opportunity to the dishonest dealer, already disposed by self-interest and by pressure of competition and by the difficulty of detection, to adulterate.

In modern times these conditions are absent, and the practice is so prevalent, that, in defiance of the doctrine caveat emptor, legislation has been required to protect the ignorance of the consumer, the impossibility of educating a taste that is continually being debased by the consumption of adulterated articles, and the frequent danger to life and health, have necessitated this departure from the doctrine of free choice, particularly with regard to articles of food.

The consumer is still at the mercy of the vendor of shoddy clothes, etc., but in food and drugs at least he is protected, although it must be admitted that the penalties inflicted are often inadequate and the laws ineffectives; pre-Reformation days, and that in many cases an adaptation of heathen cults. English documents of the Reformation period prove conclusively that among the things protested against were the rendering to the Virgin Mary and the Saints the honour that was due to God alone; the belief that these were able to give gifts which are in reality Divine; the belief that the ears of the Saints were more readily opened to the requests of men; and, finally, the practice of regarding Saints as tutelary deities.

One other point must be briefly referred to: the word 'adoration' is used in reference to a newly elected Pope. Immediately after election the Pope is placed upon the altar; the Cardinals, who then crown him and render him homage, are said to go 'to the Adoration.' Again, when a Pope is elected spontaneously and unanimously, without the 'scrutiny' having been made beforehand, he is said to be elected 'by adoration.'

W. O. E. OSTERLEY.
ADULTERY

ADULTERY (Primitive and Savage Peoples).—1. Woman in primitive society.—A survey of the notions entertained by savage peoples regarding adultery tends to show that, in the earliest times, it could not have been regarded in any other light than as the interference of another with the woman over whom a man had, or conceived himself to have, certain rights. It was not considered as an act of impurity, for the idea of prostitution had not been conceived. Nor was it a breach of contract, for it is improbable that anything corresponding to marriage rites was yet in use. Nor was it a breach of social law, for men were not yet organized in social groups. Woman belonging as below to man, any interference with her would immediately outrage man's instinctive sense of property, and would at once arouse his jealousy. He would, therefore, try to recover his property from the thief; and this could be done only by assaulting or killing him, in her words, by punishing him for his theft. Recognizing, too, that the woman, differing from other possessions of his, was a sentient being, and therefore to some extent a consenting party to the theft, he would also vent his anger upon her, even putting her to death in cases of extreme rage. Among animals precisely similar ideas with respect to the females may be found. Where an animal collects a number of females round him, as in the case of certain apes, he acts as a despot over them; young males born to him are, after a time, expelled, and the approach of a possible rival is at once resented (Darwin, Descent of Man, 591). Thus it must be admitted that, at the earliest stage of human history, adultery could have been nothing but a breach of property rights, to be followed, when discovered, by a more or less savage act of private revenge upon both the culprits. Among most existing savages hardly any other idea of it exists, as we shall presently see. Woman before and after marriage is the property, first of her father or guardian, next of her husband. Among peoples who allow licence before marriage, none is permitted after it, when the husband assumes proprietary rights over the woman. And where such licence is not allowed, any unchastity is punished by a fine or death on the man who has depreciated the value of the woman in her guardian's or prospective husband's eyes. This idea of a husband's proprietary rights in the woman would be increased where she was the entire chief of his band and spear, or where he had to undergo a period of servitude for her, or, much more usually, had to acquire her by purchase. Here it may be remarked that adultery is not confined to cases where a ceremony of marriage exists: when a man enters into a union more or less lasting, and the man treats her as his property, it may occur. But it need not be inferred that it is a common occurrence among all savage races. It is abhorrent to some peoples, e.g., the Andamanese, with whom conjugal fidelity is the rule (Man, JAI xii. 153), the people of Utea in the Loyalty Islands (Erskine, Western Pacific, 341), the Abipones (Dobrizhoffer, Account of the Abipones, ii. 153), and others.

Certain facts are often alleged against the idea that woman is not a free agent in primitive or savage society. Thus, a woman's consent is often required before marriage; yet even the consent of her guardian is also necessary, and this right of choice on her part need not argue anything as to her future freedom of action, while it is counterbalanced by the overwhelming weight of evidence regarding the woman's position as a being owned first by her guardian, then by her husband. Again, in cases where, after marriage, there is a possible influence over her by her husband or in the tribe, this hardly affects the fact that her legal status is not that of the man, nor does it give her equal rights with him. Nor does it, as is frequently alleged, involve her in danger in her most personal relations. The fact that she has been the earliest civilized, that she has much of the tribal lore, and that she is the one the men look to for advice in dangerous (magically) at certain crises of their lives. All this limits the husband's power in many ways; but so far as concerns interference with her sexual relations, she is still able to act for herself. Here, any attempt at independence on her part arouses at once her jealousy, that underlying fact of man's propensity for jealousy in the woman, which innate superiority or her occasional influence does not obviate. Even where the patriarchate exists, and where the man goes to war for his wife, this seldom takes away his power of life and death over her, especially where adultery is concerned (Haddon, Head-Hunters, 190), says that though in the Torres Straits islands a woman asks the man to marry her, and he goes to live with her afterwards, he can kill her if he should desire it (Haddon, Tribes of California, 388). In effect all such exceptional cases are overruled by the fact that universally the woman's power of licence cases at marriage, that universally unchastity on her part is regarded by the husband as a breach of his proprietary rights, that frequently the husband has the power to kill his wife for any such breach, that well-nigh universally he can kill his wife to another man, and that generally adultery on the husband's part cannot be punished in any way by the wife.

2. Adultery under different conditions of marriage.—It is now generally admitted that promiscuity was not the earliest form of human sexual relations. But even had it been so, the idea of adultery based upon jealousy and the sense of property would still have been conceivable. Men and women being collected into groups for the sake of defence or of facilitating the supply of food, the men would resent the approach of members of other similar groups, while any interference with the women of the group would be jealously guarded against by all the males of the group, to whom ex hypothesi all the females of the group belonged in common. Promiscuity, however, as a theory of marriage, is baseless, and has frequently been confused with what is known as group marriage, an institution that entirely differs from what is generally termed group marriage. In actual practice among certain Australian tribes, the men of one definite group are potential husbands of the women of another definite group; the husband of any one woman has only a preferential right in her, and the group may have access to her on certain occasions. But here the husband's consent must first be given; and though it is practically never withheld, and a man is looked upon as churlish who does withhold it, this points to the existence of individual marriage underlying this mixed polyandry and polygynous system, rather than to its being a systematized form of earlier promiscuity. The consent of the husband being necessary implies a certain proprietary right in the woman on his part; he sanctions her union with other men only on certain ceremonial occasions. If the woman dared to consort with a man...
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out of the group, this would be resented by her actual and potential husbands; it would be incest rather than adultery (see § 5; Spencer-Gillen, *62, 63, 110, do. *73, 140; Howitt, *JAL xx. 53*). Again, where polyandry exists, adultery is still possible, since acts of this kind are usually not defined, and their rights over her are arranged according to strict rule. Where, as in the Tibetan type of polyandry, a woman is the wife of several brothers, it is obvious that they will resent the advances of one fellow-man to their wife, who, in contradiction to the woman is extremely jealous of her own conjugal rights (*Hist. Univ. des Voyages*, xxxi. 434). The story told by Strabo (*xvi. 4. 25*) of the custom of fraternal polyandry among the ancient Arabs, shows that adultery with another man was punishable, and similar cases might be cited (see § 4, Tibet). Among the Nairs, with whom polyandry assumes another form, the woman is not allowed to have any later sexual relations with the man who first consummates the marriage, while any relations with a man not of her caste is factio adultery, and was formerly punished by death (*Reclus, Primitive Folk*, 162, 164).

A modified form of polyandry exists where the custom of polygyny (the second wife) exists. In this case, the secondary husband must contribute to the support of the household, and takes the place of the husband with the wife of the first husband, as found among some Eskimos (McLeam, *Studies in Ancient History*, 2nd ser. 876; Reclus, 60), where the secondary husband is a younger brother. With them, therefore, the system is akin to that of the Todas, where the eldest of a group of brothers is the husband, but the youngest takes on the widowed wife also (*Toi*, vi. 275); for it occurs among some Polynesian peoples (*Evk*, 1900, 354) and others, as it did in ancient Sparta (*Menon*, Rep. Lac. i. 9).

Sometimes, where adultery takes place, a man is forced to become a secondary husband, to do the work of the house and obey the husband, while he may now associate freely with the wife, as among the Konyagas (*Iceland*, 67).

3. Adultery under polygamy and monogamy.—But it is especially among peoples with whom polygamy or monogamy is the rule that we see the working of the idea of adultery; the woman existing most emphatically. Jealousy of their wives exists among the lowest savages, and with them and higher savage and barbaric tribes the utmost precautions are taken to prevent the approach of another man. Sour punishments are inflicted on the wife even on the slightest suspicion, or, as among the Negroes of Calabar, the wives are at intervals put through a trying ordeal to test their faithfulness (*Miss Kingsley, Travels in W. Africa*, 497). The universalizing and avenging nature of the races, the rigour of its action, and its extreme vigilance, go far to show, as Westernmark (*Human Marriage*, 117 ff.) points out, that there never was a time when man was devoid of it, and that it is a strong argument against the existence of a primitive promiscuity. When adultery has actually taken place and has been discovered, the husband, with few exceptions, can himself punish the offending woman and her paramour, without necessarily incurring tribal death; that is, that tribal or the tribal custom expects him to do so, and fully approves his act, though in some instances he may be retaliated upon by the relatives of the woman or man, where he has killed either or both. Punishment varies, but very frequently death is meted out in cases of detected adultery; in other places the woman is disfigured or mutilated by shaving off her hair, cutting off her nose, ears, etc., or she is chastised more or less severely, or she is repudiated or divorced, or treated as a prostitute. In some cases the husband’s jealousy or anger turns against his offending property, even though his act of revenge deprives him of his wife, or of her attractive qualities. Towards the offending man who has invaded his rights of property his attitude varies: he may kill him, enslave, mutilate, wound, or flog him, or make him his slave, or force him to pay a fine, or to have his wife outraged in turn. Especially noticeable is the idea of theft in adultery, where, as in Africa, the man’s hands are cut off, as if he were a thief (*Waitz, Anthropologie*, ii. 472); in the fact that in the Torres Straits there is no word for adultery apart from theft (*puru*), and all irregular connexion was called “stealing a woman” (*Camb. Expid. to Torres Straits*, 275); and that among the Arunta a man who commits adultery with a woman of the class from which he might choose another is atna mylikura, “vulva-theft,” because he has stolen property (Spencer-Gillen, *99*). The same idea also emerges where, as among some Negro tribes, it is held to be adultery for a man to lay his hand on or brush against a girl against a chief’s wife (*Miss Kingsley, Travels*, 497). The conception of the wife as property is also seen, not only in the common custom of slaying her at her husband’s death, but, where she is allowed to survive him, in the belief entertained by savage and barbaric peoples that second marriage is wrong, or, if permitted, that any unchastity during a certain period after the husband’s death is equivalent to adultery, or should be punished as such (*Amer. Indians, Matsu, Patagonians, Aimus, etc.*). Among the tribes, the widow cannot even appear in public without being regarded as an adulteress (*Adair, Amer. Indians*, 180). For a certain time at least, sometimes for the rest of her life, the woman is still treated as a slave; where several husbands and wives are living over the living, it may be presumed that the dead husband might still retaliate in case of any transgression.

4. Punishments for adultery.—The following examples will show the nature of the punishments for adultery meted out among different races by the outraged husband, or permitted to him by common consent or actual law:

Among the Zulus of South Africa both the woman and her lover are killed; among the Yerka-mining of S. Australia the woman was branded with a firebrand for the first offence, spared in the leg for the second, and killed for the third; among some tribes the punishment consisted in hanging her over all to come (*Howe*, Nat. Tribes of *S. Aust.* 245, 257). A childless wife who murders her husband is repudiated in W. Victoria (*Dawson, Nat. Tribes of Aust.*, 33). In the Vanuatu the most common punishment for adultery was to kill both wife and man (*Bosweil, Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, 73). In the Andaman Islands adultery is rare, but when it occurs it is punished by the husband, who kills the man and the woman (Dawson, *V. & W. Tribes of S. Aust.*, 21). In the Fiji archipelago it is a cause, and frequently the only cause, of repudiation (*Cambridge Expid. to Torres Straits*, *iii.* 563). With the Melanesian tribes the woman was brutally treated, and the paramour was killed by the husband or executed, though he was sometimes, if at all, or what was regarded as a robbery, or had his wife violated by all the men of the village (*De Roche*, *Nova. Galap.,* 350; *Bd. d. Natur*, 186. 86). Death was the usual punishment in New Zealand (*Voyage of the Astrolabe*, 350); in other Polynesian islands the woman was variously punished. With the Hottentots the woman was killed or flogged (*Alexander, Expid. into Interior of Africa*, 133; *Evk*, 1902, 354); and killing the adulterous wife and paramour was common both among the Basuto and Negro tribes (*Reclus*, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, 475). Among the Western Australians *Marron* (*Wilson and Fokin, *Opuscula, *i. 806), on the other hand, adulterous relations were here also administered—chastisement, disfigurement, or repudiation of the woman, marrying her to a slave, and flogging the guilty man (*Post, Afr. J. 40, 37*; *Bowlich, Miss. to Ashanti*, 170; *Du Chailu, Afrique Equat.*, 67, 435; *Johnston, Uganda Protoc.*, 620, 629, 740, 659; *Waitz, Arunta*, ii. 110, 115). Death, mutilation and disfigurement, abandonment, and delivery of the woman to the man of the tribe, were common among the N. Amer. tribes, with whom the woman was killed, mutilated, or fined (*Bancroft, Native Races*, i. 350, 1855, 814; *Amer. Rev.*, 112, 364; *Smith, Kfka*, ii. 132, v. 635); in Tahiti, torture and death were meted out to both parties in Yucatan (*Bancroft*, ii. 874); in Mexico the woman had her nose and ears cut off, and was stoned to death (*Perry Prescott, *Pern*, 21); in Guatemala the woman was repudiated and her paramour fined (*Bancroft*, ii. 673); in Nicaragua she could be divorced for nothing but adultery (*Espineda*, 37); among the Fuegians the husband could kill his wife, but was liable to be killed in turn by her family (*Hyades and Deniker*, 184).
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apud Hobhouse, i. 49). Woman and paramour might be killed by the husband among many of the native tribes of India (Dalton, *Bk. of Bengal*, 40; M’Pherson, *Manor. of Service* in *India*, 1781). Among the Bantus of Tatra, the woman is frequently killed and the man forced to pay the husband a number of cattle; elsewhere in Tibet the woman is punished and the man set free. Among the Dyaks (cited, *Lettre adressée*, xxxi. 437, xxxii. 341). In Japan, woman and paramour are killed by the husband, the law supposing their act so against nature that China, as the law permits this punishment if it is meted out on the spot, otherwise the husband has to be sentence: but where adultery is proved he can repudiate or otherwise punish his wife (Alabama, *Chinese Criminal Law*, 187, 252; Pauthier, *China Moderne*, 229).

Frequently, too, the gravity of the offence is proportionate to the rank of the husband with whose wife it is committed; in others, the woman belonging to a higher rank being punished more severely. In New Caledonia, death was meted out to a man who merely looked at the wife of a chief. Among the Bantu, with whom the male delinquency was usually fined, in the case of adultery with a chief’s or king’s wife, he was put to death (Johnston, *op. cit*., 690); in Uganda, where whipping was the usual punishment, the king’s wife and her paramour were charged to pieces (ib. 669); in Assanti, intrigue with the king’s slaves is punished by emasculation (Ellis, *Tehi-speaking Peoples*, 287). So in Peru, where death was the ordinary punishment, adultery with the inca’s wife resulted in the burning of the whole tribe of his parents, and the destruction of a third of his property (Lettourneux, *Evolut. of Marriage*, 216). Similarly, among the Tatars the punishment of the man’s relatives as well as himself: generally speaking, this distinction holds good among most savage peoples, while a further distinction may be made between adultery with the principal wife and with a subordinate wife—the value of the former being, of course, greater.

The birth of twins is with many savage peoples regarded as uncanny, and one or both are put to death. The reason for this belief is not always certain, but in some cases it is thought to be caused by a dishonor to the man, or to the father of no more than one child, that a god has had intercourse with the woman. Such a belief is found among the Negroes (some of whom, however, regard the birth as lucky for this reason), South American tribes, and Melanesians (Ellis, *Tehi-speaking Peoples*, 87; Codrington, *Melanesians*, 293). In such cases we have the idea that the wife has committed adultery with a divinity or spirit, as in the Greek myths of Demeter and Leda. But it is sometimes held that a proof of adultery with another man (S. American tribes [Waltz, iii. 394, 482]; Teuton [Westermarck, *World Idea*, i. 406]). See Kendall Harris, *Out of My Way* (Pp. 118).

5. Adultery within the prohibited degrees.—Among all races, marriage or sexual union is absolutely forbidden between certain persons, whether blood-relations or members of the same tribe, clan, or band of savage tribes. Such tribes and barbaric peoples is largely thus in the hands of the agrieved husband, and evidently originated out of the desire for personal revenge. But what was at first a mere arbitrary personal vengeance has now generally become an act which is supported by tribal custom. The husband slays the aggressor, but he knows that in so doing he will be backed by public opinion, and may even call in others to assist him. He is allowed or expected to administer punishment. Frequently, too, adultery is taken cognizance of as an offence by the law of a tribe or people, whether administered by the old men, a council, a chief, or by the State. In such cases the husband might appeal to any of these to decide what the punishment should be or to what extent the law is to be applied. In Kamilaroi, the husband’s complaint is carried before the headman, who gives sentence; and among the tribes of N. S. Wales a similar process is found (Howitt, *op. cit.* 207; Fraser, *Abor. of N. S. Wales*, 290). Otherwise, it is being punishable judicially rather than by private vengeance among peoples who also punish it in the latter way, are found among the Xakas of New Caledonia, where the aggressor is led before the chief and his council, and executed by their sentence (De Rochas, *Nouv. Calédo.*, 262); among the Caribs, Samoons, Mishmis, in New Guinea, and in parts of Negro Africa (Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse*, 727 ff.; Turner, *Samoa*, 178; Chalmers, *Pioneering in N. G.* 171; Letourneux, 211). In such cases, however, the law simply orders the husband to execute the punishment, as in parts of ancient Mexico and in Central America (Bancroft, ii. 465; Biart, *Les Astéques*, 168). And even when the offence is strictly a legal one, should the husband take the matter into his own hands, and, e.g. slay both offenders at once, he would still be considered to be acting within his own rights, or would be subject only to a slight penalty, as in China, Japan, ancient Peru (where it was held that Manco Capac had derived death to adultery [Garcilasso, *Royal Comm*. i. 81]). Or if the husband does not act according to the judicial sentence, he himself may suffer. Thus among the Tatars, if he does not punish his wife, the chief takes the case, and which his accomplices have paid the husband (Letourneux, 216); and in China, if he does not repudiate his wife he is whipped (Pauthier, *op. cit.*, 239). But we also find that, where the offence is a legal one, there is a tendency to stay the husband’s desire for the worst acts of vengeance. This has probably originated the frequent system of compensation by fine; it also accounts for cases, as among the Kafirs or the Bakwiri, where the husband must not kill the other, if he does so is punished as a murderer (M’Lean, *op. cit.* 117; Post, *Afrik. Jurispr.* i. 401); and, as among the Wakambas and other peoples, where the husband is allowed to slay the parties only when taken flagrante delicto.

6. Adultery by husband.—That, at the lower stages of civilization, adultery is regarded as an offence against the proprietary rights of the husband, is borne witness to by the fact that it is an offence only from the husband’s point of view. With the rarest exceptions has the wife any redress which has been obtained in the case of the great idea of the equal rights of wife and husband, and of the ethical belief that adultery is wrong.
Among the people of W. Victoria the wife can get an adulterous husband punished by complaining to the elders of the tribe, who send him away for a short period (Howard, *Matrim. Inst.* i. 229; Nietschman, *Slavery*, 18). In Africa, the husband in question is liable to fines to the wife for unfaithfulness (Post, *Afrik. Juris.*, ii. 79), and among the Mariana he is severely punished (Waltz, i. 106). With the Khonds of Orissa, where polyandry exists, and the woman can set a higher price upon herself, the husband cannot strike her for infidelity, whereas he is punished or is held to have dishonoured himself (Westernmarck in *Soc. Papers* (1904), 152). The Omaha wife could revenge herself on the husband and his paramount; and among the Sioux and Dakota she could leave her husband for unfaithfulness (Dorsey, *Bibliotheca*, 1855, 266; Howard, i. 239). Divorce for unfaithfulness on the husband's part might be obtained by the wife occasionally, as among some of the peoples of the Indian archipelago, the Shans, and others (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 197). But with these few exceptions savage mankind has scarcely recognized the fact that the adultery of the husband is a wrong done to his wife. Though it might be thought that the marriage-pact with the woman was the property of the husband, his infidelities, this is not supported by evidence, save in a few particular cases. These are where the royal succession was through a woman, who usually married a man of lower rank than herself, and reigned in her superiority. His adultery was punishable, but she claimed greater licence. Thus among the Tassens of North America, where the chief was looked on as a demi-god, his sister's son succeeded him. She, being thus also divinely treated, had killed him if he were unfaithful, but allowed herself great licence (M'Lenann, 420). Similarly in Loango a princess might be licentious, but would have her husband's head chopped off if he even looked at another woman (Pinkerst, p. 598). This did not apply to any other classes, and is on a level with the severity of the punishment meted out to a man committing adultery with the wife of a chief. It should be noted, however, that with a few primitives the woman has probably the right to divorce her husband if he takes a second wife or a concubine (Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, i. 136); while, even where polygamy is practised, the feeling of jealousy on a wife's part, though it may not override the husband's rank, will stay his desire of introducing another wife to his household, is frequently directed against the new-comer to her hurt, and in some cases the wife will commit suicide (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 497 f.).

7. Permissible adultery.—Adultery among the lower races is considered wrong, viz. an offence against the rights of the husband, when it is committed apart from his will. There are occasions on which he commands or sanctions it, or when it is to inure to general public advantage by others (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 74, 190). But various reasons exist for this, notably the legal or religious custom. The custom of lending wives either to friends or strangers emphasizes once more the view that the wife is the husband's property. Here she acts at his will, as in the other case she infringes his right. Here for the time the feeling of jealousy is in abeyance, even when it exists most strongly, and the husband decides that the wife may commit adultery. We thus see that adultery has not the precise meaning to the savage which it has to the civilized man.

The sexual crisis is shared by the entire group of savages (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 74, 190), but various reasons exist for it, notably the legal or religious custom. (a) In cases where a wife is lent to a friend, it may be done out of sheer friendliness or as an act of gratitude, but generally the leader will have no further claim shown to him. In other words, there will be reciprocity, as among the Cibolians Indians, who barter wives as a sign of friendship (H. M. *des Voyages*, xxiv. 376), the Eskimos, Polynesians, and others (M'Lenann, *Studien*, 2nd Ser., 376; Letourneau, 212). The practice of lending wives is sometimes introduced to a system, as in those Australian tribes where group marriage prevails, and generally there are limits to the system of lending among most of the savages. Where an individual marriage prevails, the man can lend his wife only to men belonging to his own group, i.e. to those alone to whom his wife would have been married. This applies also to the tribes actually practising group marriage, the Tabunsan and Uleri, since here the right of access to the woman to whom one has a 'promised' right is limited to the men of his own group (ib. 73, 140). Some cases of polyandry, as among the wife to another brother, as well as the system of secondary husbands, might rather be classed as instances of lending.

(b) Sometimes it is done by way of remuneration of friendship between two men, who then exchange their wives, as in the Timor (Denthef, *Geog. Blatt*, xx. 6) and New Zealand tribes, as in N. S. Wales (J. *J. J.* xxv. 353). In all such cases the friends would belong to the same tribe or clan, and the act would have a more or less sacred significance.

(c) Where the custom of lending a wife to a stranger is concerned, it is usually assumed that sexuality alone is the cause (Westernmarck, *Bibliotheca*, 1855, 266; Howard, i. 239). But with these few exceptions savage mankind has scarcely recognized the fact that the stranger is, qua facto, a dangerous person. Magical and religious ceremonies are often used to avert the danger (GIL. 296 f.), and respectful treatment throughout his stay is necessary for the same end. Thus the extremely common custom of lending a wife or other female to a stranger may justly be assumed to be but one of many acts which are intended to ward off his evil powers. Further, while, by bringing him into direct relation with the man who offers his wife, it makes him one with this. This view seems to be confirmed by the fact that among the Eskimos, tribe, the stranger who would not accept the woman offered him was driven away by his own tribe, and that among the Batawung (ib. *Univ. des Voyages*, xxiii. 380). It was desirable to get rid of a guest who was not only dangerous, but evidently disposed to do actively. This custom of lending wives to strangers is found practically among all savage tribes (Letourneau, *Op. cit.*).

8. Occasionally the idea that the woman was ennobled by the embraces of a stranger may have prevailed, especially among the Kaffirs, who thought a white man was a white woman (WAKE, *Evolution of Morality*, i. 77), and probably underlies the fact that many peoples—Australians, Negroes, Sandwich Islanders, and some Eskimos—who are jealous of their own tribe, show no jealousy of white men, and freely allow them to have intercourse with their wives (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 131). On the whole, this idea corresponds to the custom of allowing the medicine man or priest to cohabit with the wife to ensure off-spring, or to confer magical or religious virtues. This custom is found among the Eskimos, who believe that it is an honour for wife and husband that the erpove should have intercourse with the chief when he is marriageable (Bancroft, *Des. of Civilization*, 297; Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 197), or that he should have sexual relations with the husband of the new-comer, which is a dangerous custom (ib. *Univ. des Voyages*, xxii. 357); Spencer-Gillies, *Op. cit.*).

9. Another cause which will override the feeling of jealousy is the love of gain—the husband trading with his wife to stranger or others. The Yumas of New Mexico and other Amer. Indians, the tribes of tropical S. America, the Eskimos, the Tahitians, and other Polynesian tribes, Negroes, Australians, and others (Bancroft, i. 218; 144; Powers, *Tribes of Oceania*, 413; *Zern*, 1895, 297; Lisiansky, *Voyage Round World*, 52, 128; Bonnais in Pinkert's, xvi. 525) freely offer their wives for hire or for money or its equivalent. But it is to be observed that, in the revolting practice, though not unknown as between savages between themselves, has treated or religious custom. The custom of lending wives either to friends or strangers emphasizes once more the view that the wife is the husband's property. Here she acts at his will, as in the other case she infringes his right. Here for the time the feeling of jealousy is in abeyance, even when it exists most strongly, and the husband decides that the wife may commit adultery. We thus see that adultery has not the precise meaning to the savage which it has to the civilized man.

The sexual crisis is shared by the entire group of savages (Westernmarck, *Marriage*, 74, 190), but various reasons exist for it, notably the legal or religious custom. The custom of lending wives either to friends or strangers emphasizes once more the view that the wife is the husband's property. Here she acts at his will, as in the other case she infringes his right. Here for the time the feeling of jealousy is in abeyance, even when it exists most strongly, and the husband decides that the wife may commit adultery. We thus see that adultery has not the precise meaning to the savage which it has to the civilized man.
magically the fertility of the land (Eusebius, Fils. Const. iii. 68; Marco Polo, Yule’s ed. i. 471-472).

8. Adultery as an offence against purity and religion. — It has been seen that, to the savage, adultery is a breach of the husband’s proprietary rights. Whether any further ethical idea was appended to this notion is a question which it is difficult to answer. But it is not improbable that savages, who are quite aware that it is wrong, may attach some idea of impurity to its committal. If, so, this conception may go to the root of the moral idea of lust. In the Savage, there is a danger existing in intimate relations between man and woman—a danger existing even in marriage. This danger, implying a material contagion, would naturally be increased where a man had no right of access to a woman; it is most dangerous of all when it is possible to become the father of children. For this reason, we find as a rule that it has been more rigorously repressed in Africa than in the Orient.

(§ 5). Out of this danger and material contagion the idea of sin and of impurity might easily arise; and we can hardly doubt that, in the evolution of moral ideas, it has so arisen (Crawley, Mystic Rose, 214). Adultery being grounded, therefore, it might be claimed that adultery was known by the savage through the idea of impurity. They certainly believe that there are occasions when it is magically dangerous; that certain penalties will befall the transgressor, either automatically or, possibly, by the act of higher powers.

Ethical teaching among savages has hardly been made the subject of inquiry by actual observers, yet it is curious to note that among some of the lowest races—Australians and Andamans—there is a nearly universal moral offence, and, with the former, is taught to be so to the youths at initiation, while with the latter it is obvious to their high god, and will be punished by him. Of the Cannibals are recorded by Eusebius (De Praepar., iii. 68), and in the Polynesian islands, by the Portuguese of the 16th century (Fontes, i. 145-170, and Belon, Hist. Nat., i. 386). Elsewhere, as among the Indians of Guiana, the fear of spirits prevents them from “offending against the rights of others,” and this probably includes adultery (Jay x. 382). With the Fugians, also, “adultery and lewdness are condemned as evil” (Westermarck, 41). We cannot say, however, that this is with these peoples an offence against purity. Perhaps only at a higher stage is this conception really reached: thus it is said of women living in Texas that they look too curiously on a woman commits adultery with his eye (Sahagun, Hist. gen. de las cosas de Nueva Espana, ii. 147).

In those cases where the sin of the living is annually transferred to the soul of a human victim, or where this is done on behalf of a dead person as part of the funeral rites, adultery is frequent among the Neger tribes, the Tuareg, and other tribes of Western Africa (Herschel, Banks of Niger, i. 364; Belo, Reclus, 206). At the Bush festival of the Ota (West Africa), those who had committed this crime had the marriage law not allowed to take part in the fast, and the new fire was believed to be taken for all crimes except murder (Frazier, Q.B. ii. 390). In such cases, however, sin is rather a material than a spiritual contagion, though the particular sin may involve the idea of incipient ethical impurity, and, as such, be ominous to higher powers. Again, the magical view of the danger of adultery at certain times is generally mixed up with the danger of lawful connection at such times, but occasionally a distinction is made. During hunting, fishing, and especially in time of war, men are in a state of taboo, and must have no intercourse with women—a taboo found among savages, and which one must not broken, lest ill-luck follow. The danger is here magical; but it is also likely that it is found becoming more or less religious, as with the Aztecs, who believed that their women’s unlawful attainment during whale-fishing would be punished by the whale, which is an object of reverence to them (Reclus, i. 51); and with some Amer. Indian tribes, e.g., the Dakotas, who think that the violation of covenants would be renounced by the spirits of the dead; and the Winnebagoes, who observe continence because it was commanded by the ‘Great Spirit’ (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, i. 82), (Ind. Tribes, i. 188). A saying of the Eskimos at Angmagssalik, in North-West Greenland, stated that, “the whale, the musk-ox, and the reindeer left the country because men had too much to do with other men’s wives” (Nansen, Eskimo Life, 170). Occasionally, too, the vengeance of a mysterious god worshipped by males in their private mysteries is invoked, to deter women from committing adultery, as with whom some represent the god entering the assembled crowd by night, seizes a suspected woman, and scourges her (Letourneau, 159).

It should be noted that the frequent appreciation of the chastity of unmarried women entertained by many savages, while connected with the idea that they are the property of their guardians or prospective husbands, may also be due to respect for sexual tabu. With some peoples, unchastity is considered absolutely disgraceful, and both parties are punished; while in Loango it is held to bring ruin on the country, and even on the souls of the lord and those his attendants (de Bossange, 471-472).

ADULTERY (Buddhist)—The last of the five Precepts binding on an individual is that of not committing adultery, particularly that of adultery in respect of the wife of a living husband (Anguttara, 3, 212). In a very ancient paraphrase of these Precepts in verse (Sutta Nipata, 393-398), this one is expressed as follows: ‘Let the wise man avoid unchastity as if it were a pit of live coals. Should he be unable to becelate, let him not offend with regard to the wife of another.’ This is evidence not so much of Buddhist ethics as of the general standard of ethics in the 6th cent. B.C., in Kosala and Magadha. In the Buddhist Canon Law we find a regulation to be followed by members of the Order, when on the roads for a long time, to prevent the possibility of suspicion or slander in this respect (Pācittiya, 43, translated in Vinaya Texts, i. 41). An adulterer taken in the act might be wounded or slain on the spot. This explains the implication of the words used in Sutta Nipata, 2, 188. But adultery was also an offence against the State, and an offender could be arrested by the police, and brought up for trial and judgment (Commentary on Dhammapada, 300). In such texts as those of the law administered in Buddhist countries as we have so far been made access to Sibi, to us, the view taken of adultery is based on these ancient customs. So, for instance, of the Sinhalese, Pana-

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ADULTERY (Egyptian).—That adultery with a married woman was looked upon as a sin in Egypt is shown by the Negative Confession (part of ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead, a chapter that has not yet been found earlier than the 18th Dyn.). Here, in the 19th clause, we read, ‘I have not defiled the wife of another,’ (m. ‘the wife of another’s husband’). That it was also against the law is implied by a text of the reign of Ramesses v. (c. 1150 B.C.) containing a long list of crimes charged against a shipmaster at Elephantine, amongst them being that of adultery with two women, each of whom is described as ‘mother of M. and wife of N.’ (Pleyte, Pap. de Turin, pl. ii.); Spiegelberg, ZA, 1891, 82). The didactic papyri warn against adultery as well as fornication. Pashketop says, ‘If thou desirest to prolong friendship in a house which thou enterest as a ship-master, as with whom soever thou enterest, avoid approaching the women; no place prospereth where that is done. . . . A thousand men have been destroyed to enjoy a short moment like a dream: one attaineth death in knowing it’ (Pries Pap. ix. 7-12; Gunn, Instruc-
tion of Ptahhotep, p. 49). This text is not later than the Middle Kingdom. Another, of the period of the Deltaic dynasties, charges the youth to remember that 'the woman whose husband is afar off (or possibly 'the woman whose husband has freed himself from her'), i.e. 'divorced her'), behold she adorns herself for them daily. If there is no witness with her, she standeth and spreadeth her net. O crime worthy of death if one listens!' (Pap. de Boulag. i. 16; Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt, 165). The story of Ubaaer turns on the infidelity of his wife with a peasant who is eventually handed over to a magic crocodile to devour, the woman being taken to the north side of the palace (evidently a place of public assembly) and burned, and her ashes cast into the river (Erman, Pap. Western, p. 1 ff.; Petrie, Tales, i. p. 97; Maspero, Contes Pop., p. 24). One of Herodotus' Egyptian tales is of King Pheron, who gathered his unfaithful wives into one town and destroyed all together by fire (Hdt. ii. 111). But it would not be safe to conclude that burning was ever the established penalty for adultery. In the New-Kingdom Story of the Two Brothers (Petrie, Tales, ii. p. 38; Maspero, p. 1), Bito, the younger brother, is solicited by the wife of the elder brother Amenophis by the Potiphar, with whom she now reproves her words, 'thou art as a mother unto me, and thy husband as a father.' Antp, when convinced of her guilt— which was doubled, since in her fear she had accused Bito to her husband, and was even induced to persuade him to kill Bito—slew her and cast her to the dogs. What the legal penalty for adultery was in real life, or by whom it was exacted, is not known. In two contracts of the time of the 25th Dyn., the earliest marriage contracts yet preserved, in Egypt, the husband declares, 'If I leave the woman N., whether desiring to leave her from dislike (?) or desiring another woman than her, apart from the great crime that is found in woman, I will restore to her the dowry, etc.' The implication is that the husband had at least no obligation to the wife if he had divorced her for adultery. These contracts were written at Thebes in 589 and 549 B.C., respectively. Later marriage contracts, those of the rarer Ptolemaic era, and the inferior contracts of Ptolemaic date, contain no definite reference to adultery (for all these see Griffith, Catalogue of the John Rylands Papyri, pp. 114 ff., 131 ff.); on the other hand, in the rarer Ptolemaic cases for marriage or adultery (see and Bito, Tebtunis Papyri, i. 449) adultery and all forms of conjugal infidelity are forbidden to both husband and wife. The penalty for the husband is the forfeiture of the dowry, but that for the wife is not specified; perhaps one may gather that she was left absolutely at her husband's mercy. The contracts of Roman date, all of which are written in Greek, prescribe a blameless life on both sides, but in less detail.

The subject of the very ancient Pyramid texts, as found in the pyramid of Unas (Onnos), after describing the divinity of the dead king and the continued activity of his bodily functions, ends strangely: 'Unas is a generator who carrieth off women from their husbands to any place that he willeth, when his heart moveth him.' This idea is hardly to be reconciled with a highly developed kingship invested in them. Even privileges such as the right to enjoy women were no more a matter of crime.

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ADULTERY (Greek).—In Athens, adultery (μορφία) on the part of the wife implied criminal intercourse with any man other than her husband. On the part of the husband it was, strictly speaking, criminal intercourse with the wife, sister, or mother of a fellow-citizen, or with his concubine, if she were a native Athenian (Dem. Aristoc. p. 537, § 53).

This strict interpretation was in the classical period widened so as to include offences committed against maidens and widows. One and all of these was treated as a violation of the sanctity of a binding obligation, but as an offence against the family. Hence the special severity with which the wife was treated as compared with the husband. Any act of misconduct on her side might introduce alien blood into the family and pollute the ancestry. Marital infidelity involved no such dangers to a man's own family, and was condoned by law, except in so far as it infringed the rights of other families. There are traces, however, which show that the best opinion condemned it (Isocrates, Nicocles, § 42; Aristot. Pol. 1336a 1; Plaut. Merc. 817 f., where the reference is to Greek and not Roman life).

1. Punishment of the man.—If the husband caught the offender f&pi;ρεταργων γονίδια (άδεν το δορυφόρον) (schol. in Aristoc. 10), he might kill him at once (Dem. Aristoc. § 53). That this law was no mere antiquated survival can be seen from Lysias, de coni. Eratosth. § 23 f., where an account is given of the case of a certain Eratosthenes by the injured husband Euphileutes, who, it should be noticed, is careful to secure the presence of witnesses to his act. The husband, however, might content himself with punishment short of death, e.g. &pi;δηλωσαν καὶ &ραφαΘωνους (Suid. s. v. &rho;αψαρίς καὶ &λακάδας; Schol. Aristoc. 1083, Plut. 168, Eccl. 729); or he might agree to accept a sum of money in compensation for the wrong done to him. He was allowed to keep the offender until satisfactory guarantees were given that the sum promised would be paid (Dem. 1 in N.; Lys. de coni. Eratost. § 25: ιεκρεν μι δεσμοτικας αλλα &ραφαρίνας &ραφαϊνας). If the alleged adulterer denied the offence, he might be put to death, or subjected to unjust detention (διεκομ&epsilon;ινα ή ομοια) before the Thesmophoros. Should he fail to prove his case, the Court directed his sureties to hand him over to the offended husband, who might inflict whatever chastisement he chose within the prescribed limits. The fact that a purse or dagger was not used (νυσ ουρανοθύρων, in N.; §§ 66). If the offender escaped, or had not been taken in the act, the husband or, in the case of maidens and widows, the guardian (τιπος) could bring an action for damages (αι&omicron;νυσας) before the Thesmophoros. It is doubtful if any one unconnected with the family could bring such an action. It is not known exactly what penalty was inflicted, but in all probability it was disfranchisement (άρωμα), either total or partial.

2. Punishment of the woman.—If misconduct was proved, the husband was required to repudiate his wife, under the penalty of himself suffering &rho;ωμα. She was excluded from public temples, and, if she refused compliance, could be expelled with impunity by any citizen. Such assailant might tear off her clothes and ornaments, but might not maim or kill her (in N. § 87; &epsilon;schin in Timarch. § 153). Heilodorus (Aithiop. i. 11) is mistaken in stating that an adulteress was punished by death.

Little is known of the practice of other Greek communities in dealing with adultery. That it was everywhere regarded as a grave crime is clear from Xen. Hiero. ii. 3, where it is stated that many cities allowed the adulterer to be killed with impunity. Zaleucus, the Locrian legislator, ordained the punishment of blinding (Ad. Var. Hist. xiii. 24. 5); at Cyme and in Pisidia the adulteress was paraded on an ass (Plut. Quaest. Gr. 2; Stob. Anth. xiv. 41); and at various other cities, e.g.
ADULTERY (Hindu) — The view which Hindus take of adultery is founded upon their conception of the nature of woman and marriage. The whole of Hindu literature is pervaded by the passion of the inconstancy of the female character, by complaints of woman's unbridled indulgence of passion, and by demands for the maintenance of a strict oversight upon her. The practice of polygamy, which has existed from ancient times in India by the side of monogamy, and the consequently slight esteem in which the Hindu woman has been held up to the present day, must necessarily have led to the occurrence of adultery, and to a lenient judgment being passed upon the fault. On the other hand, it should be noticed also, that even if not so frequently, an especially high value seems to be placed upon the wife who proves true to her husband (pativrata), and that the law threatens adultery with severe punishment.

As early as the oldest historical period, the Indian people, on the testimony of the Rigveda, are by custom shown, that this virtue sometimes represented, in a condition of patriarchal simplicity and of austere moral habit. The word ‘adultery’ is unknown to the Veda. But numerous indications point to the fact that the highly developed culture did not fail to produce its ordinary consequences in corruption of character and moral laxity. Women who betray their husbands (patirival) are mentioned by way of comparison in Rigv. iv. 5. 5: ‘Evil-doers ... who walk in evil ways, like women who betray their husbands, shall be consumed by Agni.’ In verse 4 of the didactic poem Rigv. x. 34, it is said that ‘others lay hands on the wife of the man who abandons himself to the disciple. If from these passages we may infer on the one hand a censure upon the transgression of the marriage vow, on the other hand a matrimonial infidelity is spoken of as something in itself intolerable and of daily occurrence. To this effect are the numerous stories which relate the intrigues of the gods with married women, e.g. of Indra with the wife of Vivasvat. Rigv. i. 62. or the story combined with Satyāyana-Brahma by Sāyana in I.c.; Sādhanā-Br. i. 1. 16; Mātrayānīsūhāti i. 5. 5, with Apāla Atreyī (Rigv. viii. 91, and Sāty. Br. in i.c.), and with Athāya, the wife of Gautama (Satap. Br. i. 19-20); of the Asvin with Sukanyā, the wife of Chyavana (Satap. Br. iv. 1. 5), etc. The conduct of the gods is not here made a matter of reproach; and as little in other passages is adultery regarded from the ethical standpoint. It is because the Brahman is in possession of the secret whereby he can by his curse inflict harm, that therefor men must refrain from illicit intercourse with the wife of a Brahman (Satap. Br. xiv. 9. 4; Byhadār. vi. 4. 12; Parat. Gṛh. Sūt. i. 11. 6). Adultery is mentioned in a similar connexion in the Athāvavyākṣa, viz. in the magical spells and imprecations by which, for example, wives soothe the jealousy of their husbands, or keep their rivals at a distance, or by which the husband seeks to win back his unfaithful wife (I. i. 18; vii. 77).

The following passages throw a light that is altogether unfavourable on the ethical conditions of the Vedic period: —

In the Varṇāpaṇḍita the wife of the sacrificer is required by the law to renounce her paramour. * Who cares whether the wife is unchaste (paripūrṇa) or not? * In Tā. v. 8. 8. a special penance is appointed for the man who for the first time has performed the sacred gṛhyagnihotra, not again to intercourse with a rāmd (the wife of a Śūdrā) for he who has performed it for the second time must abstain henceforth from intercourse with the wife of another man. Such conditions, comparable with betrothal, must have had an influence on the purity of the race, and have rendered illusory all the detailed pedigrees which were essential for ascertainment of other and ritual purposes. That men were not ignorant of the actual unirreligiosity of the lists of ancestors is shown by Nidāna-sūtra, iii. 8: ‘Inconstant are the women who have a husband ever (as father) I shall call myself the son both gods and women as witnesses, his son I shall be; and those whom I shall call myself the son as (my) sons, they will be called the son of me and woman ever was of course made in ancient times to provide against this ignorance by strict oversight of the woman; for the begetting of a son of the body (ejaculation), even in the Rigveda as necessary for the preservation of the race. A proof of this is afforded by an ancient ritual quoted in Vānaprastha, xiii. 7, and Baudhāyana, i. 3. 34, which is taken from a dialogue between Aupajāpati, a teacher of the white Yajurveda, and the mythical king Janaka. ‘Now I am jealous for my wife, O Janaka, though I was not before; for in Yama's house the son is awarded to him who begat him. The beggar leads the son after his death into the dwelling-place of Yama. Therefore they protect their wives carefully, who dread the seed of strangers. Watch jealously this propagation of (your) race, for if no strange seed fall on your field, and in other world, the son belongs to him who begat him; it is in vain that the husband, or the (nominal) father accomplishes this perpetuation of his race.’

A contrast between an earlier period of laxity and a latter of austeres morals can hardly be derived from these passages quoted. Even when in later times a strict enunciation of the law, the Smṛitis legal regulations were formulated with regard to adultery (striśāgārākṣa), polygamy and prostitution continued to exist, and the frequent mention of the son ‘born secretly,’ who may be heir to his mother's husband, though he is her illegitimate son by some other man, does not testify to a high regard for the marriage vow. A change of view was effected in course of time only so far as under the increasing influence of priesthood the enumerations adultery was seen to involve danger to the caste system established by the Brāhmaṇas, and an attempt was made to obviate this by the threat of severe punishments. It is essentially from the standpoint of caste distinctions that adultery is condemned in the Smṛitis. Whatever woman betrays her husband is expelled from her household, and her descent, the king shall cause to be born in pieces by dogs in an open place. The paramour shall be roasted on an iron bed; brushwood shall be thrown upon the fire; there shall the evil-doer be consumed. In the Yajurveda: ‘Whoever being his own (in castle) has sexual intercourse with a woman higher (in caste) deserves death. But the woman, who has an unlawful husband, shall be (the king) cause to be born in pieces by dogs.'

* Kena charita, ‘with whom do you go?’ Śat. ii. 3. 20; cf. Kāt. v. 6. 6-10.

** Yājñavalkya in Śat. i. 3. 31.

† N. dāsī śatrubhūta 'svarūpya striśāgāraṇam upagat.

Rigv. iii. 22, vii. 4.

‡ Sāvitar in Nidāna-sūtra.

| Nāthaḥpaya, properly ‘sete herself up above’; according to the commentators, nāthapariggadana (Nāyāka), puruṣottarpopamana (Kulīka) receives her husband in intercourse with another man. | Ḍh. viii. 3711.

** Yājñāvākṣa in Śat. i. 3. 31.

† Šatapatāika in Śat. x. 27, 8; G. t. 32. 14; N. dāsī śatrubhūta 'svarūpya striśāgāraṇam upagat.

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By the side of these savage penalties the punishments assigned in the following verses of the Agni-P, in explanation of adultery seem altogether ludicrous: 'The woman misled by a man besides shall be allowed to eat only sufficient to sustain life; the woman misled by a man of a higher caste shall have his head shaved. A Brahman for intercourse with a Vyādi woman, a Kāstrasī for intercourse with a woman of a lower caste, a Kāstrasī or a Vyādi for the first offence of intercourse in the Bādhyasutrā, the king begs his wife, whom he loves, and the minister with whom she has had guilty intercourse, not to sin again, and forgives them. Another king, who has been betrayed by his wife and who, with all the sin which the messages from whom she has sent to her during the campaign gives orders for the guilty parties to be beheaded. The future Buddha, however, obtains their pardon by pointing out to the king that the men were led astray by the queen, and that she has only followed her nature, since women are instable in the indulgence of their passions."

According to the traditional accounts of the indigenous customary law of Ceylon, open punishment for adultery was usual only when the wives of the king were involved. In other cases the husband was at liberty, if he had caught the seducer in the act, to beat, wound, or even kill him. If the husband laid the charge of adultery on the ground of adultery, the accused, in the absence of proof, was to be dismissed with reproach and warnings; but if convicted, to be condemned to light bodily punishment, with imprisonment and fine."

The legal principles, which are in force in Burma, and which are traceable to Hindu law but little modified by Buddhism, do not in general recognize the severe penalties threatened in the Brahmans law-books. Members of the lower castes guilty of adultery with a Brahman woman are to be punished with 100 blows of a stick, but with 1000 blows in case of intercourse with a Kāstrasī. More stern punishments, however, such as burning alive, may be inflicted. In other cases fines suffice for expiation, the amount depending on the caste of the parties concerned. Should the offender, however, be unable to pay, he is reduced to slavery. The seducer must further apologize, and give his promise not to repeat the offence. Should he break his promise, he is executed, if a Kāstrasī, from whom he has sent; if a Brahman, he is executed from his caste, and reduced to the condition of a Ādānā."

According to another passage of the

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* Manu, vii. 374-378.  
† Nārada, xii. 90.  
†† Jātaka, ii. 154.  
†† Viṣṇu, v. 12.  
††† Pār. x. 16.  
‡‡ Hār. ili. 18.  
‡‡‡ Viṣṇu, xxii. 58; Vaisāgī, xx. 8, 85; Yājñavālīka, i. 70; Nārada, xii. 91.  
††† Nārada, xii. 62-68.  
‡‡ e.g. Kālaśāsālīgāda, 61.  
‡‡‡ Phal. iii. 16.  

** Manu, vii. 374-378.  
† Nārada, xii. 90.  
†† Jātaka, ii. 154.  
†† Viṣṇu, v. 12.  
††† Pār. x. 16.  
‡‡ Hār. ili. 18.  
‡‡‡ Viṣṇu, xxii. 58; Vaisāgī, xx. 8, 85; Yājñavālīka, i. 70; Nārada, xii. 91.  
††† Nārada, xii. 62-68.  
‡‡ e.g. Kālaśāsālīgāda, 61.  
‡‡‡ Phal. iii. 16.  

** Cullapadumājtā.  
† Pabb.  
†† Alāsikājītā, 119.  
††† Ghaṭājītā, 355, and similarly Suggājītā, 282.  
‡‡‡ Vācchāhākārā vāpīmo; cf. Dhammakāsutta, Sutta Nipātā, 96.  
‡‡‡ Nīṭī-Nīḍhāntasī, Intro. p. xxix f.  
** Menā Kṣṇy, vi. 30.  
†† Jā. vl. 8.  

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** Menā Kṣṇy, vi. 30.  
†† Jā. vl. 8.
ADULTERY (Jewish) — The substitution of monogamy for polygamy made no change in the Jewish law on adultery. From the time of the Babylonian Exile, monogamy became the prevalent custom in Jewish life. But the law continued to regard as adultery only the intercourse of a married woman with any man other than her husband. Thus a married man was not regarded as guilty of adultery unless he had intercourse with a married woman other than his wife. For in theory he married his wife, and an unmarried woman with whom he had intercourse might become his wife. In fact, according to the Rabbinic law, such intercourse might be construed into a legal marriage. But concubinage was severely condemned (Leviticus Rabba, ch. xxv.). Yet the difference between the legal position of the male and the female adulterer (using the term in its now current sense) was considerably affected by the abolition of the death penalty or concurrence or inflict capital punishment. This occurred, according to the Jewish sources (Jerus. Sanh. 18a, 24b; Bab. Sanh. 41a), forty years before the destruction of the Temple (i.e. in the year A.D. 30); but whether, or when, it was finally valid, and the social position of women has undergone little change. It is true that even by the Hindu of to-day the chaste wife who remains loyal to her husband is looked upon as the incarnation of Laksmi, the goddess of wealth and good fortune; but how little confidence the Hindus place in the faithfulness of their wives is shown by the close watch to which now, as formerly, they are subjected. The fear of punishment is regarded at the present time also as the best security for the observance of the law. Punishment is thought too brutal for unfaithfulness, and of this fact the women are well aware. I have myself seen instances, especially in the North-West Provinces, where a husband has cut off the nose of his wife, not even upon actual proof, but upon mere suspicion. This mutilation of the face is often repaid by other horrible forms of mutilation are resorted to, ... The woman, robbed of her fair looks, is ruthlessly cast out.” If even this picture is overdrawn, yet other travellers confirm the fact that sternest jurisdiction is sometimes exercised by the husband. In Nepal the aggrieved husband has the right openly to cut down the sederer when found guilty; and here, as well as among certain Chittagong Hill Tribes, a wife whom infidelity has betrayed into guilt is deprived of nose and ears.

Divorce on the ground of adultery is allowed, according to the Madras Census Report for 1891. The Census Report, also, of the North-West Provinces and Oudh for 1901 mentions that the lower as well as the higher castes permit the divorce of the wife for unfaithfulness. If, however, the suspicion of divorce are rare, the cause is to be found less in a lofty morality than in the endeavour of the Hindus to withdraw their family life as much as possible from publicity.


ADULTERY (Jewish) — The substitution of monogamy for polygamy made no change in the Jewish law on adultery. From the time of the Babylonian Exile, monogamy became the prevalent custom in Jewish life. But the law continued to regard as adultery only the intercourse of a married woman with any man other than her husband. Thus a married man was not regarded as guilty of adultery unless he had intercourse with a married woman other than his wife. For in theory he married his wife, and an unmarried woman with whom he had intercourse...
ADULTERY (Muslim). Not all a man’s other virtues would save him from Gehenna if he committed adultery (Sofa, 4b). Even lustful desire was condemned as a moral offence (Eben ha-Ezer, § 21; cf. Mt 5:27-28). Perhaps the most remarkable testimony to the Jewish detestation of the crime is to be found in the Talmud (Sabb, 14b). In the year A.D. 135, at the crisis of the disastrous revolt against Hadrian, a meeting was held at Lydda. The assembly was attended by several famous Rabbits (including Akiya), and the question was discussed as to the extent of conformity with Roman demands which might justifiably be made rather than face the alternative of death. It was decided that every Jew must surrender his life rather than commit any of the three offences, idolatry, murder, or gilul yaredot (sinning against humanity). This latter phrase includes both adultery and incest (Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, English tr., ii. ch. xvi.).

**LITERATURE.** — Z. Frankel, *Grundriss des Mosaisch-Talmudischen Eherechts* (Breisgau, 1890); D. W. Amram, *Jewish Law and Jewish Ethics* (1909), and the same author’s art. ‘Adultery’ in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I.

I. ABBREAMS.

ADULTERY (Muslim).—In the year 4 of the Hijra, the Prophet was accompanied on one of his missions by his son-in-law, al-Husayn. One day, at the removal from the camp towards night, she remained behind and reached Muhammad’s caravan only on the following morning, in the company of a man. This circumstance caused great scandal. Every one of the Prophet at first thought her an adulteress. Afterwards, however, it was revealed to him that she had been falsely accused, and he was again reconciled to her. The verses of the Qur’an that have reference to this occurrence, namely, Surah al-Hijr, 19, except by the te tesimonium of the following words: ‘As for the whore and the whoremonger, scourge each of them with a hundred stripes, and do not let pity for them take hold of you in Allah’s religion. . . . But as for those who cast (imputations) on chaste women and who do not bring four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes, and do not receive any testimony of theirs for ever’ (cf. Th. Nödeke, *Gesch. des Korans*, p. 156; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 65 E.; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, p. 341; *The Koran*, Sale’s Eng. tr., ed. 1829, ii. 180).

In Islam, therefore, according to these verses of the Qur’an, incontinence should be punished with one hundred stripes. Originally, the Prophet had commanded that those who had been found guilty of this misdemeanour should be put to death by stoning—a punishment which he had probably derived from Judaism. In the Muslim tradition, various instances are mentioned on which this punishment is said to have been inflicted at Muhammad’s command (cf. A. N. Matthews, * Mishkát-ul-Madídik*, ii. 182-186, Calcutta, 1810; I. Goldziher, ‘Mohammedanisches Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit’ (Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, 1891). Muhammad may thus have thought that the Prophet had designately mitigated the punishment attached to adultery out of affection for ‘Aisha. After Muhammad’s death, a difference of opinion arose amongst the faithful with respect to this point. Many thought that the punishment of stoning to death was abrogated by the verses of Qur’an xxiv. 1-5. But the second Khalif, ‘Umar, set his face very strongly against this view. According to him, adultery in Islam should be punished with stoning. Thus the Prophet ordained it, he said, ‘and thus have we acted on his command. Some people say that they find no injunction to this effect in Allah’s book; but in the days of Muhammad we were accustomed in the recitation of the Qur’an to recite also a verse in which the punishment of stoning was undoubtedly denounced against the violator of the marriage bond.’ Indeed, according to Muslim tradition, such a verse is said to have formed originally a part of the thirty-third Surah (cf. Nödeke, op. cit. p. 183).

In the Muslim law-books, both punishments, stoning as well as scourging, are found threatened against the offence of fornication (Arab. zin'). By this offence, the Muslim jurists understand not only adultery, but any sexual intercourse between two persons who do not stand to one another in the relation of husband and wife or master and slave. For those who are not yet married, if they render themselves guilty of this offence, scourging is thought sufficient; all others must in that case be put to death by stoning. An individual belonging to the latter group of persons is in Arabic called muhàsan. The original signification of this word is ‘well-guarded,’ but in Arabic it came to be employed metaphorically to signify a married woman, and later a married person in general (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. in Göttingen*, 1893, No. 11, p. 447). According to the jurists, however, a person remains muhàsan, even though his marriage may have been dissolved at a later period. If he thereafter commits zin', he is stoned. In Islam, stoning is not thus a punishment exclusively of adultery, as was often incorrectly supposed (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Review of E. Sachau’s Mohammedanisches Recht in ZDMG* lxxi. 161 ff.).

On various matters debated, for example, the question whether those who are to be stoned must also be scourged, etc., many go into different scholastic minutiae. The evidence of zin', however, according to Qur’an xxiv. 1-5, cannot be presented unless by a man and four women, among which are those who are able to confirm the truth of the accusation by details. In fact, a condemnation for zin' is thereby rendered impossible, unless the guilty person makes a confession, and thus becomes willingly subjected to the punishment.

When a man takes his wife in the act of adultery, he may put her to death at once, along with her paramour. If he suspects her of adultery, he is not required to bring forward any witnesses. The law permits him, to take oath, and on his being found guilty or unfaithful to him. When, however, the wife on her part swears under oath that she is innocent, she is not punished. Nevertheless, the marriage is then dissolved; and if the wife brings a child into the world, the husband, Muhammad, is ordered to let her keep it. The swearing of this oath is in Arabic called idan. Cf. Qur’an xxiv. 6-9: ‘They accuse their wives (of adultery) and shall have no witnesses (thereof) besides themselves, the testimony which shall be required of one of them (shall be) that he swear four times by God that he spake the truth and the fifth time (that he) imprecate the curse of God on him if he be a liar. And it shall avert the punishment (from the wife) if she swear four times by God that he is a liar and the fifth time (that he) imprecate the wrath of God on her if he spake the truth.’

Slaves are not stoned for zin', but only punished with fifty stripes.


**ADULTERY (Christian).** — Teaching of Jesus and the Apostles. — It is sometimes said that the Law of Moses deals only with outward actions, while the Sermon on the Mount teaches us to think of the inward disposition, and the motives that prompt to action. The Decalogue, it is said, like other ancient codes of laws, forbids...
the sinful act by which the marriage bond is violated, but takes no account of the character or disposition. Jesus, on the other hand, shows us that the inward disposition which renders the sinful act impossible is the one thing of importance in the sight of God. A moment's consideration will convince us that, whatever element of truth there may be in this statement, it cannot be taken as a complete and satisfactory account of our Lord's comment on the Seventh Commandment (Mt 5:27-28), inasmuch as it is simply untrue to say that the Decalogue takes no account of inward disposition or self-knowledge, as it shall not occur to thy neighbour's wife, goes behind the outward act, and condemns the sinful desire which leads to adultery. It is true, nevertheless, that in this passage in the Sermon on the Mount our Lord goes beyond the teaching of the Decalogue, and gives a new and deeper meaning to the command, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'; that He does not merely reflect to men's minds the teaching of the Tenth Commandment, which had been overlooked or forgotten in the Jewish schools, but that He lays down a principle of conduct which is to govern the whole of life. In the Kingdom of heaven, from which obedience to the letter of the command will follow as a matter of course. The Tenth Commandment forbids the sinful desire, mainly because it tends to circumstances which will injure one's neighbour; it is a safeguard against injury, and the thought of the injury done to one's neighbour is the prominent thought. In the passage in the Sermon on the Mount, on the other hand, our thoughts are centred on the moral injury to the man himself. 'If thy right eye cause thee to stumble, pluck it out, and cast it from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body be cast into hell.' The indulgence in sinful thoughts and desires is not a minor offence tending to the injury of others, but is already the soul-destroying sin of adultery committed in the man's own heart.

It is now easy to understand why it is that, while throughout the NT sins of the flesh are unsparingly denounced, and we have no detailed classifications of such sins; and very little account is taken of the various distinctions—as between adultery, fornication, *stuprum*, etc. etc.—which are so often treated of at unending length in writings on these subjects. The word used most frequently in the NT for such sins is *μοιχεία* (or *μοιχεύει*), and to *μοιχαλ φρεναρια* (Mt. 5:32). The word *μοιχεία* is often treated to include all those 'lusts of the flesh which war against the soul' (1 P 4:4); and but little account is taken of the distinction between fornication and what we naturally regard as the graver offence of *μοιχεία*, or adultery proper, which involves the violation of the marriage bond. Some writers in modern times have found a difficulty in our Lord's words which forbid the dissolution of the marriage bond—*μοιχαλ φρεναρια* (Mt. 5:32), *μοιχαλ φρεναρια* (1 P 4:4). They were made a not very successful attempt to show that the word *φρεναρια* in these passages must refer to some offence committed before marriage, rendering the marriage itself null and void ab initio. It is a consequence of this that such an interpretation was not thought of by the writers of the first four centuries, and that no difficulty was found in recognizing *φρεναρια* as a general term, including in itself all sins of the flesh, and in this particular instance applying to adultery.

The passage in 1 Th 4, in which St. Paul deals directly with the sin of adultery, may be placed side by side with these passages from Mt, as affording an interesting illustration of the same principle. The Apostle does not ignore our duty towards our neighbour. Adultery is sinful because it is a kind of theft (τοις *μοιχαλ φρεναρια και πλεκεται ετω το πρόγνωσμα του ἄδελφου αὐτοῦ*). But he seems to dwell on this aspect of the matter only in passing, while his exhortation is occupied with the need for purity and sanctification, and the danger of that fornication (*τοις *μοιχαλ φρεναρια*—note the use of the article) which was so common a feature in the life of the Greco-Roman world. St. Paul, no doubt, would have been quite ready to emphasize the danger of adultery, as it seemed to be a grievous or irreparable wrong, a graver offence than simple fornication, just as he recognized fully the gravity of the case of incest in Corinthians (1 Co 5); but, in general, the object of the gospels was not primarily to develop a system of casuistry, but to call men to newness of life, and to produce a character which should make sin in all shapes and forms impossible. For the Christian, therefore, the Seventh Commandment is, before everything else, a law of chastity, and the sin of adultery includes every kind of unchasteness required by the principle. Marriage is, first of all, a spiritual union between those who are 'heirs together of the grace of life' (1 P 3); and all other objects must be considered as subordinate to the promotion of that social life which is absolutely necessary to man's well-being.

2. Ecclesiastical discipline. — The case of the incestuous Corinthian (1 Co 5) gives us our first example of the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline by a Christian community; and the Epistles to the Corinthians make it plain that, while the Christian Church from the very beginning was accustomed to exercise a stern discipline over the lives and conduct of its members, the idea that the offence of adultery necessarily involved final and irrevocable exclusion from the Church was unknown in the days of the Apostles.

Tertullian's statement, therefore, that from the beginning great sins of the flesh were visited with final exclusion from the Church, must be regarded as an exaggeration, so far as the Apostolic age is concerned. Indeed, all the evidence goes to show that we have here rather the ideal picture of the discipline of the primitive age, as conceived by the enthusiastic Montanists, than a sober statement of fact. *

Towards the close of the 2nd. cent. there seems to be no doubt that the discipline in the Churches of Africa and Italy, with which Tertullian was most familiar, * This sober judgment, if the evidence available appears to show that there was no uniform or clearly defined system of discipline established throughout the whole of Christendom. Irenaeus (c. Hær. l. 13) tells us of certain women in the Church of Lyons who had been found guilty of adultery, and subjected to penance. As he speaks of only one of these as not being finally restored to communion, it may be inferred that the others had been received back; hence we may conclude that the system of discipline in the Gallic Church was somewhat less strict than that which prevailed in Italy or Africa. During the whole of the sub-Apostolic age, and down, at all events, to the end of the 2nd. cent., the high standard of morality which we find in the Apostolic age was well maintained throughout Christian communities. If any Christian fell away to vicious or immoral courses, he would in all cases be excluded from the Church and relapse to heathenism. Hence cases of grave offences calling for ecclesiastical censure would be of rare occurrence, and the conditions required for the establishment of a well-defined system of penitential discipline would not arise.

With the expansion of the Church and also, perhaps, as a consequence of the fading away of the early enthusiasm, it became essential that the Church was to maintain her position and carry on her work in the world, to relax somewhat the extreme severity of discipline, to make provision for the restoration of penitent sinners, and, at the same time, to make the Church's rules on such matters clear and distinct. *


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* St. Paul uses *πορνεία* and derivatives about eighteen times: *πορνεία* does not occur, while *μοιχεία* (and derivatives) occurs only five times in his Epistles, and two of these instances are quotations from the Decalogue, viz. Ro 2:21, 19.
ADULTERY (Christian) 133

Pope Callixtus I. (c. 220) was probably neither the monster of Iniquity depicted by his biographers, nor a saint as some have supposed, but a man who saw clearly what was required by the circumstances of the time. His famous edict: "Ego st maculosa functa penisitentiis dirigitur, although, however, provoked a stormy controversy, and was assailed with much vigour and bitterness by Tertullian in his treatise de Pudicitia, etc. But, in the event, the dispute was settled for once and for ever, and the penalties of the ancient Church, in the form of social and religious ostracism, were prolonged indefinitely. The death penalty for adultery was, however, abolished, and the Lex Julia restored with certain modifications. By this legislation the guilty wife, if not received back by her husband within two years, was condemned to be shut up for life in a convent.

Whatever we may think of the influence of Christianity upon the civil law of the older Empire, we can have no doubt that its influence upon the laws of the new nations that overran the Provinces of the Empire in the 5th and following centuries was wholly, because made,” barbarous severities of the old national laws against adultery were mitigated. Divorce, pecuniary fines and—for guilty women—confession in convents gradually took the place of the death sentence or the infliction of cruel mutilations.

The Code of Theodoric decreed death for adultery. A married man who seduced a virgin was mulcted in double part of his property as damages. The unmarried seducer was bound to marry his victim and endow her with a fifth of his estate. In the Burgundian code the adulterer was punished with death, and the adulteress, if not put to death, was treated as an infamous person. By the Visigothic code the adulteresses and their paramours were given up to the flames, or were to be punished with death or otherwise—according to his free pleasure. Flogging, mutilation, and other barbarous punishments were in force amongst the Danes and Saxons. In England the death penalty was not formally abolished until the reign of Canute.

There was, indeed, one custom of the Northern nations which yielded very slowly, and only after many conflicts, to the influence of Christian teaching. In general the tone of morality—especially in all that relates to married life—amongst those nations was very high, much higher than in the Roman world which they conquered. Monogamy was the rule, and conjugal fidelity was sternly enforced. An exception, however, was made in the case of princes, who, as a mark of dignity, were allowed to maintain a plurality of wives or concubines. It is perhaps not wonderful that after their conversion these rude chiefs found it hard to accept the Christian view, and to regard this practice as sinful adultery, or that zealous Christian teachers should have often found the task of contending against this practice beset with much difficulty and danger.

4. Divorce. The adultery of the wife has at all times been regarded as a sufficient ground for divorce; but differences of opinion have prevailed as to whether the same rule applies to the case of adultery committed by the husband. By the civil law of England, a wife cannot obtain a decree of divorce on the sole ground that her husband’s adultery: there must be other circumstances, as, e.g., cruelty or neglect. In Scotland, on the other hand, the adultery of either partner is itself a sufficient ground for divorce. The subject of divorce will be more fully treated in a separate article. For the present it may be sufficient to note that in the Roman Catholic Church, and by the canons of the English Church, divorced persons, whether innocent or guilty, are not allowed to marry again during the lifetime of their partner. Remarriage is permitted in the Greek Church and in most Reformed Churches.


ADULTERY (Parsee).—The ancient Iranians attached much importance to marriage, and hence they looked upon adultery with horror. In the Gāthā Šūstavaitā (Yašna, liii. 7) there is a carefully worded warning against what Mills calls...
'sollicitations to vice,' etc. The female Yazata Ashi (Yasth, xvii. 57-60) inveighs bitterly against this vice. She says that it is the worst deed that men and tyrants do,' \textit{et c.} The female Yazata Ashi (Yasht, xvii. 57-60) inveighs bitterly against this vice. She says that it is the worst deed that men and tyrants do,' etc. The female Yazata Ashi (Yasht, xvii. 57-60) inveighs bitterly against this vice. She says that it is the worst deed that men and tyrants do,' etc. And the evil influence of vicious women, whose lustful, wavering mind is like a cloud, which changes the direction of its motion according to the direction of the wind (Yasna, ix. 32). The Asmias Spenta Asha Faishteti ('Best Righteousness') is similarly appealed to (Yasth, iii. 9). An adulterer who was an apostate of Gao, the good spirit of the earth or the animal creation, the idea being that such a person comes in the way of the progress of the world (Vendidad, xxi. 1). The progress of the world in the different spheres of activity, physical and mental, acts against these evil-doers (ib. xxii. 17). Eredaf Fedri is the name of a good, pious maiden who is considered as a prototype of maidenly virtue, and whose guardian spirit is invoked to withstand the temptations of Jahi, the personification of adultery (Yasna, xvi. 139). In the Pahlavi Bundahishh (ch. iii.) this Jahi (Pahlavi Jēhē) is said to be an accomplice of Ahuramazd and the archangels. In the Pahlavi Duistān-i-Dēnig (71st question) adultery is spoken of as one of the most heinous sins. The mother of Zohak is said to be the first woman in the world who committed this offence. It is described as a sin which disturbs all lineage, which puts an end to all self-control and to the legitimate authority of a husband. It is more heinous than theft or spoliation (77th question). It is a crime which leads at times to murder, because the woman sometimes brings about abortion. There is another way in which adultery leads to murder. It is noted in the account of pregnancy** that sexual intercourse during pregnancy is prohibited, because it is understood that it leads to injury to the life of the child in the womb. Now, a woman who yields to lust and gives herself up to an adulterous life is likely to commit adultery even in pregnancy. Such intercourse may cause the loss of the life of the child in the womb.‡ Adultery is a canker in society in another way. When a married woman is seduced by an unmarried man, according to the injunction of the Vendidad he is bound to support the woman whom he has seduced and the children that may be born of the illicit intercourse. It is his duty to bring up his illegitimate children along with his legitimate children. But then the company of the illegitimate children is likely to spoil the good manners and morals of the legitimate children. And, on the other hand, if he does not bring up the illegitimate children properly, if he does not give them proper training, he is responsible for all the wrong acts and sins that the children may commit in their childhood or when they are grown up. The sin of adultery was too heinous to be fully atoned for. But what little atonement could be made for it was directed to be done by the following good acts (Duistān-i-Dēnig, lxxvii. 17-19): (a) The guilty person, especially the adulterer, must help, i.e. by money or otherwise, in bringing about the marriage of four poor couples. (b) He must assist with money poor children who are not cared for by others, and bring them up decently and educate them. (c) If he sees others in society leading a vicious life, he must do his best to retrieve them. (d) He must perform certain religious rites, like those of the Drāzhdah-Hōmāst. In the Virāf-Nāmak the adulterer is represented as punished by being thrown into a steaming brazen caldron (ch. ix.), the adulterers as gashing her own bosom and breasts (ch. xlii.). The adulterer who brings about abortion meets with worse punishment (ch. lixiv.). In all cases of adultery the Vendidad (xv. 18) requires that the person seducing a woman, whether married or unmarried, shall maintain her and the children that may be born of her until they attain the age of eighteen years. If an adulterous woman was considered a great sin (Vend. xv. 11-14). Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. ADULTERY (Roman).—I. Under the Republic.—The word adulterium is a noun-derivative of adulterare, which is probably ad alterum (se convertere). The offence on the part of the wife is sexual intercourse with any man other than her lawful husband. On the part of the husband it has a narrow meaning, and is confined to misconduct with married women, misconduct with concubines, or concubinearies, and adultery with married women being designated by the general term stuprum. The unequal treatment of husband and wife is bluntly expressed by Cato in Aul. Gell. x. 23: 'In adulterio uxorem tuam si prehendisesses, sine iudice impune nocere: ilia te si adulteras . . . digito non audiunt contingere, neque ius est.' From this passage it is clear that the old right of self-help survived into the times of the Republic. There is no evidence, however, that the adulterer could be killed as well as the woman, if taken in the act. Originally the offence was dealt with not by the State (except in cases where it passed all bounds, and became, like open immorality, a matter for the police jurisdiction of the censors and ediles), but by the iudicium domesticum, or family council, in which near relatives took part, with the head of the family as president in virtue of his patria potestas. This council could inflict what punishment it chose (Dionys. li. 25; Suet. Tib. § 35. Cf. Plin. HN xiv. 13 ff. * matronam a suis iudicia mori comatam,* i.e. the man where the charge is brought is in temporary seclusion). If a wife was divorced on the ground of adultery, it was left to a civil court to decide what part of her dowry she should retain. Such a trial was termed a iudicium de moribus. The procedure, however, is known to us, and cannot be recovered with any certainty from the evidence of the later lawyers, who are our only authorities. 2. Under the Empire: The Lex Julia.—By the end of the Republic, owing, among other causes, to the absence of effective legislation, immorality became so rife at Rome that the Government became alarmed at the prospect of a shrinkage in the population of Italy. In consequence of this, Augustus in 736/18 carried through the measure known (though the title is doubtful) as the Lex Julia de adulteris (the new law was enacted as the Lex Julia de adulteriis, veteri sui praebente, Suet. Aug. § 34). This, as its opening clause shows ('ne quis posthac stuprum adulteriumus facito scienis dolo malo'), was directed against immorality in general as well as against adultery. But now for the first time Roman law recognized adultery as an act done in contravention of the law of the State, and allowed others than the father or husband of the adulterer to prosecute. For this purpose a new court (quaeatio perpetua) was established (Dio, liv. 30). The fragments of the law that survive will be found in Digest, Lib. 50, tit. Juris Antiqui, p. 114. Adultery on the part of wife or concubine was declared punishable by the law, while marital misconduct was taken to include offences knowingly (dolo malo) committed against...
ADULTERY (Semitic). The treatment of infidelity among the Semites can be illustrated by groups of Semitic evidence, extending from the codified legislation of Hammurabi, king of Babylonia (c. 2250), to the unwritten, though no less authoritative, tribal laws of the present day. So far as women are concerned—and, as elsewhere, the infidelity of the man was only tardily recognized as blameworthy—it must be understood that the offence implies a particular type of marriage, since it is obvious that where the woman has liberty of choice, does not leave her own kin, and may receive her suitors when or as long as she will, adultery is out of the question. Such a union is entirely one of a personal character, and gives the man no legitimate offspring. But the prevailing type in the Semitic world is that wherein the woman follows the husband, who has paid a 'bride-price' (Arab. "sadr, or akhdar", i.e. her kin, whereby he has compensated them for the loss of her services, and has acquired the right of possessing sons who shall belong to his tribe. By this act the man has practically acquired the exclusive property-rights, and deprives the woman of the right of disposing of her own person. Further, it must be recognized that this does not imply that maternity always meant what it does to us. The evidence goes to show that the man is at first only the father of all the children of the woman he has taken; and he might transfer or dispose of her temporarily in a way that is quite repugnant to all ideas of chastity. At this stage, therefore, a distinction could be, and was, drawn between those cases authorized and those others wherein circumstances the term ‘adultery’ could be applied only to those acts of infidelity which were done without the husband's consent or knowledge. It required a great advance before any breaking of the union between the two could be regarded as a desecration.† See MARRIAGE.

In tracing the growing strictness of ideas of chastity in the Semitic world, it is to be observed that there was a gradual development of institutions Primarily, the case against a man are matters for him and for his kin or tribe to settle; adultery may thus be privately avenged, and it is not until society has taken many steps forward in government that the matter is taken out of private hands and referred to a judicial inquiry. There is a great social gap, therefore, between the parental authority of Judah in Gn 38, and the recognition that immorality is an offence to be punished by judges, in Job 31. It is undeniably to be noted that much in early Semitic life cannot be judged in the light of modern ideas, and that primitive usages which were hardly thought to be dishonourable (Gn 29, cf. Jg 19), for which parallels could easily be found—bespeak a lack of public spirit to the inferences of infidelity, which was recognized at all, could only have been the unauthorized infidelity referred to above. But a general advance in custom can be traced, and is peculiarly illustrated by three stories of the patriarchs: there is a distinct growth in morals in the account of Isaac's adventures at Gerar (Gn 26) as compared with the duplicate narrative of Abraham in Egypt (ch. 12), and these stories from the Jahwist or Juxean source are overshadowed by the Elohist or Ephraimitic story at Gen 26. The second type of the story of Gerar (ch. 20), where the iniquity of adultery is forcibly realized.

Under the ordinary type of marriage, known as the baal or marriage of subjection, the Semitic woman, if unmarried, is entirely under the authority of her father; if betrothed or married, of her husband. It is necessary, therefore, to observe that, if adultery is primarily an infringement of the husband's rights, seduction is no less a matter for the father of the unbetrothed virgin. According to the old Hebraic law (Ex 22), no man who was

* See Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabiā', pp. 79-90.
† Robertson Smith's researches are supplemented by Wellhausen (GGW, 1898), who has observed among the Arabs mistrust and jealousy spring less from love or ethical considerations than from ideas of property.
ADULTERY (Semitic)

The Babylonian code of Hammurabi implies a more advanced state of culture than the oldest Hebrew. The position of the married woman was secured by a contract which could specify the penalty for her infidelity and possibly vouched for her independence of thought. If the payment (according to the code) of $500 was made in the event of the husband's refusal, it was an apparent settlement of the dispute.

The following laws require notice:—The husband who is caught ravishing a betrothed virgin who is living in her father's house is put to death, while herself she goes free. If she was betrothed to his own son, a distinction is drawn upon whether the marriage had or had not been consummated. In the latter event, the man must pay half a mina of silver and give her personal property, and she is free to marry whom she will. In the former event, the man is strangled; the treatment of the girl is uncertain in the text. Drowning was the ordinary legal penalty, although, in cases where adultery was proved to be at hand, capital punishment was prescribed. In all ordinary cases the wife could take an oath and disavow her innocence, and was allowed to return (or was sent?) to her (father's) house; but if the evidence had been pointed at her on account of another, she and the offender are put to death. Modern custom permits the guilty pair, if caught, to be killed at once, or, at the sentence of the sheikhs, all the men take an equal share in the execution. The last point is important, since bloodshed according to primitive thought is a responsibility which all members of the community must share. The old form of exacting the death-penalty is parallel, as Robertson Smith has observed, to the ancient ritual of sacrifice. In both, every member of the kin should as far as possible participate in the act. The penalty of death-penalty may vary between strangling, impaling, burning, and—at the present-day—shooting.

Mere suspicion of adultery is not enough, and terrible consequences may result from unsupported denunciation, in which have occurred many cases in which the guilty are found in the act. The law in question belongs to a group which reflects that stage where moral ideas have become so advanced that the husband attaches importance to the chastity of his newly-married wife (the restrictions of Lv 21:14 apply only to the priests). The procedure (Dt 22:21) is detailed, and states that if the accusation of impurity brought against the bride is true, she is stoned to death by the 'men of the city'; if false, the man must pay a hundred shekels to the father, and is not permitted to divorce his wife.§ In Italy, intelligence to the former event the girl is treated as an adulteress, since from the time that she was betrothed she is regarded de facto as a married woman. The same code in its treatment of betrothed women makes a notorious distinction between the two. Should it be committed in the city, both are stoned; whereas, if it be in the open country, the woman goes free, since it is assumed that she cried for help and found no protector (Lv 21:14).§

The payment, 'according to the bride-price of virgins', which the man must make in the event of the father's refusal, is apparently an additional compensation.

The payments, '500 shekels', which the man must make in the event of the father's refusal, is apparently an additional compensation.

Religion of the Semites, pp. 385, 386 ff.

§ See further, Driver, ICC, "Deut." p. 255.

1 See further, Driver, ICC, "Deut." p. 255.

1 See the contract, Fincnas, The Old Testament (1903), p. 172.

It will be noticed that in Dt 22:24 the accusation of impurity is regarded as a distinct reflection upon the parents.
ADVAITA

The great advance upon primitive thought was the insistence upon the fact that adultery is as immoral in the husband as in the wife; previous to this the adulterer suffered only in so far as he had been the object of the injured husband’s revenge. Accordingly the Dvaita and related teaching mark a great step in ethics in denouncing adultery, and in their warning against the covetousness from which lust springs (cf. the development of the truth in Mt 5:28).

The peculiar character of Nature-worship and the native cults of Baal and Ashthoreth were direct incentives to impurity, and whatever may have influenced growth of refinement in this scattered field, it is evident that the purer conception of Jahweh among the Hebrew prophets went hand in hand with the refinement of moral ideas in Israel. The relation between worshipper and God was typified by the marriage-relations, and Jahweh was His people’s Baal even as the husband was the Baal of his wife. It was impossible not to perceive that intercourse with aliens tended inevitably to participation in foreign rites, and the symbolic use of such terms as ‘jealousy,’ ‘fornication,’ or ‘adultery’ becomes characteristic of the religious life of Israel, bound as it was to its own moral duality as that of the double husband. Hosea’s doctrine was thus in accordance with well-established belief, and lays stress upon the fact that, whatever may have been the customary attitude towards adultery in everyday life, Jahweh has always one’s own. He foresaketh His adulterous people, but was willing to receive them again and pay the betrothal price of ‘faithfulness.’


STANLEY A. COOK.

ADVAITA.—Advaita, derived from a privative and dualism, ‘duality’ or ‘dualism’ (from Skr. dvi = ‘two’), its philosophical applications means non-dualism, and is used to designate the fundamental principle of the Vedānta (see art. VEDANTA), which asserts that the only reality is brahma; that the dualism set up between self and the world, between spirit and matter, is in the nature of illusion, or of ignorance (avidya). The manifold world with its changing phenomena is unreal; the only reality is brahma, which is identified with atman or self.

The view which accepts as real both the Ego and the world and their distinction is advaita or dualism; that which denies this dualism is advaita.

It is important to note the negative form of this philosophic term. It would have been easy to find a positive term if the intention had been to assert dogmatically the oneness of all reality as a positive conclusion. The advaita does not positively assert this oneness; it simply denies the dualism which presents itself in our ordinary thinking. This distinction is not only of importance in defining the precise meaning of the advaita, but it also throws light on the process of development by which Indian philosophy arrived at this result.

Just as the ideal philosophy of Greece was preceded by steps to reach the basis of things along quite other lines, so the advaita solution of the Indian problem was the culmination of a long series of philosophic systems. These are generally described as the six darśanas, the six recognized systems.

The predominant interest in all of these was religious, not philosophic. The Nyāya taught its logic in order that man by the light of it might attain the state of kaivalya or liberation, through the favour of lākṣaṇa (God), whose existence can be demonstrated by inference. The Vaiśeṣika school sought to enlarge our means of knowledge by an elaborate classification of existence. The Sāṅkhya called in question these classifications, and reduced all existences to one, which it called prakṛti,
ADVTA

Of it is all real being (sat), all thought (chit), all joy (ananda). Hence the formula which defines brahman—sac-chid-ananda = being, thought, joy.

It is to be noted that the advaita does not deny the existence of matter, it simply regards it as per se unknowable, and therefore indescribable. We can know it only in the forms in which it is presented to our knowledge. The formula contains two elements, one constant and eternal, which is the true, the real; the other changing and transitory, which is the untrue, the unreal.

The precise meaning of mâyâ becomes clearer when regarded from this point of view. Mâyâ is illusion, but not illusion without a basis. This basis is not thought which is changing, but the indescribable, the unknowable substratum of phenomena. That this unknowable must exist is a necessity of thought. Some metaphysicians speak of it as if it were an illusion out and out, sent forth from within the bosom of thought itself; but this view is which is not necessitated by the teaching of the advaita as expounded above. Mâyâ can mean illusion out and out, but only so far as the phenomena which it affects are described by the formula which concerns us here.

The Advaitins are concerned only in maintaining that thought and being are inseparable; it is quite in harmony with this position to maintain that a substratum of phenomena, regarding which nothing is known, exists.

The name given to the complex whole, thought and being as reality, brahman, has been variously explained. (See art. Brahman.) The most satisfactory explanation is that which traces it to the rise of the term in the Rigveda to describe the elevating and inspiring power of prayer, resulting in an elevation of spirit which seems to lift the soul out of the consciousness of its individual separate existence. It is also described as the one indivisible subject, for the consciousness of individuality must vanish in the contemplation of brahman, but because the sphere within which these higher powers may rise above the phenomenal self, have their being is that of the thinking subject. Brahman is the Supreme, the unconditioned self, transcending all individuality. The relation of this brahman to the illusions that present themselves in our consciousness is illustrated by familiar examples— the mirage assumed to be water, the rope assumed to be a snake, etc. As in some of these instances not of proper light is the source of the illusion, so want of right knowledge is the cause of our illusions as regards phenomena that are themselves brahman.

The Advaitins were fully conscious of the gravity of the problem which still remained unsolved, viz. the real origin of these illusions. In many of their attempts at explanation they confine the fundamental principle of their system. Of these, we are told that mâyâ is only a creation of the mind, the mind is led away to these false notions. But this explanation, which seems to give definite objective existence to these false notions, is subsidiary to advaitism. The attempt is made to evade this difficulty by asserting that the mind has within itself from eternity ideas which it only reflects or dreams out. It thus only perceives itself. But eternal ideas seem also to constitute a separate reality. Others find the origin in the illusory appearances imposed - upon the the unlimited. These limits, which give rise to the phenomena of perception, are the creation of the individual as an individual; in brahman, the unlimited, there is no individualization. To be emancipated from sense of self is individuality is real knowledge, real bliss. This is the emancipation which finds expression in the formula tat-tatr-tam-asi, 'thou art it.'

Others, again, have recourse to the theory of reflection, viz. that the varying phenomena of perception emerge through the reflection of brahman in nature. But what is it that reflects? Here again we have duality. The most generally accepted solution is that which departs of the solution, and contents itself with saying that separate existence in every form is false, all as it is, all is brahman. It illustrates its position by the story of Yajâvalkya, the ancient sage, who, when asked by one of his pupils in a question, thrice repeated, to describe the advaita, gave no answer; and, when pressed, replied that the advaita is best described by silence, for all describing means advaita or dualism.*

Religion having furnished the chief stimulus to Indian philosophy in its dual aspect, we naturally expect to find the root and germ of its leading conceptions in the Indian sacred writings. A line of thought leading up to the Vedântic or advaita conception can be distinctly traced in the Brâhma-sûtras based upon the Vedas, and in subsequent writings reckoned as inspired scripture. Starting from a worship of personified nature-powers, the religious mind of the ancient Indians pressed on to seek that on which the gods and the worlds depended for their creation and their support. It found it in that elevation of soul experienced in prayer, which enabled it to transcend its individual existence, to which it gave the name brahman.

In the Tattvîrya-Brâhma-sûtras, 2, 8, 9, 6, the question of the Rigveda, 'Who is the supporter of the bearers of rthi?" is answered. Brahman is declared to be 'that out of which earth and heaven have been formed, and that which upholds the bearers of the world.'

In the Kâthaka-Upanishad, v. 1-3, which represents a later stage in this process of thought, the brahman is described as the most inward and the noblest element in all the manifestations of nature, 'the sun in the firmament, God in the heavens, as dwelling everywhere, as born everywhere, and he only is free from suffering and sure of salvation who is versed in the unchangeably spiritual' that dwells within him.

In the Chândogya-Upanishad is set forth in the clearest terms this extaltation of the âtman, or self, in its identification with brahman. This Universe is brahman. Its material is spirit, life is its body, light its form, . . . all-embracing, silent, undisturbed—this is my soul (âtman) in the inmost heart, smaller than a seed of grain—this is my soul in the inmost heart, greater than the earth, greater than the heavens, greater than all these worlds . . . this is brahman, to it shall I go hence, be united.'† The self in this sense is 'the real,' 'the one without a second (advaita).'

It is that out of which the whole world has been formed, of which the world is a mere transformation. He who knows the one may be said to be the one.

The parallel movements of thought in the ancient and modern philosophies of the West have been frequently pointed out. The early Greek philosophy was inspired by the longing to discover a principle of unity in the manifoldness of the phenomenal world. The earlier attempts resulted in the assumption of some one common physical principle, out of which the variety was developed; the later attempts sought it in a spiritual cause. Xenophanes proclaimed the unity of the Divine, and his disciple Parmenides, denying to this Divine principle personality and change, reduced it to Being. To the unity thus reached by the path of pure abstraction, the principle of phenomena as non-being (vû or 5û). The correspondence between these successive stages in Greek thought and the course of Indian thought outlined above is interesting and suggestive. The other parallel is that presented by the Kantian philosophy. By a different path from that of mere abstraction two separate and the same metaphysical quest. Having subjected to a minute critical analysis the faculties of human knowledge, he arrived at the result that 'the thing in itself' (das Ding an sich) is not accessible to human knowledge, as all knowledge of the external objective world is realized through the application of certain categories of thought, the categories of space, time, and causality, which inhere in the mind of the thinking subject. Reality itself, therefore, so far as these faculties are our means of knowledge, is unknowable.

One cannot fail to recognize here also a remarkable similarity between Kant's critical position and the real advaita doctrine. But there is this important difference to be noted in regard to

* Sâkara on Brâhma-sûtras, ii. 5. 17; Deussen, Upanishads, Eng. tr. (1906) p. 156 f.
† Chand.-Upan. iii. 14, cf. Satap.-Br. x. 6. 3.
method. The advaita presents us with no critical analysis of the process of knowledge, for we can scarcely dignify with such a name the arbitrary and fanciful methods above indicated, by which the Advaita sought to explain the fact of nityā in our perception of phenomena. So far as the advaita is to be regarded as a philosophy, it is a philosophy of a purely abstract and speculative nature. By one supreme effort of mind it advances to a position which other philosophies have sought to establish by a patient and laborious examination of the facts of experience on its religious aspect it exhibits similar characteristics, and its religious aspect is more important than its speculative interest. It is a doctrine of salvation through the attainment of the true knowledge, and this knowledge is to be realized in the advaita conclusion. By a purely intellectual effort the emmanicipation of the soul from evil is to be achieved. In this solution of a deep moral problem we see the same impatience of facts, the same summary method of reaching the desired end, as marks the speculative side of this philosophy. How far this philosophy has sowed the seeds of the problem may be gathered from the illustration which it employs to describe it. One well-known advocate is disturbed when, forgetting that he has it, he seeks here and there to find it. His peace is restored when he discovers that it has never been lost. So, we are told, the distressed soul finds salvation in the knowledge that there is no evil, no fear, no separateness. Pleasure and pain are merely the results of this false sense of individuality and separateness. The mind of the individual may be conscious of evil and of suffering; but the great mind of the world knows none of these. Identification with brahma is the source of all bliss, the sense of separateness is the root of all evil.

LITERATURE.—See art. Vedānta. The view of Advaitism given above will be found fully expounded in M. N. Dwivedi's Bhāmon or Advaita, Bombay, 1899.

D. MACKICHAN.

ADVOCATE.—The etymological meaning of advocate (Lat. advocatus) is one called to, i.e. one called to another's aid. It may be used of one called in to assist another in any business, as, e.g., when an official appointed to defend the rights and revenues of the church was called advocatus ecclesiae. In legal phraseology an advocate is one called in to assist another's cause in a court of justice. The Lat. advocatus had a wider significance than 'advocate' connotes in modern English; in Cicero's time it denoted a backer, hence any legal assistant: not an advocate as in later authors (cf. Plut. i. § 10; Dem. 24, 43). Like ἀνακαταλύω in classical Greek, advocatus might refer to any friend of the accused person, called to speak to his character, or otherwise enlist the sympathy of the judges (or, as we should call them, the jury) in his favour. (Translation of Thuc., i. 199, 199, 199, 199, 199) supports the above statement by the following apposite quotation from Anaximenes, ad Qz. in Qz. Qz.: 'Qui defendat alterum in indico, aut potius in curia, si alter est; aut advocatus, si aut non suggerit, aut presentiat suam commodam amicum.' For a similar use of ἀνακαταλύω he refers to Dem. de P. L. true. 311. the Disc. Laert. P. E. E. 50. In Philo, de Opif. M. § 6 the intention is that of a monitor or advicer ... but still preserving the leading idea of amicus advocatus in consilium.'

'Advocate,' as a judicial term, now generally signifies pleader. This is a natural development of meaning, for assistance in courts of law usually takes the form of speaking on behalf of another. As thus employed the word practically corresponds to the English 'barrister,' whose office it is to plead the cause of his client.

Five uses of advocate fall within the limits of this article, viz.:

1. In the New Testament:
   (a) Jesus Christ 'an Advocate.'
   (b) The Holy Spirit 'another Advocate.'

2. In Church History:
   (a) Advocatus ecclesiae.
   (b) Advocatus dialoqui.
   (c) Advocatus Dei.

3. 'Advocate' in NT.—(a) Jesus Christ 'an Advocate.'—There is general agreement that in 1 Jn 2 (1) 'any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous,' Christ, 'Advocate' is a better rendering of ἀνακαταλύω than either 'Comforter' or 'Helper,' the alternatives suggested in RVm. Wyclif, following the Vulgate, has 'We have an advocate anentis the Saviour.' In considering the NT use of this word, Jewish as well as classical authors should be consulted. In Rabbinical literature paraklētos—'the Aramaic transliteration of ἀνακαταλύω (cf. parakletē)’—is not infrequently found. Buxtorf quotes 'An advocate is a good intercessor before a magistrate or king' (cf. JE vol. ix. p. 641 f.). Doubtless the word sometimes occurs in Jewish writers with a wider meaning, as, in the Targum on Job 16:2 and 33:19, where it represents the Hebrew word for 'interpreter' (mālēt); but its use to designate 'pleader' is well established. The antithesis between a 'broad advocate' is, for example, clearly marked in Pirg. Aboth, iv. 11: 'He who performs one good deed has gotten to himself one advocate (parakletē), and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser.' Field (op. cit.) has good reason for saying that Rabbinical writers use parakletē precisely in the same way as St. John in his Epistle, and as the Latin patronus which they also adopt. This judgment accords with the conclusion already drawn from the history of the word, that the etymology of the word's meaning. Though the evidence that the patronus was ever called advocatus, 'advocate' was, in its later usage, extended in meaning so as to include the function of the Roman patron, who was liable to be called to the aid of his client to represent him before the tribunals when he became involved in litigation' (Muirhead, Roman Law, p. 9). Clement of Rome (1 Ep. ad Cor. i. 36) applies to our Lord the title θεοφόρος = patronus. In 1 Jn 2 the thoughts suggested by the comparison of Christ to the Advocate must be interpreted in harmony with the context. When the believer is charged with having sinned, and Satan presses the charge in the presence of the Father ... who judgeth (1 P 1:3), Christ pleads for the accused; because He is 'righteous' His advocacy is well-pleasing to the Father; and His plea that God would show forth His righteousness in the sinner's forgiveness is based upon the fact that He Himself is more than the sinner's Advocate, even the 'propitiation' for his sins (1 Jn 2:2, cf. Ro 3:28), 'Faith in the forgiveness of sins cannot be religiously and ethically innocuous unless it is associated with faith in the propitiation' (Rothe, Ezech., i. (1890) p. 209).

(b) The Holy Spirit 'another Advocate.'—There has been much controversy in regard to the rendering of ἀνακαταλύω in Jn 14:16, 15:16. In all four places Wyclif and the chief English versions translate 'Comforter'; the Rheims has 'Paraclete.' In RVm 'Advocate' is the first alternative. However, has advocatus both in the Epistle and in the Gospel; he rightly explains its application to the Holy Spirit by a reference to St. Paul's words (Ro 8:30) about the Spirit as making intercession for us. The sin of one who is accused, however, is more than the sinner's Advocate, even the 'propitiation' for his sins (1 Jn 2:2, cf. Ro 3:28), 'Faith in the forgiveness of sins cannot be religiously and ethically innocuous unless it is associated with faith in the propitiation' (Rothe, Ezech., i. (1890) p. 209).
is a growing consensus of opinion in favour of **Advocatus** as the title of the Holy Spirit as well as of Jesus Christ.

"Christ is our Advocate on high, Thou art our Advocate within." (Psalm 143:6, NIV)

The arguments in support of this view are succinctly stated by Field (op. cit. p. 103): (1) "Another Advocate," i.e. besides Myself. (2) The word is only known from St. John's writings, hence it is a foreign term for the general correlative in the right place. (3) Etymologically, advocate and **advocatus** are identical. (4) This is the only rendering which suits the passive form.

The question is, 'Does the work of the Holy Spirit as described in the above four passages correspond to the functions of an advocate?' In three of them (Jn 14:16, 15:26, 16:7) the Holy Spirit is the 'Advocate within' the hearts of Christ's disciples; as an Advocate he 'pleads the truth and makes reply to every argument of sin' (14:16); His pleading is with power because He brings to remembrance the Saviour's words, unfolds their teaching, (14:16), and bears witness to His glory (16:13). No strain is put upon the context of these passages by this interpretation; the disciples themselves will be judges against their own unbelieving hearts, and Christ will be triumphantly acquitted and declared to be the Son of God with power (Rom 8:37, x. [1899] p. 170). The remaining passage (16) describes the Holy Spirit's work in conviction the world. He is Christ's Advocate, and 'for the Apostles themselves the pleading of the Advocate was a sovereign vindication in the great trial they were about to undergo; shown to have the right, whether their testimony was received or rejected.' (Westcott, **Com. in loc.**)

Zahn (Eisenle, vol. i. p. 45) finds a difficulty in accepting the rendering 'another Advocate' in Jn 14:16, "Another, he argues, implies that Christ Himself had already been His disciple, Advocate, whereas He had rather been their Teacher or their Instructor. It is no part of the meaning to 'Advocate' when it is applied to Christ's earthly intercourse with His disciples and to His heavenly intercession on their behalf. The difficulty seems to be sufficiently met by saying that in Christ's conversation with the men who had been given Him out of the world, whilst in heaven He is ever pleading their cause with God (cf. Comenius, Bibl. TheoL. Lec. of NT Gr. p. 357).

All admit that 'Advocate' does not adequately represent the varied work of the Holy Spirit. As a title rather than as a predicate of the Holy Spirit, the word is used in passages above, the felicitous suggestion of Dr. E. A. Abbott may be gladly accepted: 'Perhaps the best periphrasis of Paraclete for modern readers would be "The Friend."' (Paracletus, 141.)

**2. ADVOCATE IN CHURCH HISTORY.**

(a) **Advocatus ecclesiae.**—The 'Church's advocate' was a civilian officially charged with the duty of defending ecclesiastical rights and revenues. At the sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 401) it was resolved (Canon 10) that 'the Emperors shall be prayed to appoint, in union with the bishops, protectors (defensores) for the Church.' At the eleventh Council of Carthage (A.D. 407) it was decreed (Canon 2) that 'for the necessities of the Church the Emperors shall be demanded of the Emperor to collect the revenues of the Church' (Hefele, Hist. of Church Councils, vol. ii. pp. 425, 442). At different periods the duties of the **advocatus ecclesiae**—sometimes designated as agents, defensores, or excatores—included not only the defence and maintenance of the secular and legal rights of the Church, but also the protection of the poor and of orphans, the exercise of jurisdiction, including police functions and the power to levy suits from among the vassals of ecclesiastics who claimed immunity from the service of the State.

At first the office of **advocatus ecclesiae** was not hereditary, but Hinschius states (Petr. J. 1. 199) that before the end of the 9th cent. founders of monasteries, etc., sometimes stipulated that it should be retained for themselves and for their heirs. In Charlemagne's time the right of nomination belonged to the king; but to some ecclesiastical corporations the power of free choice was given, with the proviso that the secular authority of the district—the duke or count—had the right to reject the nominee of the Church.

When the office of **Advocate** was held by unscrupulous men, it became an instrument of oppression and extortion. Historians record many charges brought against these officials of plundering the property of the Church and misappropriating its revenues. Kurs notes that when he says: 'Many advocates assumed arbitrary powers, and dealt with the property of the Church and its proceeds just as they chose.' (Church History, § 86). Hinschius (op. cit.) says that it was Pope Innocent III. who, in his negotiations with Otto IV. and Frederick II., first secured a promise that the State should protect the Church against the oppression of the **advocati ecclesiae**.

(b) **Advocatus diaboli.**—In the Roman Catholic Church, when it is proposed to honour a deceased saint by Beatification or Canonization, it is the duty of the 'Devil's advocate' to oppose the proposal and to bring forward every possible objection to it. These objections may lie either against the saint's reputation for 'heroic' virtue, the orthodoxy of his writings, or the genuineness of the miracles with which he is credited. Since objections may also have reference to technical errors of procedure, or to flaws in the evidence.

Von Moy, in an article which has the approval of the Roman Catholic authorities, says that perhaps the most certain known to have taken place before the time of Pope John xv. (A.D. 995). At first bishops sanctioned beatifications without consulting the Pope, but in consequence of abuses Pope Alexander iii. decreed (1170) that henceforth papal consent should in all cases be obtained. The **advocatus diaboli** (the word with which it begins), is the basis of the present regulations in regard to Beatification and Canonization. The edict of Pope Urban v. (1644) made it beyond dispute that it is the Pope's exclusive prerogative to beatify as well as to canonize, these acts being forbidden not only to bishops, archbishops, etc., but even to a papal legate. A conclusion is drawn from the Pope's consent, and the college of cardinals assembled when the papal throne is empty (Weinert-Weise, Kirchenlehen, II. b. p. 146 f.).

In the process of Beatification a preliminary inquiry is instituted by the bishop of the diocese concerned. If the result is favourable to the post-investigation, the process is forwarded to the **congregatio ritum** in Rome. At the various meetings of this congregation the **advocatus diaboli** or promoter fidei is required to bring forward all the objections that can be urged against the proposition of beatification, the proposal is then taken after both sides have been fully heard. Between the first and second meetings of the **congregatio ritum** ten years must elapse. The Beatification of a saint cannot take place less than fifty years after his death. Canonization may follow after an interval, if it can be shown that 'since beatification at least two miracles have been wrought by God in answer to the intercessions of the saint.' (Von Moy, op. cit.). In the processes preliminary to Canonization the 'Devil's advocate' discharges the duties of his office in the manner already described.

The official regulations under which the **advocatus diaboli** acts provide for the strict application of the most stringent tests to the claims of the saint, on whom it is proposed to bestow Beatification, and moreover, the final decision, as in all **causa majoris**, rests with the Pope. It is claimed that 'in modern times the court of Rome has shown itself extremely averse to promiscuous canonization; and since the days of Benedict XIV., the promoter of the faith,
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popularly known as the devil's advocate, has exercised extreme severity in sifting the claims of aspirants (Foye, Romish Rites, p. 406 f.). This statement, however true of the procedure under some Popes, needs qualification. Alzog, an orthodox writer of correct opinions, testifies that Pope Sixtus IV performed more beatifications and canonizations than any of his predecessors; and Nippold, who quotes this testimony, adds that the Beatifications of this Pope show him to have been 'entirely in the hands of the Jesuits,' and that the biographies of the virgins beatified by him were 'full of unnatural asceticism and unnatural miracles.' The same historian states that the virgin Clara of Montefalco was canonized by Leo XIII. on the ground that 'not only was the body of the saint well preserved since her death in 1908, but that more especially her heart showed traces of the instruments of the passion.' At the public celebration of Dec. 8, 1881 there were exhibited in the gallery connected with the Vatican 'twelve pictures, of which six treated of the miracles performed by Clara' (The Papacy in the Nineteenth Century, Schwab's tr., pp. 128, 147, 198).

[Ad vocatus Dei.—In the Roman Catholic Church this title is given to the procurator whose duty it is to refute the objections raised by the advocatus diaboli against the Beatification or Canonization of a saint. Von Moy (op. cit.) states that 'God's advocate' is always a man of high rank and that he is chosen from the province from which to the order to which the saint belonged. Just before the solemn moment of canonization, the advocatus Dei approaches the papal throne, accompanied by an advocate of the consistory, who, following the steps of the Pope, in the name of 'God's advocate,' an earnest request that it may please His Holiness to canonize the saint.

Liberuma.—For 'Advocate' see bibliography given in art. Holy Spirit. Special value is Westcott's Additional Note on Jo 14:16 in his Com. on this Gospel. For advocatus eclesiast the best sources are mentioned by Hinschius (PIB 1. 186). Amongst them are Böhrer, Observations juris canonici, Oes., 1.; Hopp, De Advocatia Ecclesiastica; Brunner, Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte; Lamprecht, Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte. For advocatus diaboli and advocatus Dei the chief authority is Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'art du Moyen Age, vol. II. (1891). For canonization and beatification see also Du Cange, Glossarium, etc. 'Canonisation'; Millman, Hist. of Christian Art, vol. iv., p. 71.; Albright, Outlines of the Sciences; F. W. Faber, Essay on Beatification, Canonization, etc.

J. G. Tasker.

AEGEAN RELIGION.—By this is meant the religion of the coasts and isles of the Aegaean Sea in the Bronze and earlier Ages. The Aegaean civilization was commonly known till recently as 'Mycenaean.' Now, however, that Mycenae has been shown to have been probably neither the centre of it nor the scene of its earlier developments, the wider and non-committal name 'Aegaean' has come into use, to embrace all the sites and cultures contemporary and posterior to the Mycenaeans' of his earlier critics, the 'Cycladic' of Blinkenberg and others, and the 'Minoan' of Evans. The first revelation of this forgotten civilization occupied the latter quarter of the 19th cent., and it was, as it was inevitable, more wonderful and exciting than science. Scholars were not able at once to comprehend and co-ordinate the mass of novel raw material accumulating on their hands; and it took time to make the necessary comparisons between the Aegaean civilization and other early cultures. Presenting, contemporary and posterior to the Aegaeans, its institutions none remained so long obscure as the religious. Up to almost the end of the century no sacred building had been recognized among Aegaean remains, and no undoubted idol of a divinity. Of the small number of unquestioned cult objects discovered, almost all were still ascribed by many scholars to foreign importation. The few ritual scenes represented on intaglios were, some of them, not observed to be religious at all, while others were ill understood for want of known parallels and of a sound general conception of Aegaean cult. Perrot and Chipiez in their volume on the Art of Primitive Greece, issued in 1895, found hardly anything to say on religious representations; and Evans, when about to show in 1900 how much light could be thrown on this religion by certain classes of small objects, not till then adequately remarked, had to confess that 'among the more important monuments of the Mycenean world' very little was to be found 'having a clear and obvious relation to religious belief.' Since that date, however, the inquiry has been revolutionized by the exploration of Crete; and we now have a mass of monumental evidence upon Aegaean religious belief, cult, and ritual from which knowledge of the broad principles and most of the ritual detail have been obtained. Upon this class of evidence any general account of the religion of a prehistoric civilization must of necessity be based; and only in the second instance should contemporary and posterior cults be introduced into the inquiry. For the present purpose no account will be taken of possible racial changes during the Aegaean period, since the civilization evidently remained of one type throughout, and the popular religion shows development only, not essential change.

I. GENERAL NATURE OF AEGEAN RELIGION.—We have ample evidence that Aegaean religion and ritual had originally both a natural aniconic phase and an artifical phase, and an artificial phase presents to us the most interesting features of the Aegaean religion, for we may regard the religious objects discovered in stones of singular natural appearance, or fashioned by himself into pillars; in trees or bushes of his own planting, weapons, animal forms, and all kinds of object known to us as fetishes. The transition from this to a more humanized, more personal, more intimate with the Spirit, and conceiving it more and more in his own image, he passes to the iconic state, and in that will remain till the advanced point of mental development at which he ceases to demand a visible home for his god.

These states, however, are not to be regarded as always successive. With primitive man they are often contemporaneous, the usages and ritual proper to one coexisting with those proper to another, and man, the Aegaean man, the non-Mycenaean, is by all the authors' of his earlier critics, the 'Cycladic' of Blinkenberg and others, and the 'Minoan' of Evans. But this is a subject too large for this place; and it would be a subject on which so much has been written already, and so much more written in recent years by so many able scholars, that it is not necessary to enlarge on it here. For our purpose a few general facts and a few general conclusions must suffice.
inform us not only how the deity was conceived and how worshipped from the beginning of theanthropism, but how worshipped previously, before being ended with human attributes on the monuments, or perhaps with any very precise attributes whatever in the minds of worshippers. Moreover, more than most religions, the Ἐγεαν remained to the end full of aniconic cult-practices.

Ἐγεαν religion, then, was from the first a Nature cult, in which the heavenly bodies and imposing terrestrial features were objects of worship, while at the same time a Divine Spirit was understood to have its dwelling therein. From this state there survived in the Ἐγεαν religious art of a later stage such cult objects as the solar disc, the lunar crescent, the star symbol passing into various forms of cross, the rocky mountain, and the grove; while from the other state, the artificial aniconic, persisted the single tree or group of trees, generally three in number, the pillar, single, triple, or many, sacred animals, weapons, conspicuously the bipennis, or double war-axe (chosen as a fetish very probably from its obvious likeness to the star dwelling), the large body shield, and other objects, notably a pair of horns, perhaps a trophy, symbolic of a sacrificial bull. All these accidents of the primitive religion will be dealt with more fully below in the section on the Cult of the Goddess; but in order to discern its essential idea, dependent as we are for all first-hand information on artistic monuments, we must pass at once to the iconic stage and inquire how Ἐγεαν man, so soon as he had clearly conceived the Divine Spirit, represented it in terms of his own nature.

ii. The Deity.—It has been said that, previous to the exploration of Crete, no idol or icon of a deity had been certainly recognized among Ἐγεαν remains. It must be borne in mind that in dealing with novel monuments of a prehistoric civilization, it is not legitimate to presume that a representation of the human figure is intended to be Divine until and unless it be found with clear concomitant indications of the supernatural—unless, for example, it be represented as emitting light, or accompanied by wild beasts, such as lions or large serpents, fatal to ordinary humanity, or, again, of superhuman relative stature, or, lastly, receiving adoration. In the cult-scenes found first, e.g., those on the base of a gold ring found in the Acropolis treasure at Mycenae (fig. 1), on impressed glass plaques, on a painted stele from the same site, and on other monuments, a manifest deity was not generally recognized, although there were undoubted religious votaries, even monstrous demonic

* The 'Smatia' (crus gammata), the cross paté, and the plain Greek cross.

** The latter, often observed on gems, were not credited with much significance owing to the double, not only of the indigenous nature of the objects on which they appeared, but also of their being used by human votaries engaged in a theonomorphic ritual. See A. B. Cook in JHS xiv. p. 21.


‡ BSA vii. pp. 15, 19, 29, 103.

§ 1b. ix. 37.

§ 1b. viii. 59.

¶ Mon. Antichi, xiii., Réti, etc. fig. 57. Cf. the gigantic seated female on a Zakro seal, JHS xxii. p. 77, fig. 66.

** BSA x. p. 223. This ritual dance seems also to have been suggested by an impression from Hagia Triadha (Réti, etc., cit. supra, fig. 33).
lions, and sometimes armed (fig. 3).* On a gold signet of Knossos such a figure with hair flying loose behind is seen in the upper field, and is supposed by Evans to be the deity descending on his shrine.† But no actual idol of a god has come to light, unless the male of short stature offering a dove to the goddess in the little chapel at Knossos ‡ is to be interpreted as a Divine figure. This list is not exhaustive. The goddess is probably to be recognized in many other intaglio scenes, e.g. those wherein a female holds up goats by the legs,§ as elsewhere she holds lions; and perhaps in certain other feminine idols. But it includes all undoubted representations of a deity so far found, and is more than enough to prove how the Aegean peoples, when they arrived at the iconic stage of religion, conceived divinity. They personified the Supreme Principle as a woman, to whom was subordinated a lesser divinity, in honour and probably later in time. There are no evidence for more deities than these. The religion was what may be called a Dual Monotheism.

iii. Cult.—There is evidence for several classes of cult-objects, considered to be dwelling-places of the Divine Spirit, and surviving through the theoanthropic age as fetishes; for inanimate accessories of various kinds, of which the origin and later significance are often obscure; and for animate accessories of cult, perhaps also at first dwelling-places of the Spirit, but tending more and more to be regarded as symbolic. These all played a part in a customary ritual, of whose practices, strikingly uniform over the Aegean area, we have many illustrations.

1. Dwelling-places of the Spirit (fetishes).—(a) Betyls (sacred stones or pillars, Gr. βατυλαὶ or βατυλίων = esp. the stone swallowed by Kronos, which was really Zeus in his betylic form, but also others, e.g. the black Cone of the Sun at Baalbek = Sem. Bethel). The character and use of Aegean sacred stones have been very fully treated by Evans in TPC, and subsequent Cretan discoveries have added little but confirmation. There can be small doubt that, as cult-objects, they represented in a convenient fetish form the original Divine mountain, still seen in intaglio cult-scenes of a later period. They themselves became in time the origin both of altars and of iconic statues, passing through gradations of rude shaping. A remarkable example of this transition has come to light latterly at Knossos in the large building to the west of the palace, where lay several natural stone freaks, roughly resembling human forms, and evidently carefully preserved in a shrine. Whether pillars or wooden posts, descended from sacred trees, eventually acquired a symbolic significance as phalli, is less certain. An upright object impaling a triangle occurs in any case in gem-scenes, and is strongly suggestive of a phallus in connexion with a vulea. Further, there is reason to think that betyls originated upright tombstones, which from being Divine or ghostly dwelling-places became merely commemorative in a late age.

Betyls passed in Aegean cult through various modifications, retaining their significance as dwelling-places of the Spirit. At first unshaped single rocks or cairns, we find them developed in the majority of earlier Aegean cult-scenes into pillars, monolithic or built up. The Divine pillar stands alone, sometimes, as over the Mycena Gate, between sacred animals, a position wherein it precedes the iconic figures of a later period; often also in front of a shrine, while a votary adores before it; and it is very often associated with trees. Almost equally often it does not appear singly, but in groups of three, and less commonly of more.* Occasionally the dove is seen either descending towards it or perched upon it; more rarely rays issue from it. Thereafter the pillar, from standing free, becomes a support,—a 'pillar of the house,'—but is still betyltic, and its double function is sometimes shown by the free pillar bearing a fragment of superstructure. It is seen rising from behind 'horns of consecration' in fresco pictures of the façades of shrines, and in one case bearing sacred axe-heads affixed to its caps; and it props up 'tables of offerings,' with accessory supports round it.‡ It is possible that such sacred 'pillars of the house' have actually been found in certain chambers at Knossos and elsewhere, which seem too small to have needed a central prop for structural reasons, and the probability is heightened by the fact that the blocks of which two such pillars in the Knossian palace are made, are marked with the sacred sign of the double axe.§ There is reason to think that the original Aegean sanctity of pillar supports has something to do with the later Greek fashion of using a redundancy of columns in sacred architecture.

(b) Triliths (dolmens).—These are much less frequently represented than betyls, but sufficiently often to leave no doubt that the tripod of stones forming a free standing portal had a sacred character in Aegean as in so many other lands.¶ They are seen framing a betyl or standing before a sacred tree. On a remarkable gem impression from Zakro || in East Crete, such a trilith is well shown with lions couchant on either hand.

(c) Trees (Sem. ashara).—These, being perishable, are now to be looked for only in cult representations, and especially on intaglio impressions. There they are as frequent as betyls, and they

* TPC fig. 43; ESA ix. fig. 35, p. 101. Cf. Haghia Triadha seal (Resti, etc. fig. 40).
† TPC fig. 48.
‡ ESA viii. p. 100, fig. 56.
§ e.g. Zakro (JHS xxii. p. 77, fig. 3), Vaphio (Furtwängler, Ant. Gem. pl. ii. 25), Haghia Triadha (Resti, etc. fig. 42).
¶ TPC fig. 5.
|| TPC fig. 5.
\[1\] JHS xxii. 87, fig. 28.
\[2\] TPC figs. 7, 9. These objects are supposed to be the origin of the sacred tripods of Greek cult.
\[3\] See TPC § 26.
occur singly or in triads (very common) or in groves. They are often seen growing out of the shrine itself, or in close proximity to an altar. The goddess sometimes sits under the shade (fig. 1); at other times she plucks the fruit. Many botanical varieties can be distinguished, the palm, the fig, the cypress, the pine, the plane, the vine; but the first three are most frequent. As has been said already, the tree occurs very often in the same scene with the pillar, a coincidence frequently observed in the case of megalithic monuments elsewhere.

The great body-shield, curved inwards at the waist, which is so often used as a decorative motive in Aegean relief work, occurs in cult-representations as an independent object, lying before a shrine, or suspended in mid-air. Compare two gem-impressions from Zakro, which show shields lying, in the one case, before a group of five pillars (probably not towers, as stated in the text); in the other, before the façade of a shrine. The most decisive monument is a small painted stela found at Mycenae, whereon is depicted a green shield between two adoring votaries. Miniature shields in clay and ivory, found at Knossos, were evidently cult-objects or amulets.

Figures of both the goddess and the god bear spears, but we have no evidence yet for the use of either that weapon or the sword as a cult-object.

With the bipennis or double-axe the case is very different. The evidence for its cult-use is overwhelming. It is seen in the field of a gem-impres- sion with a votary adoring it; it forms the central object of a cult-scene painted on a clay coffin found at Palaikastro; and is being adored in both the chief scenes on the great Hagia Triadha sarcophagus, where it is seen in conjunction with sacred palm-trees and doves, and stands upright on a stepped pyramidal base, similar to the basis with socket for a staff, found in the palace at Knossos. In the small chapel on the latter site, it evidently stood between the sacred 'horns of consecration,' a position in which it is often shown on intaglios (cf. fig. 4). Sometimes it appears in a reduplicated form, as in a steatite example from the small shrine at Knossos; on the gold signet from Mycenæ (fig. 1); and on the ephialtis from East Crete, mentioned already: and, a propos, Evans recalls the fact that, since it appears in the hand of the goddess on a Knossian gem, and in company with her idols in the small shrine, it was at least as much her weapon as the god's. The double axe is, he thinks, the fetish of a bi-sexual god. Miniature axes in bronze have often been found on Cretan sites, e.g. in the lower part of the holy cave on Mt. Dicte, and were evidently very common fetishes or cult-offerings. The sign of the axe is found more often than any other on Knossian blocks, whether of consecration or as mason's mark. It is not impossible that its name labrys is to be detected in that of the Cretan labrynth.  

2. Other inanimate accessories of cult.—Certain objects of a more ornamental cut-scene, or have actually been found in connection with shrines, about which it is less safe to say that they were dwelling-places of the Spirit. Even if originally so, and long in use as fetishes, they seem in the iconic stage to have become rather articles of ritualistic furniture.

(a) 'Horns of consecration.'—These long mis- understood objects, of commonest occurrence in gem and fresco cult-scenes, and found modelled in stucco, clay, terra-cotta, and stone, were almost certainly fetishes at the first. They consist simply of a base with two erect horns, which, in the more elaborate examples represented, bend outwards at the tips, like the horns of oxen (fig. 4). They are seen either on the top of a shrine or altar, or beside sacred pillars or trees, which in some cases seem to rise out of them (cf. figs. 5, 6). Also they support in the same way the sacred bipennis, actual examples having been found in the small shrine at Knossos with sockets for axe-shafts.

Upon a vase from Enkomi (Old Salamis) in Cyprus the picture shows not only one bipennis so rising from these horns, but two other axes fixed between the horns of actual bucra, depicted in full (fig. 5). This seems to confirm the inference, which in any case suggests itself, that the conventional sacred horns are a convenient reduction of an original bucranium, itself a reduction of the entire bull, known from abundant evidence to have been a sacred animal, and probably a Divine dwelling. The horns-object serves to stamp any scene as religious, and its very frequent appearance is of great importance as a clue to the sacred character of other objects.

(b) The knotted tie or zone.—A representation of a knotted scarf or tassel seems also to have gained sacred significance. Found modelled in alabaster by Schliemann in the Mycenaean Acropolis graves, and supposed to be merely a fragment of wall decoration, it turned up again in the small shrine at Knossos as an independent object. It is possible that this 'tie' is a votive model of a zone, dedicated with a sexual significance, as in later Hellas. On a ring found at Mycenae these knots are seen suspended from the capital of a lion-guarded pillar; and on a gem from the Argive Heraeum they perhaps appear on either side of a bucranium.

(c) The cross.—A cross in marble was found in a Knossian shrine; and the cross sign is common on gems and seal impressions.

* JHS xxii, 1913, p. 29, 30.
* Perrot-Chipiez, Hist. de l'Art, 'La Grèce Primo,' fig. 440.
* From Zakro, JHS, i.e. fig. 5.
* BSA v. 100.
* St. Crozet and Max Mayer quoted by Evans, TPC p. 119, n. 6.

See, e.g., the coloured plate appended to TPC, showing a fresco painting of a Knossian shrine.

§ Parrall, i.e. p. 6. Molded altars with horns attached were found in the sacred Temenos near the royal villa of Hagia Triandria.

§ TPC fig. 3.

$ Halfberr doubts this (Resti, etc. p. 43, preferring to interpret the objects as cornels.

FIG. 4.—FRESO FROM KNOSSOS.

Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.}

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3. Animate accessories of cult.—What are known in late stages of religion as animals sacred to such and such a divinity, in art appearing as mere attributes, and in real life devoted to the Divine pleasure, whether by being preserved as 'tabu' in the sacred precincts, or by being sacrificed that they may pass to the world invisible, have probably all a common origin as Divine dwelling-places or fetishes. In Ægean cult there were many such sacred animals:

(a) Serpents, seen twined about the person of the goddess (fig. 2), or held in the hands of her votaries. These were probably her original dwelling-place as an earth (chthonian) spirit.

(b) Doves, settled on her person or offered by votaries; also settled on, or seen approaching, bastylis, shrines (fig. 6), trees, and axes. They represent probably her original dwelling-place as a spirit of the sky.

(c) Lions and lionesses, which, in the iconic stage, are represented as the companions, guardians, or supporters of the deity.

(d) Bulls, cows, and calves.—The bull is most frequent. He is seen crowned with the sacred axe (fig. 5). In a magnificent relief, he guarded the main portal of the Knossian palace, and both there and at Tiryns appears again and again in fresco or on intaglios charging and tossing maidens and youths. Evans interprets these as circus scenes (the later ραυκοκαθαρσία); but it is possible that what was represented was not so much a comparatively harmless sport as a scene of the devotion of maidens and youths to the Divine beast. It is inevitable in this connexion to recall the tradition of the Knossian Minotaur, the semi-Divine and monstrous bull to which an annual tribute of maidens was devoted. Monstrous figures of minotaur type actually appear on Ægean intaglios,* proving that the legend is of prehistoric Ægean origin.

The cow and calf, very frequent on intaglios, seem to have typified the goddess's maternity.

(e) Goats, nannies, and kids.—The goat is very frequently held by the leg in the hand of the goddess, or accompanies her. A clay goat was found in the west shrine at Knossos. The nanny and kids seem to have the same significance as the cow and calf.

(f) Deer and eagles are frequent intaglio subjects; but beyond the fact that all Ægean engraved gems were probably in some degree amulets, we cannot adduce evidence of the sacred character of these animals.

(g) Fishes appear in fresco paintings at Knossos and Phylakopi in Melos, in two cases at least in possible connexion with shrines, recalling their well-known connexion with the Semitic goddess.

(h) Monstrous animals.—Not only the Minotaur, but the Griffin, the Sphinx (two sphinxes draw a chariot on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus), and various composite monsters appear in intaglios and on frescoes. Lion-headed demons are seen performing ritual acts, as, e.g., pouring libations. Human figures with heads of asses, lions, goats, birds, and bulls occur, e.g., on a carved shell found at Phestos.* A procession of ass-headed figures bearing a pole on their shoulders, in a Mycenaean fresco painting, has been interpreted as a scene of votaries wearing skins and engaged in theriomorphic rites; but this is an unsupported guess. An extraordinary variety of wildly monstrous combinations was found on intaglio impressions at Zakro; but it is possible that these were the product of heraldic fancy, and owed their variety to the necessity of differentiating signet types.

4. Temples and ritual.—There is no good Ægean evidence as yet for the existence of such large free-standing structures, having no relation to domestic buildings and devoted to Divine worship, as were the temples of the Hellenic period, although intaglio scenes show small shrines, either isodomic or of the dolmen type, standing apparently within enclosures or temenos, and containing beryl, sacred trees, and horns of consecration.* Such constructed shrines as have actually been found are small plain chambers enclosed in palace blocks, as at Knossos, and, possibly, at Palaikastro and Phylakopi in Melos. These, if they do not contain a sacred pillar, show only a ledge or platform at one end, upon which fetishes, idols, and other sacred objects stood. Such domestic 'shrines,' even if beautifully decorated with frescoes like the Melian chamber, can be regarded as little more than mere repositories for saeca. As for the representation of shrines, characterized by betylis and horns, seen through paintings in the facade, and in almost all cases tripartite, it is very doubtful if they are intended to show distinct temples.

*Knossos, BSA vii. figs. 7 b, c; Zakro, ib. fig. 45.

**JHS xxix, p. 92.

FIG. 5.—PAINTED PILLAR FROM PHYLAKOPIS, MELOS.

FIG. 6.—GOLD SHRINE FROM MYCENAE.
and not rather parts, or the whole, of a palace or other domestic structure. We have such representations in the Knossian frescoes, on intaglios, and in beaten metal (the gold miniature dove shrine of Mycenae, fig. 6). It seems clear that certain parts of the Knossian Palace had a peculiarly sacred character;* and if it be admitted that the whole Palace was the sanctuary of the house of the 'Labrys,' and that Minoan rulers were priest-kings (which is very probable), the whole palace is perhaps to be regarded as a temple, and we may assume that palaces and temples had not yet been differentiated. Cave-sanctuaries there certainly were, wherein Nature often provided batraps ready made in the form of stalactites and stalagmites, as in the lower grotto of the Dictaean Cavern. Crete has supplied the most notable instances of caves so far; but parallels to the Idanian and Dictaean grottoes, and those near Sybrita and Kamaraes (southern face of Ida) and the mouth of the Knossos river, will probably be found ere long on the Greek mainland and in other islands. Such discoveries as the Temenos near Haghia Triadha and the deposits of votive objects found by Myres at Petsa in the hills near Palaikastro, seem, however, to show that there were sacred places, distinct from domestic buildings, where cult was practised and votive objects were dedicated; but whether these were marked by constructed shrines or were mere enclosures (temenos), or, again, open spots, possibly sanctified by a sacred tree or natural batry, we do not yet know. The evidence now available is rather in favour of the last alternative. Free-standing altars, probably evolved from the batry, and retaining, perhaps, its self-contained sanctity and its significance, were, however, in ritual use. One, hewn out of rock, stands before the Idanian Cave; the foundations of three were found within the Knossian Palace on three sides of a quarter apparently indicated by its contents as peculiarly sacred; and they are often shown on intaglios and reliefs,† sometimes crowned with 'horns of consecration,' like the actual models found in the Temenos of Haghia Triadha (see above). Altars appear in pictures and rectangular structures of moderate height (fig. 7). The cupped 'table of offerings,' found, as has been already said, in some cases superimposed on a batry, is a convenient reduction of the altar.‡

We have not good evidence yet for a class of priest or priestesses; but it is quite possible that certain figures shown in such cult-scenes as those on the Haghia Triadha sarcophagi are intended to be sacerdotal.

As to ritual, various acts are represented. Votaries pour libations, raise hands in postures of adoration, call down the Divinity to his fatal dwelling by blowing through a triton shell, dance round the goddess (the 'Chorus of Ariadne'), brandish swords (as does the faience votary of the snake-goddess of Knossos), play on stringed and wind instruments (Haghia Triadha sarcophagi), offer flowers and perhaps fruit (fig. 1), doves, etc., and slay animals in sacrifice (an ox on the Haghia Triadha sarcophagus, and perhaps goats, as in many intaglio scenes). There is no good evidence for burnt sacrifice; and the question of human victims cannot be determined at present. It depends on the interpretation of the *taurobolia scenes and of the Minotaur legend.

Dedication both of real articles of personal property and of simulacra was extensively practised. The Dictaean Cavern yielded hundreds of spears, heads, arrow-points, knives, sword-blades, razors, tweezers, hairpins, rings, and other bronze objects, taken off the persons of worshippers and offered to the Deity. It also yielded simulacra of weapons, e.g. especially the double-axe, a miniature chariot, miniature oxen, sheep, and goats, and figures of men and women. The latter figures belong to a large and widespread class of *Aegean remains, found in silver, bronze, lead, terra-cotta, ivory, and faience, and of every grade of art. They are conventional representations of worshippers, dedicated to the Deity and placed in the Divine precinct to ensure Divine protection and a share in the Divine life for the dedicator. Even when placed in tombs, as at Kampos in Laconia, such statuettes were probably not *ushabbi (servants to answer the dead man's call in another world), but simulacra of surviving relatives who wished to be under the protection of the deceased and the Deity to whom he had gone. Less common objects of *ex voto dedication are models of garments, e.g. skirts and girdles (found in the faience deposit at Knossos), and of human limbs, birds, and vermin (found in

* See the specimens from the Dictaean Cave (BSA xi. pl. xi.) and Knossos (BSA ix. fig. 50).

† E.g. on the steatite pyxis from Knossos, TFC fig. 2, fig. 7 above.

‡ See the specimens from the Dictaean Cave (BSA ix. pp. 9, 35).
The religious character and use of a great body of Aegean cult-objects having now been established, without reference to alien evidence, we may safely inquire whether a comparison of neighbouring and succeeding cults will explain the significance of the religion to which they pertained—a religion, be it remembered, which has no literary history of its own, and no literary records that can yet be deciphered. In this place the comparisons must be very briefly made. First, in regard to the Aegean Divine Spirit itself, personified in the iconic stage as a young woman, a particular religion finds itself on very familiar ground. A goddess with a young subordinate god is known in early times on every coast of the Mediterranean which looked towards Crete. In Punic Africa, the goddess whose birth, death, and resurrection are personified with Horus; in Phoenicia, Astarth with Tammuz (Adonis); in Asia Minor, Cybele with Attis; in Greece (and especially in Greek Crete itself), Rhea with the young Zeus. Everywhere she is *apótheos*, prepared for her son's embrace by immaculate conception, and then of the gods and all life by the embrace of her own son. In memory of these original facts, her cult (especially the more esoteric mysteries of it) is marked by various practices and observances symbolic of the negation of true marriage and obliteration of sex. A part of her male votaries are castrated; and her female votaries must ignore their married state when in her personal service, and often persecute their own husbands. As there is no ordinary human birth, so there is no ordinary human death. The Divine son Tammuz, Attis, Melicertes, or Zeus himself in Crete (where his tomb was shown), dies, but comes again to life, as does the sun to summer and winter. The goddess is therefore the Spirit of Nature, constantly renewing herself in her own offspring. Of this universal Deity of all the Near East the Aegean goddess with her son was, beyond all question, a manifestation. If we are to give a name to her, it must be *Rhea*; and if to her son and companion, it must be Zeus, remembering that, by Hellenic tradition, the coming into being of Zeus was laid peculiarly in Crete. In the primitive story he embraces his own mother— *Krista* was ascribed from dim antiquity with Rhea; and a curious piece of direct evidence connecting the Aegean goddess with the cult of Rhea has lately been adduced. A clay vessel of very peculiar form, the *kernos*, is stated by an ancient commentator to have been for the use of worshippers of Rhea. The only vessels answering his description have come to light on *Aegean* sites, and one in particular was found at Palaikastro, in Crete, among the hoard of sacred objects accompanying a snake goddess described above.

The community between *Aegean* and other Near Eastern religions being so close, it is not surprising that almost every recognizable cult-feature in the former can be paralleled in the latter. The indwelling of the Deity in stones, whether natural *batelis*, cairns, pillars, or shrines, and in trees, is a most familiar Semitic belief, and one which left numerous traces on Hellenic worship. A cult of weapons appears to have existed in early Asia Minor among the Hittites of Pteras and the Carians of Labranda, not to go so far afield as the Alani on the Eastern Euxine, who in a late age adored a standing blade.* The "horns of consecration" are seen in Semitic sacred representations, and appear in Hebrew ritual as "horns of the altar." The "sacred animals" are all widely related. The serpent as an embodiment of chthonian Divinity is not only Greek but Egyptian (snake-form of Nekhebet); the dove as the vehicle of the Divine spirit from on high has survived from Semitic literal belief into the symbolism of Christianity. The great *felide* were guardians and supporters of Anatolian Cybele. The bull, as a dwelling of Divinity in Egypt, has its counterpart in the god Zeus of Crete. Astartes, mother of Apollo and Hith, is known to all. The infant Zeus is wrapped in the goat-skin, and the goat continued to a late time peculiarly sacred in the cult of western Asia Minor. The monsters of *Aegean* cult-scenes have so many affinities with the Egyptian (those on the Phaestan shell actually carry the Nilotic life-sig, the *ankh*) that they have all been referred to an Egyptian original, the maternity personification, Thuenis, the hippo, rear ed on her hindquarters. The nude of her iconography is too extensive and obvious to need detailed mention.

It is not to be understood, however, that such parallelism implies the derivative character of *Aegean* religion, least of all derivation from any single civilization, such as the Semitic or the Egyptian. If there be parentage between Semitic and *Aegean* civilization, it is the former that is the offspring, given the comparative youth of its art and its system of writing; while, as for Egyptian influence, it is a good reason to think that it came to exercise a considerable influence on *Aegean* iconic representation, and even a little on the ideas which that in turn produced, no one, comparing the complexity of early Egyptian cult with the simplicity and winter. The goddess of the one is exoterically, is the embodiment of all life. It is needless, indeed, to look for the derivation of the essential features of *Aegean* cult at any later epoch than that of the primeval expansion of mankind. Its fundamental religious ideas were those of a vast proportion of the common human stock, and they continue to be so to the present day. The *Aegean* race sought Divinity in the life principle of Nature, spontaneously originated and reproducing itself to eternity. It placed that Divinity in great features of Nature, was naturally led to a reason to think that it came to define its idea in terms of man, being yet in that social stage in which man in relation to reproduction held his naturally subordinate place, it represented the principle of life as an unweeded woman, its property of reproduction as a son unbegotten, and its relation to the humanity resultant from this woman and man as an unseen Spirit, descending on wings and indwelling in certain material objects, the choice of which was to some degree determined by their inherent suggestion either of great natural features or human organs of life. From these fundamental
ideas all the features of 

Greek cult representation and ritual practice known to us can very well have proceeded naturally and independently.

D. G. HOAGTH.

AEGIS.-In Greek mythology, the aegis is an attribute of magic power, which seems to belong originally to Zeus, the supreme god, who is therefore often depicted as wearing it. It appears as both the protector and revealer of his attributes, and on his enemies and for this purpose, according to Homer, it is borrowed both by Athene and by Apollo. Its form is not easy to realize in the earlier descriptions, of which we find the fullest in the hymn to Athene in the Iliad (xv. 321).

"About her shoulders cast the tasselled aegis terrible, whereon is a crown all about, and strife is therein, and valour and horrible onslaught within, and therein is the dreadful monster's Gorgon head, dreadful and grim, portent of aegis-bearing Zeus."

Here it appears to be some sort of defensive mantle, like what is worn by Athene in later art; it is provided with 'a hundred tassels of pure gold' (Ht. ii. 448), and is also described as 

δακτυλία 

, fringed all round or hairy on both sides; there is a shield or mantle, which was made by the smith-god Hephaestus (xv. 309); when it is shaken, it scatters terror on all around. It is used by Apollo (xxiv. 20) to wrap round the dead body of Hector, and so protect it from injury.

The views both of the Greeks themselves and of modern philologists as to the origin and meaning of the aegis have been greatly influenced by opinions as to the etymology of the word. The Greeks often associated it with 

αἰγας, 'a goat-skin'; and Herodotus (iv. 188) suggests that the aegis of Athene was derived from the tasseled goat-skins worn by the Libyan women near Lake Tritonos. It was interpreted by later Greek mythologists as either the skin of the goat Amalthea, which had suckled Zeus in his infancy, or that of a monster slain by Athene. Modern mythologists have usually referred the connexion with 

αἰγας, 'to rush,' 

αἰγιν, or 

καραγιν, 'a squall'; but their interpretation of it as symbolical of the thundercloud, though found in many modern books, is not supported by any satisfactory evidence of early date; though Zeus himself is sometimes described as a 

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καραγιν, 'a squall'; and their interpretation of it as symbolical of the thundercloud, though found in many modern books, is not supported by any satisfactory evidence of early date; though Zeus himself is sometimes described as a thundercloud, the two actions are not necessarily related as cause and effect; for a clear example of the aegis as causing a thunderstorm no earlier authority can be quoted than Silius Italicus (xii. 720); Virgil (Aen. viii. 95) describes the process of Zeus, and I find no authority for the connexion in the Herodotus. It was at this point in the history of the aegis that it received its final form; it was made of a short breast-plate with similar adjuncts, and this is the usual form in later art; sometimes it is abridged to a mere band across the breast of the goddess.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

ÆONS (Gr. ἡμέρας = 'ages,' 'periods,' 'dispensations,' probably related to ἄεις = 'always,' 'for ever').—This term was employed by the opponents of Gnosticism, and by some of the Gnostics them- selves, to designate the successive emanations from the Absolute Being. The problem of accounting for the existence of the actual world-order, when it is regarded as unreal and illusory, without ascribing it directly to the Absolute One, is common to all Oriental theosophical systems; and the philosophers of most of them attempted its solution by an evolutionary (devolutionary) series of aeons or emanations. Close parallels to the Gnostic æons may be found in Japanese Shintoism, Mahayanaistic Buddhism, Zoroastrism, the Platonic Ideas, Philo's Powers, the Stoic Logoi, etc. The Shinto system (as set forth in the Kojiki) seems to rest upon pure pantheism; in the Zoroastrian process, the infinite becomes differentiated into the male and female principles Izanagi and Izanami, personified and conceived of as grossly lustful. These procreative æons are thought to be derived from certain abstract deities that are normally infinite. These produce, first, three other deities (æons), representing the great powers of nature; and these still others, some working for the good and some for the evil of man. In the Buddhism of the Northern School the Adibuddha (q.v.) produces the five 'Buddhas of Contemplation;' Vairochana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi; from whom, in their turn, emanate five 'Future Buddhas of Contemplation,' who...
by Epiphanius (Herm. xxxviii. 1) in his description of the Cainites. Traces of this original doctrine continue to reappear in the more highly developed Gnostic systems. Valentinus himself (Frag. 5) speaks of the 'living Αἰών' as of a unity, although he discovers a principle of distinction within this primordial unity. It belongs, indeed, to the essence of Gnostic speculation that the Αἰῶνες remain ideally one, while they manifest themselves as a plurality.

In later Gnosticism the Αἰῶνες are represented as a system or confederacy of Divine existences, with a human being. Nevertheless (syzygies) from the supreme Father. Each pair originates another, and each descends in dignity as it stands more remote from the sources of being. The doctrine of syzygies has its analogies in Mithraism as in the other Eastern religious systems mentioned above; but it was no doubt borrowed by the Gnostics from that Babylonian tradition to which they were indebted for so many details in their cosmology. In Gnosticism, however, the Babylonian idea of a physical generation is softened and rationalized. The successive pairs are not gotten, but are projected or emanated. They are the self-unfolding of the Divine nature; and in their totality they form its perfect manifestation. Homer speaks of a purely phlegmatic—the 'fulness' in which the Godhead exhausts its hidden potentialities. The Pleroma, composed of the several Αἰῶνες, is the world of Light or higher reality; and is divided by a great gulf from the 'darkness' or another being.

The different Gnostic systems are widely at variance in their accounts of the number and arrangement of the Αἰῶνες. Basiliades (if we accept Irenaeus and Hippolytus I. as our authorities for his teaching) wove a web of only six (Πατρὶς, Νοῦς, Αἴγων, Φόρμωσις, Δώσιμα, Σοφία). The Pistis Sophia assumes thirteen, and conceives of the Αἰῶνες as the spheres inhabited by the Divine powers, rather than as the powers themselves. Valentinus enumerates thirty Αἰῶνες, which are grouped in three divisions—the Οἴκοδομος, the Decad, the Dodecad. Ideas of a geometrical nature are probably involved in this grouping; while the number 30 is apparently suggested by the thirty zodiacal signs. Among the Gnostics, the various systems which branch off from the main stem of Valentinism, the Pleroma of 30 Αἰῶνες is normative, but this number is subject to continual modifications.

A brief account of the system of Valentinus will suffice to illustrate the general character of the Gnostic Αἰωνολογία. He starts with Βυθός (depth) the Absolute One, and Σύγκρασις (silence) as his female companion. These generate Νοῦς (mind), and Ἀληθεία (truth). These in turn project Λόγος (word) and Ζωή (life), and these Ανθρώπος (man) and Εκκλησία (church). Νοῦς and Ἀληθεία afterwards produce ten ἡμιῶν (a perfect number) as an offering to the Father. Λόγος and Ζωή follow in the production of the Αἰῶνες, but produce twelve (not a perfect number) of Faith, Hope, Love, and Lower Wisdom (Ἀχαμάθ). This last, being unduly ambitious, and aspiring to produce sons without conjunction with a male σεξ, brought forth a 'formless and undigested substance' (the Demiurgos), which evolved in the present order of things, with its mixture of good and evil, and with reason, in whom spirit is enslaved by matter. This disturbance of the Pleroma alarmed the other Αἰῶνες and deeply disturbed Achamoth. In response to the tears of Achamoth and the supplications of the other Αἰῶνες, the Father permitted Νοῦς and Αληθεία to project Christ and the Holy Spirit for the restoration of form, the destruction of the Demiurgos, and the comfort of Achamoth. They have for their task the separation of the life and light that have become imprisoned in humanity, from death, evil matter, through a long series of magical rites (mysteries), and through the promotion of ascetical living.

In Gnosticism generally, as in the teaching of Valentinus, the creation of the lower world is explained by the hypothesis of a disturbance within the Pleroma. The error, or the undue ambition, of one of the Αἰῶνες results in the origin of an inferior power, who in his turn originates others, until a whole world of darkness and illusion comes into being. Nevertheless, since the process has its beginning within the Pleroma itself, some portion of the higher essence becomes intermingled with the baser elements, from which it yearns to be delivered. The Redemption, according to the Gnostic thinkers, consists in the sifting out of this higher essence and its restoration to the Pleroma. In order that this may be accomplished, an Αἰών of supreme dignity descends into the phenomenal world and becomes identified, really or in seeming, with the One.

The Αἰώνic theory, as we have seen, was in the first instance derived from the Zoroastrian idea of Infinite Time as the ultimate fact in nature. Thus it was allied from the beginning with speculations on the ultimate character, and from these it never succeeded in entirely freeing itself. The greater Gnostics, and Valentinus more especially, sought to resolve the Αἰῶνes into spiritual facts or processes. They were construed as modes of the Divine Being, activities within which the One unfolds and manifests His inward life. It proved impossible, however, to effect a complete transformation of a theory which was, in its essence, physical. Valentinus himself wavers in his conception of the Αἰῶνες—regarding them now as ideas, now as heavenly Persons, now as creative forces. His philosophical construction loses itself at every turn in primitive astrology and cosmical speculation. To this may be attributed the eventual failure of Gnosticism, alike as a philosophy and as a religion. While it professed to open a way out of the bondage of the natural world, it was itself grounded in ideas derived from nature-worship. See, further, Gnosticism.

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ALBERT H. NEWMAN AND ERNEST F. SCOTT.

ÆSCHYLUS.—Æschylus, son of Euphorion, an ephor of Eleusis, was born B.C. 525, commenced as a dramatist c. 490, gained his first victory in 484 and his last (with the Oresteia) in 458, and died at Gela in 456. He fought at the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, and Plateae. From about 476, when he composed for Hiero of Sicyon the Women of Atreus, at the foundation of that town, he was frequently in Athens. There is no satisfactory explanation of the statement of Heracleides Ponticus that he was tried on a charge of revealing the Mysteries in a play, and acquitted on the ground of ignorance (cf. Arist. Eth. Nic. iii. 2); the further details are probably unhistorical. Partizanship in politics can hardly be imputed to him on the strength of the supposed reference to Aristides in the description of Amphiarous (Sept. 552-594), * still less on the theory that Prometheus, son of Themis, is the model for his character; and his eulogy of the Areopagus, however, in the Euemices (esp. 681-708) testifies to conservative sentiments. In the same play (754-777), as well

* All references are to the text of Sidgwick (Socrep. Class. Bibl. Oss.)

(Scott), whose numbering hardly differs from that of Dindorf, Wecklein, and most modern editors. Hermann, Paly, and a few others use their own special notation.
ÆSCHYLUS as in the Supplices, he approves of the democratic friendship between Athens and Argos. He expresses the strongest detestation of tyranny in all forms (Pers., Prom., Ag. 953-955, Eum. 185-190); but has no objection to constitutional monarchy (Supp. 398, 517, 600), or to moderate democracy (Pers. 242, Supp. 483-489). His general ideal is a balance of the different agencies, and the consti-tutional mon-archy of Olympia, because the personages are derived mainly from the Epic cycle; but he drew upon other sagas as well, and upon contemporary history; and he dealt very freely with the plots. He was evidently acquainted with Hesiod and other cosmological writers. In a few cases he cites the gnostic moralists (Prom. 890); more often (Sept. 439, Ag. 1331, Cho. 60, Eum. 529) he expresses similar sentiments about wealth, fortune, pride, moderation, etc. It is, however, so much in common with his other works that it is difficult to judge his genuine attitude towards the popular mythology was almost certainly influenced by the poems of Solon and Theognis. The common statements that he was indebted to Orphic or to Pythagorean doctrines cannot be safely supported from the extant plays or fragments.

Of the 80 or 90 plays attributed to Æschylus, many of which can be grouped in trilogies or tetralogies, the majority are cited only by the lexicographers; little is known of their plots or the views contained in them, except in the case of the Prometheus Sulpit. The Danaids, Myrmidons, and Niobe seem to have dealt with various aspects of the passion of love. Certain gnostic fragments (Nos. 70, 156, 158, 161, 167, 255, 299, 301, 355, 365, 401, 475, Sidgwick), which are of striking aphorisms about the nature of the gods, good and evil, life and death, do not necessarily express the mind of the poet himself. His own moral and religious doc- trines must be sought in (1) the general tendencies, (2) the corresponding didactic speeches, and (3) the extant plays and fragments of the characters, in the seven extant plays. The selection of these, made apparently not later than the 5th cent. A.D., if not entirely accidental, may be due partly to celebrity and partly to the exigencies of dramatic form and popular taste, there emerges a body of gradually developed views attributable to Æschylus himself. His philo- sophy, in which the ethical cannot be sharply demarcated from the theological, may be discussed in the order of its development, as it deals with (1) the Divine nature, (2) the Divine agencies, (3) the moral nature and action of man, (4) the special questions of responsibility and heredity, the family curse, and the blood-feud, which is the problem dramatized in the Prometheus requires separate consideration.

1. In the earlier plays the Olympian gods are invoked jointly as a πάρθενος (Sept. 220), or a κοινόθεος (Supp. 229); they are άργυρος, γινώ-θαι, βαλτησαρχή, ἄστατος, πάνωμε, with temples, altars, and images (Ινως). The Theban maidens are invoked jointly to Pallas, Poseidon, Artemis, Cyprus, Lyceus, Artemis, Hera, Apollo, and the local Pallas Onca (Sept. 128-180), as παράκλητος, τέλεως, λουθρός, but also διοικητής, under Zeus as the πάρθενος παντοτής (118); Eteocles adds Earth and the Άπρος of Greek (70). Popular language is used of augury, slaves, sacrifices, river-gods, and Hades (28, 378, 618, 269, 272, 854-860). But the same play finely describes Justice as the virgin daughter of Zeus (622); both the piety of Amphiarous and the impiety of Polynices have moral elements; no διάλεξη could involve Eteocles in his determination to defend the gate attacked by his brother (677-708, 948-958). Similarly (in the Supplices the fugitives appeal to Artemis, Ares, Poseidon, Apollo, Hermes, and especially (Supp. 1034-1042) to Aphrodite, by whom Hypermenaeus was perhaps deceived (Fr. 44); also to Zeus as ξινός, αἰνός, ἀδέως, λείτους, εἰδέως, κτέιναι, etc.; and to local deities, as the hero Apis (117, 263). With the θανάτοι τοι πολυφωνία is coupled the βαρσισμός χθόνος δέας κατακτώς (24-25); if Artemis is dead, the suppliants will turn to Zeus, the host of all, the host of all those whose work is done, if we fail to reach the Olympian god's (156-161). But the other side of the myth of Io seems to be treated sarcastically (291-315); it is tentatively moralized by the insistence on Zeus as the eventual deliverer and founder of a royal dynasty. The chthonian Zeus, who 'judges the sins of men by final judgments among the dead' (230), is deliber-ately identified with the Zeus who is τέλεως, γαδοσ, and παγωρεια (816), who is also the son of Earth (822) and allied with Themis (360). The slightest association of injustice with the gods is impiety (921; cf. 395); and everywhere the lyrics extol the power and righteousness of Zeus, with the fervour of Hebrew prophecy. He is 'king of kings, most perfect in strength of the powers that make perfect' (294-299); 'hospitalable in the highest, he directs destiny by venerable enactment' (673); 'he beholds violent deeds not gladly, but with eyes of justice' (812); 'the beam of his balance is over all' (822); 'what is fated, that will be; there is no fated, that is non-existent, the limitless will of Zeus' (1047-1049). This is not merely poetical optimism:

'The desire of Zeus is not made to be easily grasped. Everywhere it glows, even in the gloom, with fortune that is sombre, and dusty, and dazed, and dazzled, and perished, and with the mind, unobservable by human gaze. He hurleth men to utter destruction from their towering height; though he array no forces against them; deity does nothing with labour. What his spirit has once designed, he works out withal, from above, from his holy seat' (67-105).

Such melody is in essentials that of the Oratia, though the more ethical conceptions are tentative and far from correlated. The theology of the Persae (472 B.C.) is dra-matically Oriental. Zeus and Phoebus and the Sun are invoked; Pallas has favoured Athens. The ritual of the dead (οἰοίνθις, 822) is supplemented by appeals to Earth, Hermes, and Hades-Aidonous, who λαβὼς ἄμφωνες εἰς ἡμᾶς (890), though Darius as a δαίμων or even ὀνόμα has a δυνάστεια below. The repeated εἰς τοῦτο allegations of a Divine Nemesis or φόβος, arbitrarily afflicting excessive wealth or happiness (163, 354, 373, 884), are akin to the fatalism of Herodotus's famous legends; all the characters appeal a deity who deludes men to their ruin (σκύτη τοῦ, 349, cf. Fr. 301 the nature of the problem dramatized in the Prometheus requires separate consideration.

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It is insolence (CjSpis) which 'flowers and is full in the ear with ruin (arv), ... 1898.

See Harrison and Verrall, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, pp. 668-669, and Haigh, pp. 120, 121.

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167-172, 640) possibly indicate development in the Universe; the chthonian cults of Earth, Night, the Dead and their agents (Cho. 399; Eum. 115, 321) are subordinated to the conception of deity as moral and rational. Sacrifices and ceremonies of purification are little in comparison with the observance of justice and self-restraint. Venerable legends of conflicting divinities are ever re-written (Eum. 1-10). Of the Olympians, Apollo as the giver of oracles and εργατής of rites, and Athena as the inspirer of political wisdom, retain some genuine personality with impaired divinity; perhaps Hermes also and Artemis, for whose interference with the winds at Aulis Æschylus attempts to find mediating deity (Prom. 138-140). Zeus is too great for the stage, even in the Prometheus plays. Theology is to be sought not in mythology, but in history (παρέχει τοῦ γ' ἐγκύκλιον, Ag. 368), and in conscience (μεταφρασμὸν πόνον, Ag. 190; cf. 975-980). Zeus is supreme, but not all-j ust; thus Electra cries for Orestes the support of Strength and Justice with him who is the third (i.e. Zeus σωτήρ), Zeus the greatest of all' (Cho. 294). To Zeus are applied not only the epithets αἰτωρ, ὁ παντός, ἔργων, ὁ παντότοκος, the signs of a superhuman, but also the words 'παντετήρησα, παναγείρα, πάνας κρανίων, πάνατερ, and δυκάρχον. There is surely more than an 'illusion du monothéisme' in the first theological passage of the Agamemnon (160-178):

"Zeus, who'er he be, by this name 'the his pleasure to be called, this name I address to him. Weighing all things well, I can conjecture nought but Zeus. If the burden of this vanity is in truth to be cast off from my mind. ... But whose heartly giveth titles of victory to Zeus shall hit the mark of wisdom for him who hath learned and mortals in the ways, who hath established "learning by suffering" as an ordinance for ever."

To those only who have learnt on these lines to know and do justice, 'Zeus the all-seeing and Fate (Μοῖρα) have descended' (Eum. 1046).

Thus, in harmony with the conception of deity as normally personal, there emerges the conception, increasingly personal, of universal order. The physical law this is Μοῖρα, τὸ μόριον, τὸ πεποίημα, ὣς πεποίημα, αἰσθήσεις, ἀνίχνευς; as moral law it is ὁμοίωσις, ἔνοψις ἁμαρτωλών; but these terms admit of many degrees of personification, and not only over-lap, but not uncommonly involve the circles in defining to which idealistic systems are liable. The statement that Zeus is weaker than the Μοῖρα and Ἑρωτεις (Prom. 515-518) is isolated and controversial; generally the established order is the expression of the will of God and His being. God is subject only to the law of His own nature as consistent and just. He cannot be on the side of evil (κατασκέυην ἐκ τοῦ κατά τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐργατήριον, Chor. 697); He must be partial (ἐπιτροπή) morally either way (μύσθος εὐσεβῆς, Supp. 403). The working of this supreme authority is described in many combinations of terms, personally and impersonally. When in defence of Right (Θευμ) men trample on the majesty of Zeus (Διός σύνθω, Thes. 138-139), then ‘Let us lift up our hands.” Thus is the sword’ (προκάλεσθε· θ' ἄλων φαναριοῦ, Cho. 641-647).

‘For each fresh deed of injury, justice is whetted by Fate (Μοῖρα) upon a fresh whet-stone’ (Ag. 1535, 1536). The μετάθεσις Μοῖρα is besought (Cho. 306-314) ‘to grant success from Zeus to that cause to which Justice (τὸ δίκαιον) has gone over. For words of hate let words of hate be rendered; so Justice proclaims aloud as she exacts her due. For a bloody stroke let him repay a bloody stroke. That ‘the dogs must suffer,’ ‘the just men suffer’ (Cf. Clytemnestra’s ‘thoughtfulness not overcome by sleep shall ordain justly everything that has been fore-ordained with Divine sanction’ (δεῖ τοι τον ἐκ νομίμως ἔσται ἁμαρτωλόν, Ag. 912). Themis the Titaness and the Great Goddess ( Rider, pp. 130, 131, 167-172) no less than Justice, the daughter of Zeus.

2. The determinations of this supreme authority are intimated to man not only in history and in conscience, but by direct agencies. Positively, Æschylus attaches importance to dreams; the visions of Atossa, Io, and Clytemnestra reflect popular beliefs. 'For the mind in sleep is bright in its vision, though in daytime Fate is indiscernible by mortals' (Eum. 104). His attitude towards these oracles is ambiguous. There seems to be a barrière-penit in his treatment of the relations between Apollo and Orestes: Athens and not Delphi has the final word in the termination of the blood-guilt of the house of Atreus. Negatively, the Erinyes are ai-1250) and the word fluctuates considerably in the extant plays, and evidently has a long history behind it. It is hardly likely that Æschylus himself first identified the Avengers of the underworld with the Benign Venerable earth-goddesses of Athena and Sicyon (Εὐανείδες or Σεμβολοι); but he certainly accentuated both factors of this conception, and, while first investing the Furies with the archaic horrors of Gorgons, etc. (Paus. 1, 29, 6), was also conscious of a development from subjective to subjective associations, from punishment as retributive to punishment as remedial. The Erina is the activity of Divine justice in the presence of lawlessness. Zeus is a constant thevis (Cho. 246), even for those robbed of their young, 'a god on high, some Apollo or Pan or Zeus, hears the shrill complaint of his denizens; and sooner or later sends on the transgressors a Fury of requital' (Ag. 55-59). Much less for Paris's breach of the laws. The avenging will of Zeus shoot an arrow in vain; a short of the mark or too high in heaven (Ag. 365). 'One said that the gods do not deign to trouble about men by whom the honour of sacred things (χάρις θεῖας) is trampled on; but he was not pious' (Ag. 575). Helen herself becomes for the sending of Zeus, the lord of hospitality, a Fury of weeping to other brides' (Ag. 749). The Erinyes apply the laws of retributive and educational suffering: 'We deem ourselves,' sings their chorus (Eum. 312-320), 'to be direct in the course of justice. On the man who holds out pure hands, there comes no wrath from us; unsated he traverses the way of life. But if one in guilt, like this man, hides his gory hands, we appear as honest witnesses for the dead, and most exact from him the price of blood.' Again, 'Great power have the awful Erinyes both with the gods immortal and with those below the earth; and in their dealings with men they fully and visibly bring things to pass, to some giving songs of joy, but to others a life blurred by tears' (Ag. 592-955). As the play draws to a close, they serve to link Μοῖρα and Δίκαιος; and in their final metamorphosis there is as much conscious symbolism as the dramatic form permits.

3. If, then, innocence is pardoned and guilt punished, at any rate, in the long run (Ag. 760-771; Eum. 526-555), human morality must be based on...

See Harrison and Verrall, Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, pp. 658-659, and Haigh, pp. 120, 121.
universal law as applied to the life of the family and the city. By Æschylus, as by Dante, types of good and bad character are exhibited rather than analyzed. The dignity of individuality is drawn on a grand scale even in the case of Clytemnestra, without casuistry or sophistry. There is the same notion of distinction about the characters which are appealed for admiration, the King of Argos, Eteocles as patriot, Orestes, Electra, and, above all, Prometheus. The whole range of Greek piety is displayed in the choruses of the Oedipus, Danaids, captive women, Persian and Argive elders. To the Erechtheus in the Septem shows the poet's concurrence in the normal Greek ideas of ἄθλος, ἀθρόον, ἀσωματικόν, and ἄνωτέστα; also in the connexion of morality with religion. He does not absolutely avoid the popular language which makes ἄσθος a divine intangible of the intellect (νοστρ ἀθέτ, Pers. 751; τοί νοστρ ἀθέτ, Sept. 661; συναφρο ἀθνασία, Eu. 530; ἀποράφει, Prom. 479); but in his own view passion at least is bestial in character and originates where there is no law. The lustful 'have the tempers of raging brute': the Eumenides (Ag. 765-788); and the inordinate love which masters the female mind both in brutes and in men wins a perverse victory over the fellowship of wedlock, and involves calamities (Cal. 698-701). Generally sin is ἁμαρτία, iniquity, a transgression against the law (ἀρετοματία) of the fixed limits of human action. It is ἀνομία and μάταιον, and its fruit is δίκη, the criminal infatuation which is its own punishment. 

Its δίκαιον, ἁμαρτόν, ἰταντοτιανον; the moment of its suspension may be inevitable, but it is neither less nor more voluntary than destruction to happiness, as the reward of virtue (Eu. 532-537). Moral pathology has never been more convincingly explained than in the locus classicus on ἀμαρτία (Ag. 707-711):—

"An ancient saying has been fashioned in the generations of old, that a man's prosperity, when it has waxed great, brings forth and does not lament its loss, but that out of good fortune springs up for the family an insatiate misery. But I hold my own mind apart from the rest on this. The impious deed that gives birth to more after it, more, and like to their own breed; but the fate of righteous houses has ever a fair progeny. But old insolence is wont to begot an insolence with the vigour of the new day. Thus as a time of good fortune has come due, yea, and a fhend, against whom there is no battle, no, and in these days there ruled black ignorants (ἄνωτέστας) unto mansions, and like are they to their progenitors."

Nor has the moral ever been drawn more relentlessly from him:—

"And if the sake of Justice, nor trample it down at the sight of gain with godless foot; for retribution will ensue. The right issue abides in force. Wherefore let a man put in the place that longing for revenge and pay reverence to the claims of strangers to hospitality. He who is just of his own will contrive, will not be unprosperous; utterly ruined he will never be. But I say that the transgressor who dares to offend, and is laden with goods all amassed without justice, shall perform in time boils down his maiden, when trouble seizes him and his yardarm is splintered. And he calls on those who hear him not and struggles in the midst of the mob; but the gods mock at the hot-headed man, seeing him who boasted he should never be powerless now in helpless war with his fortress. And so, for ever wrecking his former prosperity on the edge of life and becoming unhappy, unseen. (Eu. 539-565).

A religious materialist is sure to emphasize the inevitabilities of ἀργυρος (e.g. Ag. 1566; Cho. 1076), but there are careful cavers against fatalism:—

"Instruct my son pleasably," says Darius, "warned from heaven as a reproof: that it may be the case of from offending against God in overweening boldness (Pers. 831)."

The murderers of the house of Atraeus are even more agents than the avengers. But if there has been no repentance and no purification, vengeance pursues the sinner even to the very end that he may perish unrepentant (Eum. 467).

"For this office has perjured Fate allotted to us to hold for ever and for all mortal men whose behalf wanton deeds of blood, we should attend, until the guilty pass through the earth; but even in death he is not ever free." (Eu. 384-385).

Æschylus' allure to life after death are marked by a reserve unusual in poetical descriptions of Hades; as to continued consciousness he is perhaps consistent (Cho. 617); but he recognizes the possibilities of prolonged retribution and of remorseful memory, such as that indicated in Clytemnestra's terrible sarcasm about Iphigenia's reception of her father (Ag. 1555-1559). Apart from the functions of an Alastor (Supp. 418) or an Erinys (Eu. 267), there may be a judgment on Hades by the Eumenides (Supp. 228-231). The fate of Orestes will punish or reward his countrymen according as they deal with Athens (Eu. 767-777). The curses of the slain subsist by the survival of their personalities (ὑπὲρ σωλήνατον ἐκ τάτοιον, Cho. 406); the Eumenides are said to 'are in the underworld (Eu. 417)."* 

4. But the more vividly sin is pictured as prolific and its effects as incalculable, the more difficulty there is in escaping from fatalistic theories, such as those implied in the popular ideas of the ancestral curse and the ἄτρωτον turning into a blood feud. These subjects specially fascinated the mind of Æschylus. In the Supplikos there is a simple warning of the danger of starting a curse: 'For your children and your house, in whichever way you deliberate (Ag. 765): and the corresponding penalty' (433-436); and in the sequel there was some purification from blood-guilt. In the Septem the children of Eteidus are involved in a curse not clearly defined as invoked or inherited by him (833-835), but there is a general way of destruction and injury to its δομα καταρχή: 'the field of criminal folly produces a harvest of death' (Sept. 601). The chorus, indeed, makes Eteocles a responsible agent on account of his savage desire to shed unawful blood (ἀπειροδος ὁ θεματός, 689-694), but to the question τι σὲ καθαρ-

μοις πόροι, the poet has not yet found his solution: ὅτι κτῆσις τοῦτοι τῶν μακαρίων (682), unless one is indicated in the self-sacrifice of Antigone. But ten years later the double problem of hereditary criminality and blood-guiltiness is treated in the Orestes with a breadth of design which is not only poetic but 'prophetic.' There is little reason to suppose that early tragedy was necessarily written in trilogies, but the scheme is admirably suited to Æschylus' exposition of the origin, transmission, and extinction of the ἁμαρτία (Ag. 1192). The principal terms, ἀργυρος, ἁμαρτία, are developing specific meanings; beside them are vaguer phrases (ἀθρόο, Ag. 155; μακαρία, Eu. 378; ἄγα, Cho. 155; ἀρακτοκράτη, Ag. 228; ἰταντικός, Ag. 346; σαρώθι, Cho. 894, etc.). The phenomena are best stated in Cho. 400-405: "I think it is that drops of gore spilt upon the ground demand the shedding of other blood. For ἑαυτοῖς cries on the avenging Fury, who brings up from those slain before calamity (ἀθροί) to attend upon calamity;' and then 'who will expel from the body of the living the καθαρμική γένεσις φόρος ἀγα' (Ag. 1566). The story of the house of Pelops is not laboured; but a sufficient number of points—the adultery of Thyestes, Atreus' horrid revenge, the sacrifice of Iphigenia—lead up to the murder of Agamemnon. At each point the chain might have been broken, but each link is fresh rivet: 'Where will the force of this ἀργυρος make an end? where will it cease and be lulled to rest?' (Cho. 1075). Has the curse acquired a personality as above:—

* If the Areopagus is really the Hill not of Are but of the Are (Harrison and Verrall, p. 668), the Erinys as well as the Sapphoi have their ancient home in its chasms.
along the instrument of justice! (Cho. 641). Yet among the consequences may come a deed which, though terrible, is really innocent, an *ανέμεμφος άτη* (Cho. 830); and the chorus of elders, even while declaring that the house is ‘fast-bound,’ grasps the truth that saves the morality of the situation. All retribution is and must be deserved; ‘The robber is robbed, the murderer makes payment in full. There abides, while Zeus abides on his throne, the rule that the doer must suffer; this is the eternal law’ (Ag. 1502-1504). The curse, then, is not an overwhelming fatality, but a hereditary predisposition which may be worked out in the race and even in the individual. The original transgressor was free to sin, and his descendant is free to adopt the prescribed means of purification. The actual development of this theme in connexion with the traditional obligation of the blood-feud is perhaps confused by a political motive; and the special pleading in the *Eumenides* about the nature of kinship is certainly frigid, as also the insistence on legal forms (ἀδίκως, μαρτυρία, σινεκδομή). The idea of blood for blood was so deeply rooted in popular sentiment and religious institutions, that *Æschylus*, no less than the legislators of his time, may have been puzzled to discriminate degrees of guilt. But the instinct. *Προκροτάτας κριτικούς* (Cho. 144), Clytemnestra may be allowed to swear that she sacrificed her husband to the άτη, άτης, and *Ερως of their daughter* (Ag. 1438). If not, how can Orestes ever say that his mother’s blood is really effacing away from his hand, and the pollution is being washed out! (Eum. 280). No libations are of any use (Cho. 521), especially if the blood is *κόνδυρος* (Cho. 1038); the spirit of the dead is not tamed by the former, butبوت by such a way. The feud would go on for ever, or till the family become extinct. In *Æschylus’s* solution of the problem there are really two stages, of which the latter is the more important. Orestes can plead innocence because he acts under the ‘interpretation’ (ο μνήμης άρετής σοι μαρτυρούση, Eum. 595) and even threats (Cho. 283-298) of Apollo-Loxias, and is ready to perform the ritual purifications (Cho. 1059); and the Delphic oracle had since the *Oresteia* the eternal laws (Στηρυγματικά and educational influence in Greece. On the other hand, *Æschylus* felt that neither the payment of blood-money nor the performance of ritual can quiet the conscience or carry civilization very far. It is perhaps the eternal value of pally to *kurzer Gott* but the ultimate and really moral solution is to be found in the judicial decision of Athena on the divided vote of the Areopagus, which she herself represents as the victory of the *vox populi* regarded as the *Dei*; άνθρωπος Ζεύς (Eum. 978). The *Oresteia*, then, is certainly a ‘temple’ poem to this extent, that it expresses a view in the moral and religious speculations of the age as to heredity and responsibility, though it is not merely didactic on any particular question of justice or equity. 

*5. In the *Oresteia* the final reconciliation is provided by the gods; in the *Prometheus* they sustain the whole drama. Except in a few details attributable to a re-reading of his *Suppliants*, the surviving play of the set (probably two tragedies with a satyr play) is totally opposed to *Æschylus’s* theology in all its stages. Prometheus, son of Themis or Earth (212), secured Zeus’s triumph over the older dynasty (221), but is now tortured for having saved the human race from the chief instrument of civilization, of augury and medicine, and of other means of providing for the future, and of Hope as the mainspring of effort (249-256, 442-508). All who visit the victim, whether as Zeus’s agents—Strength, Hephaestus, and Hermes—or as sympathizers—the Oceanides, Oceanus, and Io—have suffered more or less in person or in character from Zeus, who is a *τίνος τορραντος* gods and men. Blithely (εὐθάλης, 180; δεικτικός, 404), unjustly (ἀδίκως, 150; θρία διήνυστος, 30), and odiously (975). But Prometheus, by virtue of his parentage, knows a secret; if Zeus contracts a certain marriage,* his son will be greater than the sire (708, 907-927); in this respect Zeus is weaker than the Fates and Erinys (510-520). The fragments of the *Solutus* indicate close parallelism in form and episodes to the *Pinfusae*; in the solution Zeus and Prometheus meet one another halfway in a reconciliation, of which the agents are Heracles and Chiron the Centaur (cf. *Prom. Vinct.* 188-194, 1026-1029). Now this conception of a Zeus, inferior both in righteousness and in power, is out of all relation to the *Suppliants* and the *Oresteia* alike, and no theory of the poem’s meaning can be accepted which minimizes this fact. Apart from purely fanciful explanations of the plays as political or scientific allegory, two views have been very commonly held.

(a) The tragedians develop their dramatic situations freely, provided he kept to the main lines of some recognized myth. *Æschylus* found Hesiod’s story of Prometheus suitable for the exhibition of character as affected by injustice, and susceptible of treatment about genealogy, anthropology, etc. This view, as developed by (e.g.) Patin and Paley, may be called the literary explanation. Wecklein’s theory, that Zeus is in the right and Prometheus violent and shortsighted, and certain dignity of character, like Milton’s Satan, comes under the same head. But no such theory really explains the boldness of the idea, the confusion of myths, or the intensity of the passion with which the hero is supported.

Accordingly, (b) most modern scholars, including E. de Faye, regard *Æschylus* as deliberately inculcating the position that even the supreme personal authority in the Universe is itself subject to the higher moral necessity (Άνδρον). Prometheus, the mythical representative of these forces, is, then, really in the right, and Zeus is in the wrong with him and with Io; but Zeus’s submission is effected by the educational and spiritual function of the hero (κατάρας, 981); and Prometheus, too, can yield without loss of dignity to an improved Zeus. This view gives an adequate meaning to the play as a whole, but it seems to lay undue stress on lines occurring in mere dialogue and not specially emphasized, and also to ignore the human personality of the protagonist. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine the author of the *Oresteia* and its epiphons for Zeus acquiescing even temporarily in the idea of such development in the character.

Those, therefore (c), who hold the view first enunciated by a brother poet, Shelley, that Prometheus stands for Man, anxious to be moral and religious as well as rational, but convinced that he is the victim of forces incompletely understood, of the de facto supremacy of ‘Nature,’ prefer to trace in this drama the Greek parallel to the Book of Job. *Æschylus* was too great a poet to be a mere allegorist; but when his mind was occupied with the problem of undeserved evil, he found a gift of iron and his gift of iron, the gift of fire and the creation of woman by Prometheus. He selected with a free hand from this *This view of the *Eumenides* seems less liable to objections than the theory of Pontius the Papist, that law, Apollo and Zeus equity, and Athena mercy, in a special question of moral casuistry. For that view see Haigh, p. 119.*

*This is a marked instance of *Æschylus’s* syncretism; the story is even less connected than Io with the myth of Prometheus, which was apparently an anthropological explanation of certain fire ceremonies.*
this and other myths the more dramatic parts of the symbolism. The mention of Heracles in the Prologs of the symbolism. The mention of Heracles, repeated at every point of the play (see 84, 79, 436, 907, 864, 1012, 1034-1038), and especially the pronoun *he* at 1012, 1034-1038, and especially the pronoun *he* in the last lines of the dialogue. In the two recitative passages assigned to the hero in the Exodos, the boast *παρών εύ αύ θανάτου* (1053) must have special significance as balancing the protest *σοφί* αν *τά κακά* (700).

But it is likely that the solution of the problem, like the conclusion of the Book of Job, was too formal a compromise to be altogether satisfactory; and that may be the reason why it has perished. The whole tendency of *Eschylus's* mind is so strongly optimistic that it would right itself naturally after a reactionary period of what is *pessimism* rather than *scepticism*, however dramatically intensified.

*Eschylus's* originality as a thinker consists, then, in his attempt to moralize the traditional beliefs embodied in myths and institutions, by the light of certain religious presuppositions and certain moral convictions which have been illustrated above. In his main ideas there is little variation, except in their poetical expression; in the detailed application at which his genius most fully flowered there is too much admit of exact and consistent analysis. His doctrine is not entirely any mark, though his dramas continued to be popular for their antique simplicity and dignity; even *Aristophanes*'s vindication of his literary merit against the criticism of the next generation takes lower ground than it might. Neither the piety of Sophocles nor the impiety of Euripides felt the force of his protest against a fatalistic theory of morals. In philosophy, intellect and the place of conscience and the Divine law so completely, that *Plato* could employ the myth of Prometheus without reference to a treatment of the subject which the modern world has long considered one of the most sublime efforts of poetic genius.

LITERATURE.—Besides the introductions to editions of *Eschylus*, sections on him are to be found in all the general works on Greek literature or theology. The most useful summary in English is A. E. H. *Philosophy of the Greeks*, ch. ii. (1896). Of the innumerable essays on *Eschylus* the three by J. A. Symonds (The Greek Poets, 2nd series) and E. Myers (Hellenica) are best known. Of older books the most frequently referred to are K. O. Müller's *Dissertations on the Eumenides* (Gottingen, tr. 1843), F. Weicker's *Eschylus*, Gottinger (1857), and H. H. H. Nigelschäf's *Nachkommenschaft Theaters* (1857). The principal monographs are Klausen's *Theologomena Eschylina* (1859); G. Droege's *Religion und stittische Vorgänge des* (1861); E. Buchholz's *St. Wissenschaug des* (Finnari und). *Eschylus* (1860); and E. Faye's *Essai sur les Études religieuses et morales d'eschyle* (1884).

HERBERT E. D. BLAKISTON.

ÆSTHETISM (ασθητις, 'sense perception').—The theory of *Aristotle* concerning the principles of the aesthetic. Ordinarily the term is not used as a distinctive title for specific theories, but as denoting a tendency of theories otherwise named. Three uses of the term may be conveniently distinguished:

1. *Aestheticism* may denote the identification of moral goodness with beauty, such as is suggested in the common Greek phrase 'beautifull and good.' Morality and art may be looked upon as the realization of an inner principle, that of order or harmony. The good man, like the musician to whom *Aristotle* is fond of comparing him, is the man who can introduce harmony into his subject, who can maintain that balance and symmetry of parts essential to the highest music, whether of conduct or of sound. The musician works with a different material from the good man, but their purpose and principles are the same. The good life is a work of art. And the impulse toward creation may also be the same. The artist works from love of the beautiful, from an instinctive passion for the beautiful itself. He recognizes no compulsion in his work, for he has no other desire than to do thus, set in motion by an impulsion from love of the good, from his instinctive desire to realize a complete and perfect life. Morality does not come to him in the form of a law constraining him to walk contrary to his nature. The good life is the life which realizes all the possibilities of man, the most completely human life. The good man is beauty realized in flesh and blood and action rather than in stone, but he is beautiful none the less.

This aestheticism in this sense characterized the Greek view of life is to a certain extent true, but not unreservedly so. It is true that the Greeks did not work out a clear distinction between the beautiful and the good. *Aristotle* states that the term 'good' is limited to certain actions, whereas beauty pertains also to that which is unmoved, but he gives no more exact difference. Yet it is far from true that the Greeks absolutely ignored the more severe, dualistic aspect of the moral life. *Aristotle* certainly, moral development is not a mere unfolding of the life of instincts, but the acquiring of a rational control over desires. The good is a reality recognized by reason, and independent of the individual's approval. A man may have an independent reality it stands over against the individual as the law of his action, demanding realization in his life. The moral life shows struggle and discord rather than the calmness of a work of art. But this difference fails to find adequate expression in Greek theory, and as a consequence the fields of ethics and aesthetics remain confused. Were we to confess that this condition, it would perhaps be truer to say, not that their moral theory is aesthetic, but that their aesthetic theory is moral.

This confusion of the two fields is continued in the English Moral Sense School, which inherits the Platonic tradition, but in these latter works the Platonic principle is being supplemented the other aesthetic aspect. This is partially true of Shaftesbury, but more completely so of Hutchinson and Hume.

*Aestheticism* may also be used to denote the theory that all ultimate values are aesthetic, moral good a means towards an ultimate aesthetic good. Under this conception the moral life is not itself beautiful, but it exists for the sake of aesthetic enjoyment. Morality, with its aesthetic function, is a result of mal-adjustment, in consequence of which we are compelled to do much which we do not value for its own sake, but as the necessary means towards an enjoyment which itself has no further use.

This conception finds literary expression in the writings of Mr. Walter Pater, in which the end of life is stated as riches of experience. This richness of experience is best realized in the life of aesthetic enjoyment.

3. *Aestheticism* also denotes the divorce of art and morals, usually implied in the popular use of the phrase 'art for art's sake.' Beauty is held to be independent of goodness, the technical aspect of a work of art being emphasized at the expense of its human significance. Art thus becomes a kind of higher morality, free from the objective laws which hold in the lower. The immoral may thus enter into the beautiful on the ground of its immediate value for perception.

LITERATURE.—*Zeller, Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics* (1897), ii. ch. x.; *Marx/Mead, Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics* (1900), ch. v. § 6; *Martineau, Types of Character* (1880), i. bk. i. branch 1; *Santayana, Sense of Beauty* (1896), pt. 1; *Aristotle, The Renaissance* (1873), conclusion, also *Marx, The Epicurean* (1885); *What Type? Characters of* (1891); *Isocrates*, *History of Aesthetics* (new ed. 1900), ch. iv.

NORMAN WILDE.

ÆSTHETICS.—*Aesthetics* is the philosophical study of beauty regarded in itself and in its application to art and nature. (1) Meaning of the word.—Considered solely from the etymological point of view (ασθητις, ασθητικος, to perceive by the senses), the word means the study of sense-per-
ceptons. Kant remains faithful to this etymological acceptation when he applies the name of 'Transcendental Äethere' to the chapter of his Critique in which he discusses the sense-perceptions Time and Space. Baumgarten was the first to use the word 'Äesthetics' for the science of the beautiful; and the change that has taken place in the history of the term may be understood when it is recollected that, according to Baumgarten, the beautiful exists in the obscure regions of the lower consciousness, that it belongs to the rank of sensations, and is opposed to the 'clear thinking' of the intellect. To-day the term 'Äesthetics' has lost this connexion with sensation, and denotes in general the philosophy of the beautiful.

(2) Place of Äesthetics in philosophy.—The philosophy of the beautiful is bound up with and forms an integral part of a general system of philosophy. But Äesthetics is one thing in Plotinus or Thomas Aquinas, and quite another in Kant or Taine, because the philosophical systems of these scholars are so widely divergent. In the opinion of the present writer, Äesthetics is a mixed science, borrowing its principles from both metaphysics and psychology; so that (see art. BEAUTY) it includes two classes of questions, the one class being subjective Äesthetics, which produces in the person affected by its charm, and the other relating to the qualities of the things to which we ascribe beauty.

(3) History.—Ancient writers devoted special attention to the objective side of beauty. Plato and Aristotle consider the beautiful as identical with order and proportion; Plotinus and the Neo-Platonic school make it an attribute of everything that exists as such. The Middle Ages changed the aspect of the doctrine of Äesthetics. While it is largely in the objective theories of the beautiful, they supplemented them by a study of impression or aesthetic pleasure. Modern philosophy, on the contrary, takes its stand almost exclusively on the psychological side of beauty, and regards it as a purely subjective phenomenon. With Kant, for instance, beauty does not belong to the object itself, but only to our perception of it. Contemporary Äesthetics perpetuates and emphasizes these ultra-subjective tendencies.

LITERATURE.—See under BEAUTY.

MAURICE DE WALF. ÄÄETHER.—Derived from a root signifying to burn, ÄÄether is a term appropriated in Greek literature to the vault of the firmament, which is contrasted with aer, which is applied to mist and vapour. In Homer aer is the abode of Zeus (II. ii. 412, etc.). In Hesiod (Theog. 124) ÄÄether and Day are the offspring of Night, and in at least one of the Orphic cosmologies, ÄÄether, as representing the light or fire, is contrasted with Chaos, and proceeds from Kosmos (see Gompers, Greek Thinkers, Eng. tr. 1901, i. 92f.). Pherecydes, who occupies the borderland between the mythical and the scientific, took the origin of all things to be a unifying ÄÄether which identified and synthesised the first of these things (Diels, Vorwurknikte, p. 508, No. 71, A 9).

The current conception of äether passed into the keeping of the philosophers, by whom it was variously defined and modified. In the Fragments of Parmenides äether is found as the region of the fixed stars (Fr. 10. 1, Diels); and as the fiery element of which their substance is composed (Fr. 11. 2, Diels); and although ÄÄether indicates a distinction between äether as the outermost covering of the universe, we cannot attach much weight to his authority (ii. 7. 1; cf. ii. 15. 7, and see Krise, Forschungen, pp. 114, 115).

Empedocles treats äether as a synonym of aer, except in one doubtful passage (Fr. 38. 4, Diels). On the other hand, Anaxagoras regarded aer and äether as the two primary differentiations of being—the cold and dark contrasted with the bright and warm (Fr. 1. 2, Diels). Indeed, we are informed that he employed äether as synonymous with fire (A 73, Diels). In the formation of the world, the dense, wet, cold, and dark sank into the centre, while the rare, hot, and dry went to join the enveloping äether (Fr. 16, Diels). From Anaxagoras it is convenient to pass to Euripides, who is said to have been largely influenced by his teaching (Diod. i. 7. 7.). There are various references to äether in Euripides, which may be the reflexion of either of popular fancies or of current science, or of both. Thus the identification of Zeus with äether carries us back to Pherecydes, and anticipates the pantheism of the Stoics (Fr. 885; cf. Aisch. Fr. 652). The conception of ÄÄether as the husband of Earth, quickening all things into life by his fertilizing showers, is the common property of many poets and philosophers (Eur. Frs. 488, 836; and see Mnuor on Lucr. ii. 250). Similar to this is the notion that the vital breath is derived from äether, and that the soul, retaining its consciousness after death, is absorbed in the source from which it sprang (Hdt. 1014; Tapp. 311; cf. Lucr. v. 318). Though it has often been supposed that the idea of äether was derived from Empedocles himself, it is noteworthy that the same thought is found in the inscription over those who fell at Potidea (Cfr. i. 442), and may well be due, as has been recently suggested (Cfr. xv. 431), to a popular belief which arose in connexion with the practice of cremation. The soul of the dead man was thought to ascend with the smoke which rose from the burning corpse.

By the side of the four elements generally recognised in philosophy, from the time of Empedocles onwards,—fire, air, water, and earth,—äether ultimately came to be admitted as a fifth; but it is still open to question whether this view was derived by the Platonic school from the Pythagoreans (Zeller, Pre-Socratics, vol. i. p. 318, n.). Plato, in the Timaeus, does not adopt this position (58 D); and though there is strong evidence that it formed part of his oral doctrine (Xenocrates, op. Simplic. Physic. 296a), and it is accepted by the author of the Epinomis (90 E), it is clear that its definite establishment is generally connected with the name of Aristotle, from whose statement of the theory through the scholastic quinta essentia is derived our word quintessence. Eternal and immutable substance, aether, which is placed between the spheres and stars, ceaselessly rotating round the world, but transcending the strife of the terrestrial elements (de Caes. 1. 2. 269a 20. 1. 3. 270a 13, b 1), was at one time material and divine. The Stoics took a further step by identifying the substance of äether with God. It is described as fiery breath or creative fire, the rarest and most subtle of all bodies (Chrysipp, op. Ar. Did. Fr. 31, Diels), which produces out of itself the phenomenal world, passing through the medium of the elements. The universe, subject to the law of causa secundum æternitatem, moves either in creative progress or towards periodic conflagration. When everything is consumed by fire, the world-soul and the world are united in the single essence of äether (Chrysipp, op. Plut. Comm. Not. 26). But when, by the equilibration of its constituent forces, the created world is in existence, the ruling power resides in the outermost periphery of äether (Diog. Laer. vii. 139; Ar. Did. Fr. 29, Diels). Then, as the world-soul, it penetrates every universe, as the cause of the immanent cause of all individual existence (Diog. Laer. vii. 138). Thus may be justified the summary assertion of Chrysippus, that äether is everything, being at once father and son (Philodem. de Phil. c. 13, p. 90. 28).
ETIOLOGY (αἰτιολογία).—The doctrine of causes. The latter part of the Categories of Aristotle (chs. 10–15), early suspected, but possibly compiled from Aristotelian fragments (Zeller’s Aristotle, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 66), contains the Post-predicamenta which give the clue to the subsequent position in which treatment of etiology. In the treatment on Metaphysics 6 introd. and there are the scholastic philosophies, ‘General Metaphysics’ is distinguished from ‘Special Metaphysics,’ notwithstanding the difference of standpoint, precisely as General Philosophy is distinguished from Special Philosophy, e.g. in Martianus’ Principles (1 P. p. 1). General metaphysics treats of—(1) Being and its properties; (2) the highest kinds of beings, i.e. the categories; (3) the relations of beings to each other. The third head embraces the same subject as the Post-predicamenta, the whole division being foreshadowed by the Anti-predicamenta (due to Abelard), Predicamenta and Post-predicamenta of the medieval logic. Of the five relations treated of in the Post-predicamenta—opposition, priority, simultaneity, motion, and aetiology—two divisions are especially concerned with causality. The first two divisions of general metaphysics, dealing with universals, the six transcendentals, the nature of being, the supreme classes of finite beings, are sometimes regarded as constituting the theory of causality. The hypothesis, which deals with the relations of finite beings as a whole and to the Infinite, will thus contain as its most important part the doctrine of causes—Etymology.

If we turn to modern philosophy, the position of etymology is not different. In the contents of Burghardt’s Institutiones Metaphysicae (Mainz, Metaph. p. 283), the doctrine of causes occupies a similar position. It holds a like place in Wolf’s Ontologia. K. Rosenkranz (Wissenschaft d. log. Iden) divides metaphysics into Ontology, Etiology, Teleology (Erdmann’s Hist. of Philosophy, tr. vol. iii. § 346.11). E. von Hartmann (Kategorienlehre), under the categories of speculative thought, puts Causality (Etiology), Finality (Teleology), Substantiality (Ontology).

We propose to enter into an examination of the various forms and shades of meaning which etiology assumes in these several systems. Nor does it belong to this article to view the subject of causation from the point of view of the theory of causality or that of the criticism of the causal concept. We shall confine our enquire simply to the leading forms of the theory of the nature and classification of causes in the successive periods of the history of philosophy. For this purpose the history of philosophy may be considered as divided into three periods—the ancient, the medieval, and the modern. The leading characteristic of each of these periods is as follows: in ancient philosophy (Greek) the antithesis of subject and object, of mind and matter, as two substances over which each, other, is absent. Thought and being, the one and the many, are equally objective. In the second period, owing to the development of Greek philosophy itself, and the spread of the Roman conceptions of authoritative law and duty, but above all, owing to the influence of Christianity, the spiritual and material are conceived as antithetically opposed existences, and the attempt is made under this altered point of view to retain the Greek solution of the problem. The substance of this solution is dogmatically affirmed in Scholasticism. What is not shown is that it is possible under the changed point of view. Modern philosophy consists in the constant effort to prove the possibility of the solution, to explain the manner in which spiritual and material being interpenetrate, affect, and condition each other. In modern philosophy, not the dogmatic result itself, but the way in which it is obtained, is the leading interest. The etiological problem becomes an essentially different one in each of these periods.

In Greek philosophy the antithesis of subject and object is absent. Nature is instinct with motion, life, reason. The motion is developed, but at the same time the tendency to personification is omnipresent (see Jowett’s Plato, vol. i. p. xiv). Thought is not a modification of a conscious mind, but consciousness is the accident, a ripple on the surface of nature (see Brough’s Principles of Speculative Philosophy, p. 450). From this point of view the antitheses with which Greek philosophy dealt—the one and the many, the real and the apparent, thought and being—are all reconcilable by one concept—that of mixture. There is only a mingling, and then a separation of the mingled (Empedocles, v. 38). This mingling, or, as Plato termed it, ‘participation’ (μείζονες), when conceived as the union of the one and the many, of form and matter, either in the well-known fourfold classification of causes of genera of things, or, more especially concerned with causality. The first two divisions are, of general metaphysics, dealing with universals, the six transcendentals, the nature of being, the supreme classes of finite beings, are sometimes regarded as constituting the theory of causality. The hypothesis, which deals with the relations of finite beings as a whole and to the Infinite, will thus contain as its most important part the doctrine of causes—Etiology.

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When Aristotle brought down form from the far-off νοτος νοσεως, or intelligible world of Plato, and incorporated it in matter, the problem still remained, to which side action, efficiency, was to be attributed, and Aristotle is generally interpreted as assigning it exclusively to form. In favour of this view is his celebrated definition of the Absolute as νοτος νοσεως, the thought of thought; but the interpretation is probably one-sided. There is much in Aristotle to lead us to regard the Absolute as dwelling in a sort of supereminent sensuous world, as he conceived the real world to stand in a composition of various grades is a "eidos," a compositur of matter and form—not merely through the element of form, but also through that of matter. In Metaph. viii, (ix.) 8, end, the argument against the ideal theory contends that the idea, as such, are mere potentialities (δυναμεις). This view would help to solve the ancient controversy as to the pantheism or monoteism of Aristotle, the immanence or transcendence of the soul.

In the Neo-Platonic philosophy the ideal world of Plato and the Divine soul of Aristotle are hypothesized into a series of personal beings. This philosophy represents the innate tendency of Greek philosophy itself to pass over into that antithesis which characterizes Christian metaphysics, the antithesis of subject and object, spirit and nature. St. Augustine views the Platonic ideas no longer as independent substance, but as ideas in the mind of God. The hierarchy of ideas and emanations, as developed by him, are hierarchically arranged by the change of view the combination or composition of form and matter, of idea and reality, becomes a most difficult problem. The community of idea and reality, the intercourse of mind and matter, can no longer be conceived as a mere combination or composition of the two, if the idea as universal dwells in a separate substance—mind. The great controversy of the Middle Ages, of Realism and Nominalism regarding universals, is the struggle with this problem. Yet in regard to etiology, the real interest does not lie in this problem, but in a greater one connected with it. Granting that reality is the union of matter and form, which factor in this union is the active one? Thomas Aquinas, "efficaciam actus est agenti principium" (Stöckl, Gesch. der Philosoph. des Mittelalters, vol. ii. p. 451). It is diverse views of the relation of the causal power in the universe to those principles of matter and form, the union of which constitutes the active one; and this union constitutes the nature of things, that underlie the great rival systems of Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and from which their other differences proceed. In Scotus the union proceeds from the side of the matter, not the form. The latter is the efficient, the causal factor (de Gérando, Systemes de Philosophie, vol. iv. p. 577; Rousselet, Études sur la Philosophie dans le Moyen Age, iii. p. 56). Duns Scotus's philosophy here encounters the same difficulties as have been urged against Hegel and Hartmann. In both Aquinas and Duns Scotus, however, the source of the efficiency is transcendent, whether it be the Divine intellect or will which determines it.

Modern philosophy, from Descartes and Spinoza to Hegel and Hartmann, Spencer and Leves, is engaged on the problem of explaining how the intercommunication of mind and matter, spirit and nature, takes place. It has been remarked by Bayle and Rousselet that Spinoza's philosophy is contained in that of Duns Scotus, and in the same sense. But the ultimate causal principle is in Scotus transcendent, in Spinoza immanent. This difference is characteristic of modern philosophy. The solution is no longer taken from the transcendent sphere. If the Absolute is called in, it is, as in Spinoza, Leibniz, Schelling, Hegel, an immanent, not transcendent Absolute.

Of the problem thus handed down it cannot be said that the solution has yet been reached. In the Monadology of Leibniz and the Absolute Idea of Hegel it is form, the ideal side, that contains the principle of all, the Absolute right, the universe. These principles differ from the Platonic idea in this, that they are subjects, have the objective world over against them, even if that world have no being apart and be a nullity or absurdity. In Schopenhauer, Hartmann only the Will, the material side, actualizes the representation or idea. The 'will to will' of Hartmann answers to the materia prima primorgina of Duns Scotus. It is the same in our English philosophy. Out of the unknowable Absolute of Spencer, and the known Absolute of Leves, the material, organic, and mental worlds proceed. Yet the relation of these higher forms to the primordial matter and motion is unsolved. Physical parallelism is but the statement of an enigma. The question remains, Which is the efficient—form, matter, or both? In what ways do they co-operate, and how? The aetiological and teleological problems are still unsolved.


AFFECTION.—That aspect of psychic life which comes to consciousness as concrete states of feeling (whether in the way of joy or sorrow, of love or hate) is called affection. In the newer divisions of the fundamental or rudimentary aspects of conscious process it has been found necessary to distinguish the concrete given states of mind, characterized as Knowledge, Feeling or Emotion, and Will, from those abstract and largely hypothetical quales which, although never found alone, nevertheless serve to define the concrete states. For example, a state of feeling is always or usually one both of knowledge and of active tension or will. Since never realized in its purity, it becomes necessary, therefore, to define such a state by what it would be if so realized. The characteristic aspect of consciousness whereby it is not knowledge nor will, but feeling, is called affection. It is the differentiation of a state of feeling or emotion. Similarly, a state of knowledge is never feelingless nor will-less; its differentia as knowledge is its reference to an object; it is called 'cognition.' With active process, or in a large sense Will, the same sort of distinction leads us to the determination of its differentia as a certain active quality called 'conation.' Affection, cognition, and conation are therefore the three fundamental aspects of conscious process, considered as irreducible phases of mere consciousness, each one of them, at least, all three. Cf. Baldwin's Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, artt. 'Affection,' 'Cognition,' 'Conation,' and 'Classification of the Mental Functions' (by Stout). J. MARK BALDWIN.

AFFIRMATION.—1. In legal parlance an affirmation is distinguished from an oath in that no penalty is invoked upon himself for false witness by the person affirming. It seems to have arisen in the forms of oaths, who felt the danger of invoking the name of the Deity in case of a mistake of memory or statement led to unforeseen consequences. Courts, seeing that testimony from persons of this character might be quite as reliable as any supported by an oath, finally accepted
affirmation in lieu of more strongly attested allegations. The tendency to substitute affirmation for an oath will be proportioned to the decline of the belief that oaths have any more sacredness than a simple asseveration, and to the decline of the belief that the invocation of the Deity affects the efficacy of an oath. Where an appeal to the Deity and the PBUH is substituted the Senate is supposed to influence human veracity, the oath will prevail; but it is not necessary where veracity is respected for itself. No doubt the efficacy of the oath in one period of human history was much influenced by a belief in the power of the Deity to detect a fraud, but it has ceased to exercise the influence it once possessed, and the community must rely upon one of two motives to assure veracity. The first is natural human penalties, and the second is respect for the truth. In either of these there will be no necessity for the oath where any scruple exists about invoking the Deity.

2. Affirmation, in logical and philosophical diction, is distinguished from negation or denial. It thus means the statement of a fact. It may represent more than that a given thing is a fact, but, so long as it takes the form of a positive statement, it is called an affirmation. To assert, to posit, to asseverate, to declare are the equivalents of affirmation, and, of course, mean at least the formal assurance that the thing affirmed is a fact. In formal, logical, speaking, however, affirmation denotes a degree of tenacity in conviction which looks towards assurance, and it expresses that state of mind. Negation or denial expresses the same kind of mental state, while doubt is the opposite of both affirmation and negation. Hence psychologically there is no difference between affirmation and negation, in so far as assurance is concerned, but only a difference in reference to the relation between the ideas involved in the mental process of comparison and judgment. That is, the difference between affirmation and negation concerns the content of the judgment, and not its mental state of conviction. Affirmation implies a certain kind of connexion between subject and predicate, and negation excludes it.

AFGHANISTAN—Afghanistan (lit. 'land of the Afghans') is a country of south-central Asia, whose location and political importance have led to its playing a part in the religious history of the Orient from the time of Zoroaster to the appearance of Muhammad. The present boundaries of this mountainous land are political rather than geographical, as they are largely defined by the fact that Afghanistan is a buffer-country between the great empires of India on the south and south-east and the Russian provinces of Bokhara and Turkestan on the north, while Persia and Baluchistan limit its western and southern frontiers.

The first chapter of the Avesta (Vd. i. 7) the ancient northern capital Balkh (Bakhsh) is referred to as a beautiful city with banners floating from its high walls, and there is a persistent tradition that the city was a strong religious centre, the seat of Varhsap, the father of Vishtasp, patron of Zoroaster, and that Zoroaster himself was slain there when the Turanians stormed Balkh during the Holy War which Iran had started against Turan. The modern capital Kâbul (Kâvul in the Pathan treatise Shatroshâ-i Ahrân, 34) appears in the Avesta (Vd. i. 9) as Vâkerota, and the region of the Helmand, the chief river of Afghanistan, the Elymian dogs of the Grecians, is called Hâtrumant (Ph. Hâtrâmât) in the same Zoroastrian law-book (Vd. i. 13). The modern lowland district of Seistan in south-western Afghan was the home of the Zoroastrian dynasty of the Kaïanians and the place of the holy lake Kân- sauya (mod. Hamun) of the Avesta, from which period the Seistan (Av. Saôshyant) was to arise at the Millennium. Zoroastrianism appears also to have prevailed in the land during the Parthian and Sasanian eras, from B.C. 250 to A.D. 650, although some Greek religious influences may have followed the Parthian. The wake of Zoroastrianism has no certain suggestion; from the Arab conquests, the Afghans themselves prefer the designation Pushtun or Pukhtun, older form PashtOn, Pakhtan (where their Indian name was in Baluchistan in the 7th cent. destroyed all previous religious foundations, and cleared the ground anew for the building up of Islam. Mullahmadanism became the national faith of the Afghans, and has remained, mainly in its Sunnite form, their creed and chief bond of union, although they acknowledge the political headship of an Amir over their loosely connected tribes.

The Afghan nation consists of a number of tribes considerably divergent in their character, with a population variously estimated at between 3,000,000 and 6,000,000. Most important are the Afghans and Pathâns, who constitute the chief element of the population, together with the clans known as Ghilzais in the east, Yusufzais and Afridis on the Indian border, the Durbans to the west, and the Tajiks, Hazaras, Usbeqs, and Aimaks, mostly showing traces of Mongolian blood, to the north and north-west. The great majority of the Afghans belong ethnologically to the Iranian stock; and although there is an intermixture of Caucasian blood, especially on the borders there is no good reason for accepting the view that they were of Semitic origin, while they may preserve some such tradition from a later date and show certain slight Semitic traces.

The language of the country is generally called Afghan, but often Pukhtun or Pushtun, the former (Pukhtun) being North Afghan, the latter (Pushtun) South Afghan. The literature of the people is but scanty, and no monuments have been traced farther back than the 18th century. Most interesting among the remains are the Afghan folk-songs, a collection of which has been made by the French scholar Darmesteter, and among these ballads is a number that deal with religion.


A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

The name 'Afghan,' first appearing in literature in al-Biruní's Índra (tr. Sachau, i. 208), is of uncertain signification; and the Afghans themselves prefer the designation Pushtun or Pukhtun, older form Paštun, Pukhtun (whence their Indian name
AFGHANISTAN

Pathān—a term which Lassen (Ind. Altertums-
kunde, Leipzig, 1867, i. 513) connected with the
Iātērs of Herodotus (i. 93, 102, iv. 44, vii. 68); while Darmesteter (Chants populaires des Afghans,
Paris, 1888, i. 1, Introd. 182) has suggested that the Afghans too are implied by the Παθητα, 
v. 18, 3, 20, 21. At all events, the native appellation Pūštān signifies "mountaineers," and may be implied by the passage in
Arrian's Anabasis, iii. 8. 4: Βοσπόρος δε Ἀρχαῖ-
ων συντάγμα Ἀρχαῖων τε ἡγεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχον 
Ἰερακοστάνους (i.e., as an Afghān, the chief of Northern India (Crooke, op. cit. l. 269-271; Calcutta Review, No. cliii. p. 180 ff.), who, though

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Israel, 189-229). Amongst
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concerning the coming of Muhammad,
whereupon of their chiefs, headed by Kās, went to Medina and there accepted the new faith, spreading it in Afghanistan on their return. The
historic worthlessness of this legend is beyond question; and equally absurd is the tradition regarding Khālis ibn Valad, and the descendants of Pharaoh's nobles, who, after his fall, emigrated to India and settled in the Sulaiman Mountains. Many joined Abrāha in his attack on Mecca, but were converted, and later returned to the neighbourhood of their early home.

Turn from legends to facts. Afghanistan was traversed by Alexander the Great in his march to India, and it is alluded to by Strabo (p. 699) as ʿArābāt. This latter term is of particular interest, in that it represents the Sanskrit Gandhāra, which "lay on both sides of the Kabul river, immediately above its junction with the Indus" (McCricnde, Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, Westminster, 1901, p. 31, n. 4). After Alexander, the region came under the Gāndhārīs; so that suction and thus formed part of the dominions of the Greco- Bactrian and Indo- Scythian dynasties. With the latter line of kings a new religious influence was introduced into Afghanistan, particularly by Kanishka (1st cent. A.D.)—the faith of the Buddha. By this time nearly all trace of Zoroastrianism had probably disappeared, though even in the middle of the 19th cent. local tradition at Herat told of the destruction of a fire temple there by Muhammad b. Sulaimān b. Ḥassan b. Abi Ḥassan (Vigne, op. cit. 220-221) (Ferrier, Caravan Journeys and Wanderings, London, 1837, p. 181); while Zoroastrians seem to have flourished in the Pāmirs as late as the 13th cent., ruins of three forts ascribed to them still exist in Wakhān (Gordon, Roof of the World, Edinburgh, 1876, p. 141), where the natives even now treat fire with reverence, being reluctant to blow out a light (Wood, Journey to the Sources of the River Oxus, new ed., London, 1872, p. 333). Buddhism, however, has left not only many small figures at Hidda and Kabul (Vigne, Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Iram, Kabul, and Afghanistan, London, 1840, p. 207), but also some sixty topees, dating mostly from the 4th and 5th cent. A.D., and found chiefly at Darunta, Chālar Bagh, Hidda, Kabul, Koh Daman, and Kohwāt; as well as ruins of elaborate monasteries at Jamajgir, Takhti-i-Bahi, and Sahri Bhalol, which show distinct influence of Greek art. Sculptures of the Buddha have also been found at Damian (Wilson, in Vigne, op. cit. pp. 187-192); and the Chinese travellers Fa Hsien (tr. Legge, Oxford, 1886, pp. 33-40) and Hiuen Tsang (tr. Beal, London, 1884, i. 98-103) both describe Kanishka's magnificent dagoba at Peshawar.

Modern Afghanistan, as noted in the preceding article, is wholly Muhammadan. Besides orthodox Sunnite orthodoxy, however, there exists a mixture of Semitic and Indian folk-belief. To this category belongs the vast number of saint-shrines (ārātā), which consist either of the domed tomb of some local saint enclosed in a shrine, usually surrounded by trees or bushes (Bellev, Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan, London, 1892, pp. 70-71, 107-109, 386)—a religious phenomenon common amongst both the modern Semites and Indians. Amongst the latter, the Religion To-day, New York, 1902, passim; Cooke, Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India, Westminster, 1896, i. 183-185, 189-229. Again, levirate marriage is practised, and it is a grievous sin to drive a man of childless issue from his wife. If the widow be again married, though, if she have children, it is considered more honourable for her to remain unwedded (Elphinstone, Account of the Kingdom of Cashmir, London, 1815, i. 236). Amongst some tribes, moreover, it is customary for the suitor to serve the father of his would-be bride for many years, as Jacob served Laban for Rachel's sake (ib. p. 240; Bellev, Journal, p. 27). The blood-feud, as amongst the Semites, is a sacred duty (Elphinstone, op. cit. George Conolly, Account of the North of India, London, 1838, ii. 163-165); and blasphemers, as amongst the Hebrews, are stoned to death (Bellev, Journal, p. 68). In time of pestilence a buffalo or cow is led through or around the village or camp, and the community are then ceremonially transferred to the victim's head, after which it is either slaughtered and its flesh divided between the priests and the poor, or it is driven into the wilderness (Bellev, loc. cit.). This practice, familiar from the Hebrew secapegoat, is also found extensively in Northern India (Cooke, op. cit. i. 142, 166-167, 169-170).

DREAMS, the evil eye, exorcism, ordeals, and omens are, of course, attentively regarded by the Afghan wise men. A strange sign that a murder has been committed, since, when Cain slew Abel, there was a similar commotion of the elements (Conolly, op. cit. ii. 137-146). The popular demons of Afghan folk-belief are jinn, perās, dīl, and parārīs. The jinn and perās are common to all popular Muhammadan mythology, but the dīls and parārīs (the latter word a semasiologic variation of pārti, "perāt") are plainly Indian in origin. The dīl, described as a woman about 30 years old of average size, having long nails, eyes curving down to the side of the nose, feet turned inward foremost, and feeding on corpses (Vigne, op. cit. pp. 211-212), is manifestly the churul of Northern India (Cooke, op. cit. i. 269-271; Calcutta Review, No. cliv. p. 189 ff.,), who, though
found in possession of all the inhabitable parts, either exclusively or in association with their Semitic kindred who have returned at different times to the common cradle-land.

The Hamites, who are called Libyans (Africans) by Herodotus, and recognized by him as the one antecedent people in the north (ix. 91), have throughout all this huge middle region, withabby breasts thrown back over her shoulders, stretching out her hairy arms to any length, and devouring those who answer her plaintive cry for help (Darmesteter, op. cit. i. 284–285), is clearly the Indian rakshas (Crooke, op. cit. i. 246–253), who play an important part in Hindu folk-tales. Though the Afghans are essentially an Iranian people (Denker, Races of Man, London, 1901, p. 420), they thus exhibit a total loss of Iranian concepts, for which they have substituted an amalgam of Semitic and Indian beliefs.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the previous article, mention may be made of Lassen, Ind. Altertumskunde, i. 565–615, ii. 289–390 (Leipzig, 1867–74); Masson, Topen and Sepulchral Monuments of Afghanistan in the Iznik, Arican, and Tituqa, pp. 55–118 (London, 1841); Ferguson, Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architactures, pp. 72–79, 168–184 (London, 1874); Bellere, De Shabak, et les Champs Politiques du Sud; and Modin, Le Monde, 1889–92; Conolly, Journey to the North of India, ii. 135–160 (London, 1808); Nimat Allah, Hidie, etc. (1842); Alt. An-450, when Christianity was introduced by the Mazyes of Herodotus (iv. 191, 193), this term and its later forms as given by Ptolemy, Masics, Masics, being identical with Amevagh (plur. Masiehen), ‘free’ or ‘noble,’ which is still the collective name of all the Mauritanian Hamites. There are three well-defined divisions, which, with their chief sub-groups, may here be tabulated:

I. EASTERN HAMITES:

Ancient Egyptians and Copts; Nile valley from the Delta to the Delta, the land of the Pharaohs, Copts, and Nubians. The Pharaohs, as they are usually called, were a people of ancient Egypt, whose history dates back to the earliest times. They were a powerful nation, and their empire extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. They were a great people, and their civilization is one of the most ancient in the world. They were a people of great learning, and they are known for their great works of architecture. They were a people of great wealth, and they were a people of great power. They were a people of great beauty, and they were a people of great grace. They were a people of great nobility, and they were a people of great refinement.

The Egyptians were a people of great hospitality, and they were a people of great friendliness. They were a people of great love, and they were a people of great kindness. They were a people of great justice, and they were a people of great mercy. They were a people of great courage, and they were a people of great strength. They were a people of great wisdom, and they were a people of great knowledge. They were a people of great piety, and they were a people of great faith. They were a people of great beauty, and they were a people of great grace. They were a people of great nobility, and they were a people of great refinement.
the apostle Frumentius from Alexandria. Then the Bible was translated into Ge'ez (v. supra), which was at that time the current, as it is still the liturgical, language of the country; and this tongue has preserved some early Christian documents, the Greek or Syriac originals of which have been lost.

Having received its teachings from Alexandria, the Abyssinian Church is a branch of the Coptic, and consequently professes the Monophysite doctrine of Eutyches accepted by the Coptical patriarchs in the 8th century. The Abuna, or spiritual head of the Abyssinian Christians, is always consecrated by the patriarch of Alexandria, and for the last 700 years has even been of Coptic nationality. But his possibly dangerous political influence is neutralized by the Etakeje, a kind of national high priest at the head of the regular clergy, and of the debtura, or men of letters. These literati, although laymen, enjoy special ecclesiastical privileges, and thus serve to check the action both of the Abuna and of the religious orders, which are very numerous, and own a large part of the land. Like the mosques in Muhamma- dan lands, the churches and monasteries are the schools of the country, and over these the debtura have had control. In all the lands the Artuiza, a rudimentary state, and the only art still cultivated is painting, which was introduced in Byzantine times, and is employed exclusively for the decoration of the churches. A traditional canon of the art remains on the Etakeje, or the clergy, and sects, the good people to be represented in full face; all others in profile. Among the latter are included all their enemies, the Jews, the devil, and especially the Palashas, who are popularly believed to be the descendants of the crusaders, with their wer-wolves, of assuming the guise of dangerous animals, such as lions, panthers, or hyenas. These and many other pagan notions are still rife beneath the thin lacquer of Abyssinian Chris-
tianity.

After the 6th century the Aksumite empire disappeared from history, and was successively followed by those of Tigré in the north, Amhara in the centre, and Shoa in the south. Menilek, present king of Amhara, derives his sovereignty, and all his Himyaritic subjects are being slowly merged in a single Abyssinian nation-
ality, differing little in their physical and mental characters, and speaking two distinct modern forms of Ge'ez, one for the inhabitants of the north and Amhara in the south, the parting line being the Takkazé river. But all these his-
torical Himyarites of the plateau are to be dis-
tinguished from the Zabalgat Himyarites, who probably preceded them in this region, and have been settled from time immemorial in the district of the Blue Nile and its Dender affluent east of Senaar. These Zabalgats never came under Hellenic or later Muslim influences like their Funji neighbours, and hence are neither Christians nor Muslims, but another, yet still Semitic, people, called by the same Semitic rite as their Maen and Sabaeon forefathers. They are called 'fire-worshippers,' but do not worship the fire itself, which they regard only as a great purifier and as an emblem of a Supreme Being, who reveals himself in this element as well as in the heavenly bodies. Hence they turn in prayer to the stars or towards the rising and the setting sun, and kindle great fires over the graves of the dead. But there is also a second demon, whose worship has to be availed of by offerings and sacrifices. The two principles of good and evil would thus appear to be recognized, as in so many other religions which can have had no direct contact with the old Zoroastrian system. The Zabalgats differ from the Muslim Arabs in many other respects, being strict monogamists, keeping no slaves, and recognizing no hereditary sheikhs.

Even before the great Muslim irruptions of the 7th and later centuries, the northern Arabs, mostly, no doubt, Bedaun from the Nejd plateau, had ranged into North Africa, and混踪 is made of the Rundites, who had already penetrated west-

wards to Mauritania before the rise of Islam. But the great movements which have made the Arab race, language, and religion dominant throughout North Africa, began with the conquest of Egypt in the 7th century. Later came the peaceful but ethnically more important immigration of North Arabian tribes, instigated by Ahmed ibn-Ali, who died in 1045. Then took place that tremendous dislocation of the indigenous populations during which a large section of the Berbers withdrew from the plains to the Mauritanian uplands, while others retired to the Saharan oases. Here they were followed later by the Arabs themselves; so that at present the pure Arab and mixed Arabber tribes form the great majority of the inhabitants of Tripoli, Mauritania, and the Sahara; while the Arab language and the Muslim religion prevail almost exclusively amongst the native populations in the main Along the northern seaboard, from Marakesh and Fez to Cairo and Alexandria. The old Hamitic languages, however, still persist amongst the Muhammads of the Sahara (Tuaraga, Tibus), the tribes of the Siwa and Aujila oases, and many of the Berber groups in the Atlas uplands. Islam, long the exclusive religion of Arabs, Berbers, and Tibus, presents few special features, except where it assumes a political aspect, as among the Senus or the Emperor, who is said to have been an immense influence throughout the Muslim world. It is so named from the Algerian sheikh Senus, who set up as a zanawis governor or re-
former, first in Mecca, then at Bengazi in 1848, and is now a powerful heautocracy in the Sahara, and is said to have been 'in the odour of sanctity.' Since then the brotherhood has continued to flourish under its successors, the Mahdi ('guided'), who are destined to restore the power of Islam to its former splen-
dour. Numerous zanawis (convents), each a little centre of religious fervour, industry, and even culture, have sprung up in Tripoli and the Saharan oases, and the Faredgha 'mother-house'—convent, mosque, school, hospital, and stronghold combined—has thus become the headquarters of a powerful organization, which has for its spiritual adherents, and makes its influence felt from Mauritania to Mesopotamia. The society continues to expand throughout North Africa; and although it looked askance at the late Nubian Mahdi and his Khilafah successor at Omdurman, that was only through jealousy, and because its time had not yet come.

Of the strange interminglings of Muhammadan-
ism with primitive religions, some instances are in the people and the Meteene, who represent the ancient Garamantes, and were nearly all pagans till they became at least nominal Musal-
mans in the 18th century. Some still practise heathen rites openly, and amongst the Bees of the
Exnedi district Allah has not yet been dethroned by Yido, the native name of the Supreme Being. In the same district a kind of mana or supernatural virtue is ascribed to the kintok, a species of motled stone of somewhat rare occurrence in the country. During the prayers addressed to Yido this stone is sprinkled with flour and with the blood of a sacrificial camel, and it then remains for its fortunate owner the success of all his projects and confusion to all his enemies (Nachtigal, Sahâra u. Sudan, ii. p. 176). Polygamy is not controlled by the Qur’ânic law, the number of wives being merely a question of ways and means, while the male is obliged to feed and clothe his wife’s father’s wives except his own mother. Matriarchal custom persists, as is shown by the fact that the wife continues to reside in her parents’ home till the birth of the first child, and permanently if there is no issue; in which case the husband receives back the camels paid to his father-in-law for his bride.

Although passing for good Muhammadans, the Tedaas (Northern Tibus) do not abstain from lakbi (palm wine), and now and then sacrifice a goat for rain or other favourable season. They have numerous parts of the body, and think that ailments may be cured by drinking the water used for washing Qur’ânic texts written on the inside of a cup. Similar texts contained in little leather bags make their spears and other weapons more deadly, and also help them in cases from the devil’s eye. Their half-Arabized Fezzanese cousins put great faith in the marabouts, who are more numerous and influential in Fezzan than elsewhere. They are much employed as sorcerers in thwarting the machinations of the great demon Ish or Shalân and the innumerable other wicked jinns, common enemies of mankind, against whom Allah appears to be powerless. In the Timbuktu district the marabouts are, or were formerly, replaced by the sanûtan, a sort of African shamans, who employed music to work themselves into a state of ecstasy, in which they pretended to hold communion with the souls of departed Muslim saints. From these they received instructions as to the proper animals—a white or red cock, a hen, a gazelle, a goat, or an omelette—then offered to the sanûtan, who ate the last. In such cases incense was burned, and the cooked meat was served to the patient and those present, the blood, the bones, and feathers being buried as a sacrificial offering to the dead saint.

The Muslim Oueddoune belief is universal that below the surface the Sahara is everywhere peopled by a class of supernatural beings called Ahî-at-Trab, who delight in playing mischievous pranks on wayfarers in the desert. They seize and pull down the camels’ feet, causing them to sink in the soft sands; they gnaw off the roots of the desert plants, thus killing the scanty vegetation; on the approach of the thirsty traveller, they drink up the water of springs and wells; they even come to the surface and assume bodily form to deceive and torment the living. All unexplained natural phenomena, such as the pillars of sand raised by the whirlwind, are referred to invisible agencies, and the mysterious droning heard on a still night in many parts of the wilderness is the voice of the jinns conversing among themselves (Harding King, A Search for the Masked Tawarsiks, pp. 39, 42).

Although little influenced by the teachings of Islam, the moral character of the Tuaregs and Mauritanian Berbers is greatly superior to that of their western neighbours. Apart from the blood-feuds, vendettas, and predatory expeditions permitted by tribal usage, the vices so common amongst the Moors are unknown in the homes of the Berbers. They seem to possess none of that uncontrollable passion that is so large a feature in the Arab character, and its place is taken by affection and sincerity. No doubt, to a great extent the moral character of the Berbers is due to the fact that their women are allowed entire liberty, do not veil their faces, and mix on almost all occasions with the men (W. B. Harris, Taqilat, p. 160). The Arab, still a nomad herdsmen, who holds that the plough-share and sheep enter hand in hand for his fortune, remains a fanatic ever to be feared, because he blindly obeys the will of Allah proclaimed by his prophets, marabouts, and mahdis. He is ruled by a despotic and theocratic sheikh, in accordance with the precepts of the Qur’ân; whereas the agricultural Berber, with his shop and stable, and his fanatical learned code, feels himself a freeman, is a born sceptic, cares little for theological dogmas, and is far less a fanatic than his Semitic neighbour. Although many of the Mauritanian tribes have adopted the Arabic language, the process of assimilation appears to be arrested, and the Berber is now everywhere gaining on the Arab. 'He is the race of the future, as of the past' (Dr. Malbot).

In a remarkable ethnological generalization, Herodotus tells us (iv. 197) that the African known to him four hundred years previous to him was divided into two indigenous, the Libyans (our Hamites) and the Ethiopians (our Negros); and two intruders, the Phœnicians and the Hellenes. Since then other intruders (tēphakos), such as the Romans, Vandals, Bulgarians, and Cherkesses, have been added. While other later arrivals—Arabs, Jews, Turks, Italians, Iberians, French, Britons, Dutch, Belgians, Germans—have settled round the seaboard, and, by occupying their respective ‘Hinterlands,’ have made nearly the whole continent a political dependency of Europe. But these movements have scarcely affected the ethnical relations, and the statement of Herodotus regarding two indigenous races (tēphakos)—Libyans in the north and Ethiopians in the south—still holds good. Thus the Libyan (Hamitic) domain, as above described, is everywhere conterminous with the Ethiopic (Negro), which comprises the section of the mainland south of the parting line indicated at the beginning of this article, together with the adjacent island of Madagascar. Amid the great mass of humanity there are exf the blond and long-standing inter- minglings—Arabo-Berbers and Fulahs in the north, Malayans in Madagascar,—and also some aboriginal elements, such as the Negritos in the forest zone of the Congo, the Bushman-Hottentots in the southern steppe lands, and the aboriginal population of the Limpopo basin. But, taken as a whole, these Negro and Negroid populations present sufficient uniformity in their physical, and still more in their mental, characters to be grouped together as one main division of mankind. More, perhaps, on linguistic than on ethnical grounds, they are usually divided into two great sections: Sudanese Negroes, of diverse speech, north of the equator; and Bantu Negroes, of one speech, thence southwards.

Sudan—that is, the region which stretches south of the Sahara between the Atlantic Ocean and Abyssinia—is commonly regarded as the original home of the Negro stock; hence its Arabic name, Bilad-as-Sudân, 'Land of the Blacks,' the Nigríta or Negroland of our early writers. Although it has been largely encroached upon by Hamites and Semites from the north and east, here are still found many of the most typical Negro populations, such as the Serers, Felups, Timni, and Krumen of the West Coast; the Tahi, Eve, and Yorubas of the Gold and Slave Belts; the Banchei, Mosurs, Michi, and Yedinas of Central Sudan; the Igarraas, Iboas, and Benins of Southern Nigeria; the Mbasas, Nubas, Denkas, Golos, Shilluks, Baris, Bongos, and Nuers of East Sudan and the White Nile; and the Zandeas (Niam-niam), Mangbetas, Monfusas, A-Barambos, and A-Babuas of the Walle basin. These are all
uncivilized pagans, who speak a great number of radically distinct Negro languages, and exhibit Negro physical traits, often to an exaggerated degree. These traits, which prevail with marked uniformity over wide areas, were already special in the times, as we see from the portraits depicted on the early Egyptian monuments, and clearly proved for us, if we find them graphically summed up in the description of a negress attributed to Vergil (Moretum, 32-35):

"Atta genus, tota patriam testante figura, 
Toegli linguis, turpis manu praestante flava, 
Vestis alta, facies mammis, compressor auro, 
Cruribus exilis, spatium prodigia planta."

Standing out in marked contrast to all these primitive peoples are the relatively civilized Hamito-Negro or Semito-Negro nations, such as the Mandingos, Songhais, and Fulahs in the west; the Hausas, Kanuri, Baghirmi, and Mabas of Wadai in the centre; and the Furs and Nubians in the east, who are all Muhammadans, and of diversely modified Negroid type, but still speak independent languages of Negro stock. From these striking contrasts between the pure Negro and the mixed Negroid peoples the inference has been drawn that the Negro left to himself remains Negro in every sense of the term, and without miscegenation is incapable of making any advance beyond a low social and intellectual level. For this arrest of progress seen everywhere in Africa and the New World (Ellis, Peoples, States, p. 32-35) an physiological explanation has been sought in the early closing of the cranial sutures, preventing any further expansion of the brain after puberty. 'A cet arrêt intellectuel doit correspondre la soudure de la boîte crâniale; le développement du crâne, s'arrêt et empêche le cerveau de se dilater davantage' (Binger, Du Nager au Goût des Guéins, ii. p. 246). Hence it is that the Negroes often display in early life a degree of intelligence even superior to that of European children. 'They acquire knowledge with facility till they arrive at the age of puberty, when the physical nature masters the intellect, and frequently completely deadens it. This peculiarity has been attributed by some philologists to the structure of the cranium, and it is worthy of note that throughout West Africa it is by no means rare to find skulls without any apparent transverse or longitudinal sutures' (Ellis, The Ewe-Speaking Peoples, p. 13).

The chief subdivisions of both the Sudanese and the Bantu sections will be found in art. ETHNOLOGY (Conспектus). Between the two sections the most conspicuous difference is the linguistic confusion which prevails in Sudan and the linguistic unity which is the dominant feature in Bantland. Except in the south-western Bushman-Hottentot territory, in Madagascar, where a Malayo-Polynesian tongue is exclusively spoken, and perhaps amongst the Negroids of the forest zone, all the current idioms are closely related members of the same language. And as the tribes themselves are not so closely related, but, on the contrary, often present considerable physical differences, it follows that the Bantu is far more intelligible as a linguistic than as an ethnical expression. In fact, a Bantu is, strictly speaking, nothing more than a full-blood or more often a half-blood Negro of Bantu speech. In general, all are mestizos, showing every shade of transition between the Negro and the Caucasian (Hamito-Negro and Semito) elements. The Negro has apparently everywhere formed the substratum, which has, so to say, been leavened in diverse proportions by very old and later Caucasian infiltrations from the north. These interminglings have resulted in endless modifications of the physical characters, but have left the original Bantu form of speech untouched, as is always the case where two or more races are merged in one. The ethnical groups form new combinations by miscegenation, while the languages, being incapable of miscegenation, all perish except one. Hence it is that in the Bantu domain we have many physical races with only one unblended, and in the case of a people who call themselves one nation the kings of the national dynasty were revered as demi-gods. Their souls were supposed to dwell in and inspire the witches, and everywhere there are persons called 'wizards' who are supposed to possess the power of communication with the deities; their names, or the pretended forms of their names, are always supposed to have a magical power, and unless certain observances are performed, they are often regarded as demons. Hence the belief in a supernatural power to do good or evil, and the absence of any system of moral and religious principles, is the dominant feature of all African primitive religious systems. That the spirits of the dead are the gods of the living is a formula that applies equally to the Sudanese natives of Upper Guinea, and to the Bantu populations of Uganda, the eastern coasts, and Daromaland. Amongst the Gold and Slave Coast peoples there are many local and general personifications of the powers of nature; but these were held in slight esteem compared with the ancestral gods. Two divergent orders of spirits were supposed to exist; the one, the former, formed the substratum of the national dynasty, and of the national, who were deified, and in whose honor public sacrifices were offered. The souls of the dead were supposed to dwell in and inspire the witch-
doctors; shrines were raised over their graves, the maintenance of which was a religious duty, and here were offered the human sacrifices, as many as two thousand by the late King Mtesa. The demon Ndaula, whose abode is on the Gambaragara heights, whence he plagues the people with small-pox and other evils, broke his bow and knife and joined with one of the early members of the Uganda dynasty. The trees planted round the ancestral graves were sedulously tended by wise women, whose oracles, like those of the Turkish priestesses, were taken as decisive in certain political crises. The course of events was thus determined by divine intervention associated with human sacrifice. If the deceased owned several slaves, an enormous hole is dug for a grave. The slaves that were caught immediately on hearing of the death were carried forward. They may be either cast into the pit alive [being made fast to slave-sticks], or the undertakers may cut all their throats. The body of their master or their mistress is then laid down to rest above theirs, and the grave is covered in (ib. p. 107). We know from Commander Cameron and most other early travellers that similar and even worse atrocities were of constant occurrence all over the Bantu lands, before and after their suppression by the European powers, up to the year 1884. It is thus again seen that in these respects the Bantus stand on the same low social level as the Sudanese negroes.

On the West Coast nature-worship was, as a rule, perhaps more prevalent than on the east side. Here Munkulunkulu was controlled by the Great Tree and by a supreme deity, who also has many variants, and is similarly described by some observers as a ‘Supreme Being.’ But this is denied by the Rev. W. H. Bentley, our best authority on the subject, who rejects the far-fetched explanations of Kolbe and others, adding that ‘the knowledge of God is most vague, scarcely more than nominal. There is no worship paid to God’ [in Kolangola] (Dict. and Gram. of the Kongo Language, p. 90). Farther south, Mulungu reappears, under the form Mukuru, amongst the Bushmen and the Bantu Hereros of ‘great Mungu’ Lat. alt.us, cognate with Teutonic alt, ‘old’; so that the word really connotes a deification of the great departed, and is thus a direct outcome of the universal ancestor-worship. This is also fully attested by Mukuru, that of Bleek, which holds that the term originally meant ‘great ancestor.’ Thus, as in Celebes, where empong (=‘grandfather’) is the generic name of the gods, Unckulunkulu becomes the Divine progenitor of the Zulu Bantu people, while of Mulungu, the form current in Nyasaland, the Rev. Duff Maclean, writes: ‘In all our translations of Scripture where we found the word “God” we used Mulungu; but this word is chiefly used by the natives as a general name for spirit. The spirit of a deceased man is called Mulungu, and all the prayers and offerings of the living are presented to such spirits of the dead. It is here that we find the great centre of the native religion. The spirits of the dead are the gods of the living’ (Africana, I. p. 59). And again: ‘Their god is not the body in the grave, but the spirit [Mulungu], and they seek the spirit at the place where their departed kinsman last lived among them. It is the great tree at the verandah (kopenu) of the dead man’s house that is their temple; and if they grow near their graves they are offered some sweets, and there perform their simple rites’ (ib. p. 60). Hence we have the very inceptient stage itself of ancestor-worship again closely interwoven with the tree element. Then comes a further development, in which the departed spirit reveals himself first in dreams, and later through the jukwaneesta, the priestesses or prophetesses, as in Uganda and Hellaas. ‘The god comes to her with his commands at night. She delivers the message in a kind of ecstasy. She speaks (as her name implies) with the utterance of a person who is in an excitement. During the singing of the communication her ravings are heard sounding all over the village in a high key’ (ib. p. 61).

We seem to be reading an extract from Pausanias on the Delphic Oracle. And the broad statement is made that the spirit of every deceased man and woman, with the solitary exception of wizards and witches [who become hyenas], becomes an object of religious homage. The gods of the natives, then, are nearly as numerous as their dead’ (p. 68).

In Nyasaland, in Uganda and elsewhere, ancestor-worship eventually became associated with human sacrifice. ‘If the deceased owned several slaves, an enormous hole is dug for a grave. The slaves that were caught immediately on hearing of the death were carried forward. They may be either cast into the pit alive [being made fast to slave-sticks], or the undertakers may cut all their...’

A. H. KEANE.

AGAMA.—In the oldest Buddhist writings this is the standing word for 'tradition' (Vinaya, ii. 249; Aṅguttara, ii. 147). This usage is maintained in the Milinda (215, 414) and in the Mahāvamsa (ii. 51). But from the 5th cent. A.D. onwards the word usually means a division of the Sutta Pītaka—the same portion as was, in the older phraseology (Vinaya, ii. 287), called a nīkāya. The reason for this change was that the latter word (nīkāya) had come to be used also in the sense of a division of discipulæ, a school or sect, and had therefore become ambiguous. In Buddhist Sanskrit books this later use of agama seems to have supplanted entirely the use of nīkāya; but our edited texts are not sufficient in extent to enable us, as yet, to state this with certainty.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

AGAOS.—1. The Agaos or Agows, a name applied to various groups of Hamites who do not properly come under the title of Semitic, are the principal and active Hamitic population of Abyssinia. Formerly they occupied a large extent of the plateau, but were gradually driven, in prehistoric times, towards the south and west by incoming peoples—the Hymar, the Falashas, and in the latter case by the Ge'ez-speaking peoples of the desert tongue. The latter are now divided into the Tigre and Amhara branches, but the Amhara, who crossed the Takkazä, are much mixed with the Hamitic element, while their Ge'ez speech has been greatly modified by the primitive language of the conquerors. At present the Agaos, whose name means 'the free,' are composed of several groups scattered throughout the region between the Takkazä and the Abai, mainly in subjection to the rule of the Negus Negust, but retaining their own customs and speech. They are found chiefly in the province of Lasta, on the upper Takkazä (where they were completely reduced only in the 17th cent. by the Emperor of Abyssinia), and in the districts to the south-west of Lake Tana or Tsaña (where they give their name to one province, Agaomidir or Agao-land), which is almost entirely peopled by them. They are characterized by broad and high cheek-bones, yellow complexion, and strong, coarse, straight hair, and are of the Caucausian type, like their Semitic conquerors, from whom they do not differ much in appearance. The name Agaos is probably to be found in the Aththägu of the inscription at Adulis, dating from the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D., discovered and preserved by Cosmas. This may be the district of Addago on the Takkazä, with a population of Agaoo blood. Cosmas (A.D. 550) remarks that they cultivate, and says that they acknowledged the authority of the kings of Aksum. About 400 years later, the Agaos of Senem, under their queen, Judith, were strong enough to expel the Menilk dynasty from the throne of Aksum (J.A. 1863). The Agao speech is said by Beke to be the language of the people of Abyssinia, and Amharic is that of the court, the army, and commerce. It is spoken from the Sanhait district in the N.E. to Gojam and Shoa in the south, under different names and in a variety of dialects, and in some parts of the country it is almost lost. The people themselves in Lasta it is known as Ḫam转入ja; this group also call themselves Ḫamra, now found in the name Amhara borne by the district between the Takkazä and the Abai, and suggesting that the present Himyariite Amhara people may have borrowed their name from that of some of the Hamitic aborigines. D'Abbadie calls the Lasta Hamites Ḫamra—a word connected with Ḫam转入ja (Athenaeum, 1845, 359); while Beke (JEGS xiv. 56) calls their language Ḫamra. Ḫamra, still borne by the Khamants of Lake Tana, and Ḫhamra were probably names of earlier dominant Agao tribes.

2. The principal divisions of the peoples who may be classed as Agaos are the Agaoos of Lasta (Bruce's 'Tcherats Agaos'), including the Khamants; those of Agaomidir and the surrounding districts enclosed in the sweep of the Abai as it issues from Lake Tana; and the Falashas. Both the first groups are divided into seven tribes, probably from some sacredness in this number. The second group call themselves Aghagha, according to Beke (JEGS xiv. 10). The Falashas, whose language closely resembles the Agao, are found scattered through the province of Semen and neighbouring districts, as well as in Agaomidir. Beke claims this similarity as evidence that the Falashas originated from Judæa with the Queen of Sheba, and follow the rites of Judaism. Hence they are frequently called the Jews of Abyssinia. But they are certainly not Jews by descent, nor are their features necessarily, in children, much different from those of the Agaos. Possibly their Jewish faith is the survival of some earlier diffusion of Judaism through Abyssinia before the introduction of Christianity, as there is no record of their conversion. They are divided into three sects, each headed by an old priest; they hold themselves aloof from the other peoples of the land, do not practise polygamy, and never marry out of their own tribe. Entering a Christian house is strictly forbidden; when this has been done, if unexcused, it requires the priest to wash his person. Their places of worship or masjide are distinguished by a red earthenware pot placed on a pinnacle. They are divided into three compartments, each of different sanctity, as in the Jewish tabernacle, and admission to each is strictly regulated by the Levitical law. Behind is a small enclosure with a stone on which sacrificial victims are slaughtered. Though they have incorporated with their customs several ceremonies drawn from Christian sources, especially in the ritual of purification and of feasts and keeping the Sabbath. Some of their sacrifices, however, differ from those of the Jewish law. They observe great ritual scrupulosity. The dying are not permitted to die in the village; they are killed in a hut specially built for this purpose. They fast twice a week, as well as for forty days before Easter. Their ideas about the Messiah are vague, but they believe that Jerusalem will again be rebuilt. The priests must observe several tabus from which the people are free; some of them are great ascetics, passing years in dismal swamps, and sometimes in a frenzy throwing themselves into the waters. As a people the Falashas are inoffensive. They are devoted to agriculture, and says Beke, 'they are the artisans in various towns of the province (see D'Abbadie in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, iii. 84 ff; Stern, Wanderings among the Falashas, 1862; Beke, JEGS xiv. 8).

3. The other branches of the Agaos were pagans, or possibly pagans with a veneer of Judaism, as the name of their queen, Judith, would suggest, until the advent of the Portuguese missionaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. By them they were in part converted to Christianity of a nominal type, and the process was almost entirely destroyed by the final subjugation to the Abyssinian emperors. Like the rest of the Abyssinians, they are of the Monophysite sect, and assert their orthodoxy as strongly as any; but it is probable that, beneath their nominal adhesion to the faith, there are many
survivals of their earlier paganism with its cult of sun and moon, trees, rivers, and animals, of which the cow was the chief. No complete account of that primitive paganism is now available, but it was evidently nature-worship of no high order, and in its observances the fertility of the land was aimed at. Hence the worship of rivers, and especially of the Nile, was promulgated. Survivals of these rites are described by Lobo and Bruce. The springs from which the Nile rises were the scene of an annual gathering of the tribes for this cult. A small mound formed the altar upon which the offerings were made, and which was fumigated before the sacrifices. To this place once a year, on the appearance of the star Sirius, the sham or priest called the heads of the Aga clan. A black heifer which had never borne a calf was slain, its head cut off and plunged into one of the springs, and then wrapped up in the hide, which was sprinkled with the sacred water. The carcass was laid on the mound, washed with water, and divided into as many pieces as there were heads of clans. Each head received a piece, and the flesh was eaten raw, with draughts of the Nile, which the latter says that the Aga drank. Each man killed one or more cows. The bones were collected into a heap, and the priest, having annointed himself with the fat, sat down on the heap, which was then set on fire. As the flames increased, he harangued them, the first doing him no injury. When all was consumed, each male clan head made him an offering. The head of the animal was carried to a cave, where other ceremonies were performed, apparently for the purpose of ensuring rain and good seasons. The spirit of the river was called by the highest Divine names—Eye of the World, the Everlasting God, etc., and the priest told Bruce that it had appeared to him in bodily shape like a venerable man (Lobo, "Voyage to Abyssinia," Eng. tr. 1735, 89; Bruce, "Travels," ii. 730). This cult is obviously based upon the importance of the river to the whole region through which it passes, and is not unlike the rites performed by the ancient Egyptians at the rising of the Nile and the appearance of Sirius, the star of Isis (Frazer, "Adonis, Attis, Osiris," i. 82). Similar rites were practised by other tribes (La grande Encyc. i. 177), and human sacrifices to river-divinities are also spoken of; these also occurred in Egypt (Johnson, "Travels in S. Abyssinia," 119). A modified form of these rites still prevailed in Beke's time (1804), and sick persons are still brought to the springs of the Aga, and left there for seven days in hope of their recovery (Beke, "JRGs" xiv. 13). Serpent-worship was prevalent in Abyssinia in earlier times, and a great serpent called Arwe figures in the early history of the people. Some remains of this cult are found among the Agaos. The preservation of serpents was prayed for; they were believed to give oracles, and in some cases they were kept in the houses of the people and fed. If the animal did not eat, ill-luck was said to attend the people (Bruce, ii. 732). Miraculous stories of serpents are found in the legendary lives of Abyssinian saints (Parkyns, "Life in Abyssinia," 298). Other relics of earlier animal-worship may be seen in the claim of the Agaos of Lake Tant to understand the language of birds, by the interpretation of which they regulate their affairs (Powden, "Travels in Abyssinia," 124). The Falasha, on account of their skill in metal working, and some of the Agaos, are regarded as sorcerers and bandas or werewolves. They are believed to take possession of their victims, who exhibit curious symptoms of hysteria, and try to get into the forest, where their persecutor, in hyena shape, devours them (see LYCANTHROPY).

4. The Khamants, scattered through Amhara and Sho, claim descent from Moses, but are regarded as pagans by both the Falasha and the Abyssinians. They are said to believe in God and in a future state, but are called worshippers of forests from the rites performed by them under trees. Other 'secret acts of devotion' at certain rocks are also spoken of. A scheme of King Theodore's for their compulsory conversion was overruled by his advisers (Stern, 48, "La grande Encyc.", i. 177; Reclus, "Unord.", iii. 147). It is not clear whether the Waato, dwelling on the eastern shore of Lake Tant, belong to the Aga race. They speak the Agao language, but are an extremely primitive people, supporting themselves by hunting and fishing, and regarded by the other tribes as uncivilized. By them, therefore, they are called 'idolaters,' a vague term, but they call themselves Christians (Keane, "Africa," 494; St. Martin, "Géog. Univ." i. 30).

AGAPE

I. Summary of theories.

2. Ecclesiastical writings to the end of the 3rd cent.; Diodorus; Ignatius; Flavius; Justin Martyr; Celsus; Minucius Felix; Lactantius; Epictetus; Donatus; Acts of Paul and Thecla; Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas; Ireneus; Clement of Alexandria; Tertullian; Canons of Hippo; Acts of James and Marcellus; Origen; Cyril; Acts of Polycarp; the older Dresden.

3. Writings of 4th. cent. and later; Church Orders; Councils of Laodicea, Carthage No. 8, Gangra; pseudo-Floridus; Chrys neces; Theodosius; Augustine; Socra tes; Sozomen; Trianon Council.

4. Funeral and commemorative Agape.

5. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

i. Review of the evidence.

(a) General deductions.

(b) Relative order of Agape and Eucharist when united.

(c) The name 'Agape.'

(d) Materials for the Agape.

ii. Origins of the Agape.

Literature.

i. Summary of theories. — The Christian Agape or Love-Feast is one of those subjects which are apparently easy, but which are shown by careful study to be exceedingly difficult. At one time there was little doubt about its origin and history; but in the last few years it has attracted much attention, not only in Great Britain and in Germany, but also more especially in France; and views which were formerly held almost as a matter of course have been emphatically called in question, with the result that there is at present nothing like unanimity among scholars as to the origin and history of this curious custom of Christian antiquity. It may be well, by way of preface, to state briefly, and as far as possible in general terms, the views that have been entertained, grouping together those which differ only in minor details.

(a) The view which was almost universal, and which is still by far the most common, is that from the first the Christians celebrated the Eucharist and the common meal to which some liturgical importance was attached, and which was called, from at least the latter part of the 1st cent., the 'Agape'; that the Eucharist and the Agape were at first united, but that, by reason either of abuses or of external persecution, they were disjoined at some time in the latter half of the 1st or the first quarter of the 2nd cent., though the time of the separation was not the same in all countries.

(b) An entirely different view has lately (1902) been published by Mgr. Batifol, who thinks that the Agape itself did not exist till the 3rd cent.,
beginning as a private charity supper, and becoming a more public organization in the 4th cent.; that though in the earliest ages the Christians sometimes had meals in common, these did not, except as an abuse, have any connexion with the Eucharist, and that the name ‘Agape’ in writings of the first two centuries was another designation of the Eucharist itself. (c) A view which has found much favour in Germany is that the Agape was the original institution, and that the Eucharist itself grew out of it, or that there was no real distinction between them (Spitta, Juliuscher). (d) Ladeuze and Ermoni consider that both the Agape and the Eucharist are Apostolic, but that they were in reality perfectly distinct rites, though sometimes joined as in 1 Co. II. (e) Dean Armitage Robinson and a writer in the Church Quarterly Review (July 1902) hold a somewhat undefined but perhaps intermediate position, being dissatisfied with the first of the views enumerated above. Dr. Robinson (Ecclesiastic. Bibl. a. e. ‘Eucharist’) suggests that every meal was probably hallowed by Eucharistic acts, especially the daily meal for the poor (Ac 6), but that these should be distinguished from formal Eucharists like that in Ac 20. The Christians had stated charity suppers, he thinks, parallel to those in Greece; and if in the latter there is any use of these cannot always be distinguished from Eucharists. The Eucharist was gradually separated from a common meal; the original institution developed in two ways, liturgically into the Eucharist, and socially into the supper; and the two, as developed, the more decided became the separation. Such are the various theories that have been maintained; we shall return to them when we have cited the evidence.

I. FOR CHRISTIAN COMMON MEALS AND FOR THEIR CONNEXION WITH OR SEPARATION FROM THE Eucharist.—It is proposed to gather together here all the evidence; for it seems unreasonable to put out of view, as is suggested by the Church Quarterly Reviewer, all evidence of suppers where the word ‘Agape’ is not found. We shall discuss later the name ‘Agape’ itself; here it may be remarked that the most important matter to be considered is the thing implied. The matter does not concern us, whether it was universal or not; if it was universal, there is no special reason why it should have been mentioned in all the authorities, many of whom allude only incidentally to the custom now under discussion.

(a) Estienne. (b) We may first take Acts, as indicating the earliest Christian customs, though the book itself was written later than 1 Corinthians, which we will next consider. In neither of these books is the name ‘Agape’ mentioned, but in Acts probably, and in 1 Corinthians certainly, there are allusions to a common meal having some connexion with the Eucharist. In Ac 2nd we read that the Christians continued steadfastly in the Apostles’ teaching and fellowship (εὐθεῖας τε ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ), and in v. 46, that they ‘day by day continuing ... in the temple, and breaking bread at home (κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ), did take their food (εὐφαγίας) with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God,’ etc. The expression ‘to break bread’ is found also in Ac 20, where St. Paul, at Troas, after preaching till midnight on the ‘first day of the week,’ and after the Eutychian incident, broke bread and ate (κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐφαγίας) ... till break of day—apparently an Eucharist with or without a meal, though Alford (Gr. Text. in loc.) and Bp. J. Wordsworth (Ministry of Grace, p. 316) think that γεύσασθαι certainly means a meal (cf. Ac 10),—and in Ac 27th, where an ordinary meal is almost certainly spoken of. The phrase was used by the Jews (Jer 16, Le 4), and we find it, or the corresponding substantive, in NT in connexion with the Feudings (Mt 14th and Mk.), the meal at Emmaus (Lk 24th), and the Eucharist (Mt 26th and Mk. Lk. and 1 Co 10th), in the last of which verses, however, εὐφαγίας agreeing with σῶμα must doubtless be omitted, with ABC. In view of these facts, we must conclude that ‘to break bread’ (κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐφαγίας) was used in the Apostolic age sometimes of an ordinary meal and sometimes as a technical name of the Eucharist, or perhaps of the Eucharist and a meal combined. In Ac 2st the article (‘the breaking of bread’) shows that an ordinary meal is not meant, and we have to take the reference to be to the Eucharist, with or without a meal eaten in common, and the word ‘food’ (εὐφαγίας) in v. 46 will probably lead us to think that the Eucharist with a meal is meant. The Peshitta reading in v. 46 (‘the breaking of the Eucharist’) does the other way, but seems to be a mere gloss due to later ideas. The phrase κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ in v. 46 (i.e. ‘at home’ or ‘in a private house’) has probably no bearing on the matter, as being merely opposed to ‘the Temple;’ it is not likely that the meal was going from house to house to partake of a common meal.

(b) In 1 Co 11th we have an undoubted reference to a meal taken in common (εὐφαγίας, probably, though not necessarily, separate) and combined with the Eucharist, when the Corinthians were in meeting assembled (ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ, v. 18); abuses of greed and drunkenness are censured, and St. Paul promises to set the rest in order whensoever he comes. From the passages here we have concluded that the earliest custom was for the Christians to combine the Eucharist with a meal taken in common. Lightfoot (Apost. Fath. pt. 2, ii. 313) and Duchesne (Origines, p. 48, in Eng. ed. p. 49 n.) further deduce that the meal came first and the Eucharist ‘at a late stage in the entertainment;’ this (apparently) being suggested by the emphasis laid by St. Paul on our Lord’s having taken the Eucharistic cup after (εὐφαγίας) the supper (τὸ κρεβάτιον), and that 1 Cor. 1st ser. p. 281) thinks that the union of meal and Eucharist was an innovation of the Corinthians, and that it is the union itself that St. Paul censures. If so, we cannot argue any common custom from this passage. Against this view, Ermoni (L’Agape, p. 9 ff.) truly remarks that St. Paul does not attack the thing itself, but only the abuse of greed and drunkenness, seeing that each one ate what he had brought, not partaking with others. St. Paul would not, Ermoni says, have hidden them wait for one another if the meal itself, in union with the Eucharist, were the thing condemned. All knew that the Eucharist began when the community were assembled. And, further, the Father’s who comment on the passage in the NIC., say that in the early Church combined,—Chrysostom, Theodoret, Augustine, Jerome,—though Chrysostom, imbued as he is with the discipline of his own time (of fasting communion), puts the Eucharist first: Augustine says that it was St. Paul that gave the rule of fasting communion in consequence of the abuse at Corinth (Ep. cxviii. [iv. Beneed.] ad Januarius, § 8).

(c) In Jude, and probably in 2 Peter, we have the first trace of the name ‘Agape.’ In Jude we read of ‘hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you, shepherds that without fear feed themselves’ (Gr. τὰς γλυκαίς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐφαγίαις, κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐφαγίαις, οὐκ ἔχεισιν κατὰ τὸ κόσμῳ καὶ εὐφαγίαις). The reading γλυκαίς (B1 and B2, etc.) is not doubt correct, and is supported by the
Vulg rate (opuslilu) and the Syriac (\(\text{συριακος}\)) but AC have \(\text{διδραις}\), influenced by the v.l. in 2 P 2.\textsuperscript{19} Here, then, we have a common feast called Agape, but nothing is said of the Eucharist. There is no necessary connexion of the feast with the Eucharist in Jude, nor yet does any attempt at separation. Batiffol endeavours to give over this witness to the Agape by translating \(\text{διδραις}\) by 'love,' saying that Jude elsewhere has \(\text{διδας}\) in this sense (v.\textsuperscript{24}; cf. \(\text{διδασκοντο},\ \text{νυ.}\ \text{v.}\textsuperscript{27}) and that he uses plurals for singulart elsewhere,—in v.\textsuperscript{4} \(\text{διδος}\) (Vulg. \(\text{dodra}\) or \(\text{dias}\)), and v.\textsuperscript{12} \(\text{αληθινα}\) (Vulg. \(\text{confusiones}\), but Synt. has singular). There is, however, no reason for taking these plurals as singular in meaning; in the former case 'dignities' makes the only good sense, and in the latter the plural, as meaning 'each his own shame,' is very suitable. Thus Batiffol's translation in v.\textsuperscript{21} can hardly be accepted. But in any case the common feast itself (if not the name 'Agape') is borne witness to by Jude. In the parallel passage 2 P 2\textsuperscript{2} we have at least one variation: 'Spots (\(\text{τυμπανα}\), and blessed their love-feasts (\(\text{διδραις}\) while they feast with you') (\(\text{συνεφασμον ου}\)). Here we note the variation of \(\text{τυμπανα}\) and \(\text{σπλιτα}\); and the reading \(\text{διδραις}\), which is supported by B and by the A corrector, the \(\text{συνεφασμον ου}\), which is not found in Jude or 2 Peter), Sahidic, and Ethiopic, is disputed by A\(\text{C}\), which have \(\text{διδας}\) both here and in Jude. Deissmann (\(\text{Bibl. Stud.}\) p. 365) and Batiffol (op. cit. p. 283) assume the latter to be the true reading without even mentioning the former; and Batiffol builds an argument on \(\text{διδραις}\)—that the writer of 2 Peter did not see any reference to the Agape in the Jude passage that was before him. On the other hand, Lightfoot (op. cit. ii. 313) and Bigg (\(\text{Internat. Crit. Com. in loc.}\)) treat \(\text{διδραις}\) as an obvious error; and this is probably true, \(\text{ΑΓΑΠΗΠ}\) passing very easily into \(\text{ΑΙΩΝΑΠ}\).

2. Ecclesiastical writings up to A.D. 300. (a) We may pass over Clement of Rome (though his mention in § 44 of the presbyters 'offering the gifts of the episcopate' is thought by Lightfoot to include contributions to the Agape) and come to the Didache, which, in common with almost all writers, we may date very early in the 2nd century. In this work (§ 9) we find, after instructions on baptism and fasting, the following directions for the 'Eucharist' (\(\text{της εορτας εορτας εορτας εορτας}\)), with thanksgivings first over the cup and then over the 'broken bread' (\(\text{διδας}\)); to the latter is attached a prayer that the Church may be gathered together. In these formulas we have no reference to our Lord's words at the Last Supper, or to the sacrament of His body and blood; nor is there anything in common between them and the Eucharistic passages of Ignatius and Justin Martyr. After them follows a prohibition against any of the unbaptized eating and drinking of the 'Eucharist,' and we then read (§ 10): 'After ye are satisfied (\(\text{τω ου} \ \text{εναουσιασιν}\), thus give ye thanks,' and the thanksgiving is for God's holy name, for the 'knowledge, faith, and immortality made known,' for God's power, and because the Creator had given food and drink for enjoyment (\(\text{ελ γνωσισι}\), and had bestowed spiritual food and drink and eternal life. A prayer is added for the procession and gathering in of the Church, ending with 'Hence, holy father, the fencing of the tables and 'Maranatha.' But prophets may 'give thanks' as much as they desire (\(\text{ευχαριστησι} \ \text{δω} \ \text{θεοσι}\)). Of all this there are many interpretations. Batiffol (op. cit. p. 354) thinks that the Eucharist is referred to; he takes the words 'after ye are satisfied' metaphorically, as a souvenir of \(\text{Jn} \text{6}^\text{th}\) (though that tells against his view). He considers that as only the cup and the bread are mentioned, we cannot have here an Agape; while in the thanksgiving after 'being satisfied' spiritual nourishment is spoken of, which would be inapplicable to an Agape. Dom Leclercq also (\(\text{Diction. Arch. Chret.} \ \text{etc. 'Agape,'}\) col. 793) thinks that the Eucharist is referred to in Agape, but that it does not contradict the supposition of its existence; he does not, however, consider that the first formulas are the words used to consecrate the bread and wine. Mr. Box likewise (\(\text{JTAS}\), ii. 363 ff.) holds that the Didache formulas were used for the Eucharist, and that the Agape followed the Eucharist and must be inserted before the words 'after ye are satisfied.' Prof. Ermont, on the other hand, holds (\(\text{op. cit. p. 17}^\text{th}\)) that, as the Didache in § 14 speaks of the Sunday Eucharist ('gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks,' or celebrate the Eucharist, \(\text{ευχαριστησια},\)—first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure'), the earlier sections must speak only of the Agape; and he concludes that the two ordinances were then separate, all those at Agape being (or supposed to be) satisfied and given to attend the Agape, but only the pure and holy (§ 15) the Eucharist. He takes \(\text{εορτας} \ \text{εορτας} \ \text{εορτας} \ \text{εορτας}\) as meaning no more than 'thanksgiving.' None of these theories appears to be so probable as that of P. Lightfoot. Perhaps, he says, the Didache may (\(\text{P. Agape, p. 53}\)) that the Didache writer means that the Agape was joined on to and preceded the Eucharist. The reference in §§ 9, 10 would then be to the two combined; the mention of the Sunday synaxis in § 14 does not really militate against this. The Agape, probably, in the Didache as in 1 Co 11, came first, with the formulas given there as grace before and after meat (so Bp. J. Wordsworth, \(\text{Holy Communion,}\) p. 46); and after the people were satisfied came the blessing of the tables (§ 10 a f.), which, as Zahn (\(\text{Forsch. zur Gesch. des NT Kanons,}\) 3rd pt. p. 293 f.) suggests, would be the connecting link between Agape and Eucharist. The prayer for the Eucharist, on this view, is not given; but prophets might use any words which they thought suitable. It is not improbable that the earliest Eucharistic worship was, in the main, extemporaneous. This theory makes \(\text{εναουσιασια} \ \text{in the Didache include the Agape.}\) As the common meal was holy and so closely joined with the Eucharist, there was not in the thought of the writer such a sharp separation between the two that one name might not be applied to both (cf. Ignatius below), or that the meal itself should not be conceived of as giving a spiritual blessing, as in the thanksgiving 'after being satisfied.' It is remarkable that the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions (vii. 25 f.), owing to the changed conditions of his day, in adapting the Didache turns this thanksgiving into a thanksgiving (after partaking (\(\text{μετανωσις}\)) of the Eucharist (\(\text{εναουσιας}\)).—There is nothing in the prayer which should be noticed. A prophet who 'orders a table (\(\text{δοσις}\) πρεσβυτεριον) in the Spirit' must not eat of it. The Eucharist therefore cannot be referred to. The phrase may be applied to an Agape, but Batiffol is probably right in thinking that merely gifts to the poor are meant, and that there is nothing liturgical about this passage.

(b) Ignatius (c. 110 A.D.) speaks (\(\text{Ephes.} 20\)) of 'breaking one bread,' which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote which we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ. 5 says: 'I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ . . . and for a draught I desire His blood, which is love (\(\text{αγαπη}\)) incorruptible' (see below, p. 114). In \(\text{Smyrn.} 3\) he says: 'Let that be a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop . . . it is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or
to hold a love-feast (σετρείον εὐαγγελίων). In the first two passages Ignatius clearly speaks of the Eucharist, and it is remarkable that he uses ἐαράνων in connexion with it; while the most obvious interpretation of the last passage is that ἐαράνων in the first two passages Ignatius clearly speaks of the Eucharist, and this would therefore be held together in Ignatius’ eleventh book. This is Lightfoot’s conclusion (op. cit. i. 400 f., ii. 312 f.). But Batiffol takes ἐαράνων here of the Eucharist, ‘par une abstraction,’ and thinks that the metaphorical use of the word in Rom. 7 bears out his view. He denies that ‘Agape’ was at this early time used of a feast. He also says that the 4th cent. interpolator of Ignatius took the words in question to mean the Eucharist [the interpolator being probably the writer of the Apostolic Constitutions, see Brightman, Lit. E. and W. p. xxxiv f., 169], though Lightfoot gives an argument to the contrary, op. cit. i. 285 n. The interpolator has, ‘not to baptize, nor to make an oblation (προσφέρειν), nor to offer (προσφέρειν) sacrifice, nor to celebrate a love-feast.’ Here the Eucharist and the love-feast are spoken of as quite separate. This was obviously the case in the 4th cent., and the interpolator is only introducing the customs of his own day; but this has no bearing on the sense of the true meaning of ἐαράνων = the Eucharist, a forti si so would the Eucharist. This does not really explain why Ignatius should join baptism and the Agape without mentioning the Eucharist, as would be the case if his ἐαράνων does not include the Eucharist. Lightfoot, therefore, seems to be by far the most probable. The phrase ‘to baptize and hold the Agape’ would be nearly equivalent to Tertullian’s ‘to dip and offer.’ A woman may not, that Father says, ‘tinguere eum offere, i.e. baptize or celebrate the Eucharist (de Virg. Tr. 9; cf. de Euch. Cast. 7; ‘et offere et tingui et sacerdis es tibi solus’).

(c) Pliny’s letter (Ep. xvi.) to Trajan (A.D. 112) may next be considered, so far as it bears on the Agape. The letter should be examined to see whether or not in connexion with the Agape should be introduced. It was to him that the Christians were wont on a fixed day (stato die) to assemble before dawn and to repeat antiphonally a hymn to Christ as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath (σαρκαμένη τον αὐτόν αὐτούς, e.g.,) which signified that they had been accustomed to separate and to come together again to take food, but that ordinary and innocent (προμενείαν τομείν κατ’ εἰσορεύοντα) and even this they had ceased to do after Pliny’s edict, in which he had forbidden guilds (ἐκτερναίοι) according to [Trajan’s] command. Thus there was a morning religious service and a meal later in the day (which, however, was innocent, and gave no countenance to the charge of indiscriminate immorality again), the estians, (and the second meeting was given up. Various views of the meaning of this passage have been held. With Lightfoot (op. cit. i. 13 f., 50 f.,—a long and careful account,—ii. 513) and Probst (Lehre und Gebet, p. 330 f.), we may consider the morning service to have been the Eucharist, and that there is some confusion between the double meaning of the word sacramentum (‘oath’ and ‘sacrament’), or that the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist are confused; while the later meeting was for the Agape. Lightfoot thinks, with the former interpretation of the word sacramentum, that it was a love-feast which was given up in Bithynia. The separation between Agape and Eucharist would either have taken place some time before Pliny,—perhaps, as Probst thinks (following Augustine), in St. Paul’s time,—or else have been recent, and due to Trajan’s well-known hostility to clubs. It is inconceivable that the Christians should have given up the Eucharist, and this consideration is against Batiffol’s idea (op. cit. p. 288), that the first meeting was only for praise and prayer, and the second only for the Eucharist,—the being the reason, he says, of ‘ordinary and innocent food,’—the Agape became yet existing. He thinks that the Eucharist no less than the Agape would be contrary to Trajan’s edict; and that, had the Eucharist been celebrated at the morning meeting, the apostates would have said, for they had no reason for hiding anything. Dr. Armitage Robinson thinks (op. cit. § 17) that we cannot deduce from Pliny’s letter that the Eucharist and the Agape had once been united, and that they were at that time, or had been at some previous time, separated; he considers that the renegades had given up the common meal, but that the Christians, as far as we know, had given up nothing. The renegades, however, had given up Christianity altogether, and they spoke of what had been given up before the persecution broke out,—they can hardly refer to any but the whole body of Christians in Bithynia. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 796) thinks that the early meeting was the one which was given up; but the Latin will hardly bear either in the text, or in the sense; and the criticisms seem to present writer to have shaken Lightfoot’s position.

(d) Justin Martyr (Apol. 65–67) openly describes the Eucharist; for, as Batiffol shows (Œtudes, 1st ser. p. 18), the disciplina arcana hardly existed in his day; but he does not mention the Agape. Leclercq (op. cit. col. 796) thinks that his silence does not exclude it, for he had only to defend what was attacked. But surely the Agape was a ground of attack? Keating (op. cit. p. 59) thinks that it had been given up generally, because of Trajan’s edict; and with this opinion we may agree. The unessential nature and partial existence of the Agape are the conclusions to which the early evidence points.

(e) The date of Celsus is disputed. Keim, Funk, Aubé, Renan, and Mozley place it c. 177 A.D. For a careful discussion see Lightfoot, Ap. Faith. pt. 2, i. 530 f.; he gives reasons for thinking the date should be later. He also shows (Ep. 81, Cels. i. 1) says that Celsus’ first accusation against the Christians was that they were accustomed to hold secret meetings among themselves, forbidden by the laws (οι σωφρόνες κρατήριον πρὸς ἄλληλους καταστασίας ἐπίθομοι, σ. c.) and he would enumerate the so-called Agape of the Christians among themselves (καὶ διδάσκεται διαβάλει τῷ καλομενῷ ἀγάπα τοῖς ἄλλοις) as taking its rise from the common danger, etc. Batiffol (Letter in the Guardian, Jan. 7, 1863) argues that ἐαράνων must mean ‘love’ here, since πρὸς ἄλληλους follows. No doubt the phrase ‘Agape among themselves’ is not an elegant one, but Batiffol’s interpretation makes καλομενῷ meaningless; ‘so-called love’ has no technical sense. He also shows that the phrase above (σωφρόνες κρατήριον πρὸς ἄλληλους) may there be a double entendre in the second phrase, the word ἀγάπη being used in its technical sense, with an ironical reference to the primary one? Celsus would mean ‘the so-called Agape of the Christians, the feast of mutual love.’ He could not intend to condemn Christian love as ‘arising from the common danger and having a power that transcends oaths.’ Origen clearly understands him to refer to the Agape, and this seems to be the only possible meaning of his text, and his explanation would have some force with regard to Christian assemblies. H
AGAPE

says (Octavius, xxxi. 5): 'The feasts (convivia) which we hold (colimus) are chaste and temperate; we neither indulge ourselves in luxurious repasts (epoulia) nor protract our feast (convivium) with strong drink, but we blend cheerfulness with gravity.' This can only refer to a meal, not to the Eucharist, to which the accusations of drunkenness would not refer, though Batiffol thinks that Minucius is here alluding to it alone.

(g) Lucian in his satire de Morte Peregrini, § 12 (written probably not long after A.D. 165, Lightfoot, op. cit. i. 141, 345), says that when Peregrinus was in prison, 'old women and children are called — and orphaned children might be seen waiting about the doors of the prison. . . . Then various meals were brought in and sacred formularies (λόγος τελοποίης) of theirs were repeated.' Whether Lucian was primarily satirizing the Christians or the Cynics, we have probably here, as elsewhere, allusions to Christian history and customs, and in this case to the Agape (see below, i).

(h) The Epistle to Diognetus (date uncertain; probably c. 170 A.D., though some argue for a later date) says of the Christians, 'They . . . do not hold a table, not of the same bed' (πράσινα κοίνων παραποίητα, αλλ' ου κοινών), evidently alluding to the accusation of Cœidianese inquests made against the Christians. As Leclercq (op. cit. col. 796) observes, this accusation seems to refer to the Agape, the feast of Thyestean banquets referred to the Eucharist, the feeding on the body and blood of Christ being misunderstood; and the πράσινα κοίνων would apply less to an Eucharist than to a feast where the guests lay at meat, there being a paronomasia between κοίνων and κοίνων.

(i) In some texts of the Acts of Paul and Thecla (§ 25), in connexion with a meal of bread with vegetables, salt, and water, we read: 'There was within the tomb a great Agape' (or 'much love,' ἀγάπη τῆς ἀληθινῆς, Lat. gaudium magnum). But in the uncertainty as to the date of the writing, which has probably a very early substratum, though in its present form it is a late work, we can lay no stress on this quotation, especially for the name 'Agape' (cf. Ramsay, Ch. of Acts, ch. xvii.; also Commentaries on the Early Christianity, p. 15, strangely takes this meal for a primitive Eucharist).

—In the Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas (§ 17, Ruina, Act. Mart. Sin. p. 100), which must be dated probably at the very end of the 2nd cent., we come upon the same meal, a banquet, at a free meal those condemned to wild beasts (cf. Tertullian, Apol. 42 [Patr. Lat. i. 556]). Perpetua and her companions turned the entertainment into an Agape ('non cenam liberam sed agapem comemant').

(j) Irenæus does not mention the Agape. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 796) thinks that this does not exclude its existence in Gaul; this Father's treatise being an exposition of Christian doctrine, no mention of the Agape is to be expected.

Dr. Keating comes to the same conclusion, believing that no connexion between Agape and Eucharist had survived in Gaul. But Batiffol takes Irenæus' silence as disproving the existence of the Agape in Gaul.

(k) Clement of Alexandria undoubtedly refers to meals taken in common, and to their being called 'Agape.' He denounces the drunkenness and greed which discredited such meals (Ped. ii. 4). 'They . . . dare to apply the name Agape to feasts which are a prodigal in food habits, discouraging the good and saving work of the Word, the consecrated Agape, with pots and pourings of sauce. . . . Gatherings for the sake of mirth . . . we name rightly suppers . . . but such entertainments (ετέρας) the Lord has not called Agape.' So in Strom. iii. 2 he denounces the licentiousness of the feasts of some heretics (perhaps the cause of the heathen slanders), and says that he will not call them 'Agape.' According to the Church Quarterly Reviewer (July 1902, p. 590), Clement protests against the use of the word 'Agape' at all for common meals, and not only against its application to these feasts of drunkenness and revelry; but this hardly appears from Clement's own words. A more probable interpretation is that meals taken in common were ordinarily called 'Agapes' in his time, and that he would not allow the name where abuses were ripe. In any case, he is writing for the ordinary use of the term, for he does not qualify it or note it. For Clement and the Agape see Bigg's Christian Platonists of Alexandria, p. 102 f.

Dr. Keating inclines to the idea that the Eucharist and the Agape were celebrated together in Clement's time at Alexandria, in the evening. In connexion with the passages from Jude and 2 Peter, Dr. Bigg points out (Internat. Crit. Com. in loc.) that Clement uses εὐχάς of the Agape (Ped. ii. i), which he also calls ἥν ηὔμνον τρῃνθι (ib. 12, aliter), using ἥν in a good sense as opposed to τρῃνθί, the later Dickens. It may be possible, or even that this is also possible, as Dr. Keating suggests (The Agape, p. 86), that Clement is referring by this latter phrase to the Eucharist as preceding the Agape ("public banquets after the rich fare which is in the Word, μετὰ τοῦ εὐχάς τρῃνθί") but see below, iii.ii.

(l) Tertullian refers more than once to the Agape, or as he also, translating, calls it, 'dilectia.' He gives a full account of it in Apol. 39 (Patr. Lat. i. 531 ff.), and says: 'Among the Greeks our supper is called dilectia.' In § 9 he had dealt with Thyestean banquets; in § 39 he returns to the heathen accusations, dealing with the charge of incest, and the words used (e.g. 'triclinium,' "discumere," 'conulla') show that a meal in common is referred to, though Batiffol understands him to be speaking symbolically of the Eucharist throughout.

In the treatise ad Martyres (§ 2, Patr. Lat. i. 696), Tertullian speaks of the consolations of Christians in prison 'through the care of the Church, the brethren's and the Agape' (coni. Petretus, above); but here the meaning probably is 'love' merely, though the Greek word is used. In his Montanist days he brings against the Catholics the very accusations which he had refuted in his Apologeticus, ad jegleri (Patr. Lat. ii. 1053, public Act. Pet. 47, A.D. 1), he accuses them of licentiousness in the Agape: 'Apud te agape in cacaia fervet: fides in culinis caleta, spes in ferculis lacet. Sed maior est haec agape, qui per hanc adolescentes sui cum sororibus dormiunt, etc. This cannot possibly refer to the Eucharist.—Tertullian's style is so difficult that it is not surprising if scholars do not agree in interpreting his words; but it is hard to escape the conclusion, especially from the Apologeticus passage, that the Agape, as we generally understand it, was in common use in his time. We hear here of preliminary prayers, sitting at meat, handwashing, the lighting of the lamps, psalms and hymns, prayer and dismissal; a collection was taken for the poor. This description shows that the Agape was held in the evening. On the other hand, the Eucharist in Tertullian's time was in the morning (de Cor. Mil. 3 [Patr. Lat. i. 99], etiam antelucanis cotibus, where etiam perhaps means that the usual custom was to celebrate the Eucharist after dawn, save in time of pestilence and wars and similar [Patr. Lat. ii. 141], where the same is implied; see J. Wordsworth, Min. of Grace, p. 317). For a full discussion of Tertullian and the Agape, see Keating, pp. 62 ff., Batiffol, p. 291 ff., Leclercq, col. 802 ff.; Ermoni, p. 28 ff.

(m) There is not much that need detain us after
this till the end of the 3rd cent., but the Canons of Hippolytus are important as introducing a whole series of 4th cent. 'Church Orders,' which are, as some think, derived from these Canons, or more probably are their collateral descendants. For the fourth...'. Quo Achelis, Die Canones Hippolyti (TU vi. 4), p. 212 ff., and Funk, Didasc., et Const. Ap., 1906. The latter thinks that the Canons are of the 6th cent. or later, and derived from Apost. Const. bk. viii.; but most writers take them to be a somewhat interpolated work either of the Roman or of the Alexandrian Church early in the 3rd cent. (so Achelis, Duchesne, J. Wordsworth, Brightman, Morin). We know the work only in an Arabic translation. In these Canons (§§ 164–171, ed. Achelis), the Agape, 'if there is one,' is to be on Sunday at Lamplighting, the bishop being present and praying, and psalms being sung; the people are to be dismissed before dark. The feast is described as 'prepared for the poor.' The catechumens receive the 'bread of exorcism' but are forbidden to eat at the 'meal of the Lord.' Christians are to eat and drink to satisfy, not to drunkenness or scandal. The exhortations of the bishop at the meal (he speaks sitting) are referred to. It is not, however, correct to say that the Canons 'Agape' forbid the agape Supper of Cyprian (Achelis, Haneberg); for, as Riedel (Die Kirchen-rechtsquellen des Patr. Alex., 1900, p. 221 ff.) points out, the Arabic Collectihainm does not mean anything more than a meal or feast; it is not equivalent to the Latin 'Agape.'

(a) In the Acts of James and Marianne († 259 A.D.), James, speaking of the heavenly banquet and a martyr Agapius, says: 'Ad Agapium oeceterorunque martyrum beatorum percon conversionis, et ditionis et perpetuae, et ditionis et perpetuae, and the Epistle of James (b) Cyprian (Ep. Ixii. [cxiii.], 16, c. 253 A.D.) explains why the Eucharist (dominium) is celebrated in the morning and not after supper. While it was right, he says, for Christ to 'offer' (the mingled cup) the offering of the hour of sacrifice might symbolize the setting and the evening of the world, yet 'we celebrate the resurrection of the Lord in the morning.' Elsewhere (ad Donatum, 16) Cyprian describes the supper in common, the temperate meal (convivium sobrium) resounding with psalms. Thus the Agape and the Eucharist were quite distinct in his day. For other allusions to the Agape in Cyprian, see Keating, op. cit. p. 102 ff.

(b) In the Life of Fleming († 250 A.D.; see Rutilii, p. 140), we read of what seems to be a Saturday Agape with solemn prayer ('faca ergo oratione solemni cum die sabbato sanctum panem et aquam degustassierent'). The 'bread and water' could not be the Eucharist.

(c) The older form of the Didascalia (as given by Dr. Hauler in the Verona Fragments, xxvi. p. 38), which perhaps belongs to the 3rd cent. or the beginning of the 4th, speaks of the Agape by name. It is a feast given to old women (aniciulis); and the word is to be understood, even if he be not present at the Agape and distributions (in agape et erogationibus), and so also to the other clergy. Similarly the Syriac Didas- calia, edited by Mrs. Gibson (Eng. tr. p. 46), which has 'widows' for 'old women'; and also the parallel passage of the Apostolic Constitutions (ii. 28, c. 375 A.D.), which has 'agape or entertainment' (agape wq f€w 6oxw, &f. the Ignatian interpolation above, 2 (h)), and expands the Didascalias without adding to the sense.

3. Evidence of the 4th cent. and later.—It is not disputed that in the 4th cent., there was custom of having meals in common and of calling them 'Agape'; and also that the Eucharist was absolutely distinct from them.

(o) The 'Church Orders' make this plain. (For a description of them and the their dates, see Cooper-Maclean, The Testament of our Lord, pp. 7 ff., 25 ff.; Funk believes that the dates of most of them are later than these there given). The Egyptian Church Order (c. 310 A.D.), found in the Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons or Egyptian Heptateuch, the Ethiopic Church Order (c. 355 A.D.), found in the Ethiopic Statutes (late publishly by Mr. Horner), and the Latin Verona Fragments (c. 340 A.D.), edited by Dr. Hauler, and the Testamentum of our Lord (c. 350 A.D.) some think that it was edited in its present form c. 400 A.D., though this seems less likely), all speak of the common meal, which the Egyptian Church Order and the Verona Fragments call 'the Lord's Supper.' They go on to partake of the 'bread of exorcism,' they allow them to receive the 'bread of exorcism' [Ethiopic: 'of blessing'] and a cup (the bread and cup are omitted in the Testament). The bishop presides and exhorts, all eat abundantly, but soberly and in silence; drunkenness is strictly forbidden, and scandal is not to be brought on the host. We must also notice that the Egyptian and Ethiopic books say that the people are each to receive a portion of bread and wine, this is a blessing, and not an Eucharist: the body of the Lord (the Testament has a similar phrase). This partaking of eulogia (‘blessings’), or leaves given by the people at the officery in the Eucharist, but not consecrated, afterwards became and still is very common in the East, and it is just possible that it may be a relic of the Agape. Perhaps the 'bread of exorcism' is something of this sort. In these Church Orders the Agape is a feast provided by the rich for the whole community; but it is not represented as being merely a 'charity supper' or a form of alms to the poor.

(b) The Agape is mentioned in three 4th cent. Councils. That of Laodicea in Phrygia (c. 370?) forbade the so-called Agape to be held in the Lord's houses (equivalents in churches). But the abuses of the Agape made the Council of Nicaea (c. 325) forbid it. The Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) made the same rule (canon 30, aliter 29; following one which orders that the 'sacrament of the altar shall always be celebrated fasting' except on Maundy Thursday). The Council of Gangra in Paphlagonia (date uncertain) endeavoured to restore the Agape to its former dignity, and forbade any to despise those who in the faith solemnized it (canon 11). This shows that the abuses of the Agape were leading to its disappearance in Asia and the East.

(c) Pseudo-Pionius' Life of Polycearp can be used as evidence only for the 4th cent. (see Lightfoot, Ap. Fath. pt. 2, li. 429 ff.). The writer relates how Polycearp visited a certain bishop named Daphnus, who made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren, and set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them, which miraculously remained full though they drank from it. Here an Agape seems to be meant.

(d) The comment of Chrysostom on Co 11 (Hom. 27) does not appear to give us any sure indication about the ordinary Agape in his own day. He uses the past tense, and from his language here, if taken alone, we might have supposed that the Agape had ceased in his time. In
Hom. 22 he describes how, after instruction, prayer, and the commemoration of the dead, the rich had been accustomed to bring materials for a feast from their houses to the church, and to entertain the poor there. Pseudo-Jerome and Theodoret in their comments on 1 Co 11 follow Chrysostom. Their evidence is good for the tradition of the common repast at the Eucharist. In the 7th cent. a special reference to the dead, nor can it be argued from it that the Syriac translator of Jude and 2 Peter took the Agape for a memorial meal. If there is a memorial meal, it is at (at meat) let them partake of the mysteries, though not on the first day of the week (see above, § 1). In the same Hom. 27 and in Hom. 31 Chrysostom refers to the funeral-Agape of his own day (see below, § 4.), we cannot say.

(f) The Agape in Egypt in the 5th cent., united with the Eucharist, as the Agape of Faustus, Legat. to Socrates and Sozomen. The former says (HE v. 22): 'The Egyptians near Alexandria and the inhabitants of the Thebaid hold their religious assembly on the sabbath, but do not participate in the mysteries in the manner usual among Christians in general; for, having dined themselves with food of all kinds, making their offering (sopor-phiropes, i.e. celebrating the Eucharist, as often) in the evening they partake of the mysteries.' Sozomen (HE vii. 19) says: 'There are several cities and villages in Egypt where, contrary to the usage established elsewhere, the people meet together on sabbath evenings, and, although they have dined previously, partake of the mysteries.' [For the Saturday Agape cf. the Acts of Pionius, above, 2 (g)]. Dom Leclercq (op. cit. col. 822) thinks that in Socrates and Sozomen there is no trace of an Agape, only of an Eucharist. But the words 'eating and satisfying themselves' certainly point to one, and the whole object of this exceptional custom would appear to be to keep up the example of the Last Supper.

(g) We notice, lastly, that as late as the Trullan Council (A.D. 692) the 'African practice of receiving the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday after a meal' is approved (can. 50), and Agape within the churches are forbidden (can. 60).

4. Funeral and Commemorative Agape.—These should probably be treated separately from the ordinary Agape, as being quite distinct in origin, and as having arisen later (Duchesne, Originis, p. 49 n., Eng. tr.). It will be a question whether some of the references already given should not have been placed under this head. The commemorative Agape was a Christianized form of the heathen parentalia or festival in honour of dead relatives. Augustine, Ep. xxix. 9 ad Aquinatum, and the custom probably was, first to celebrate the Eucharist with prayer for the departed, and later in the day to hold an Agape. In the references to this custom in Tertullian and Cyprian, the Eucharist was explicitly mentioned; but probably an Agape is intended as well, as the Hippolytian Canons show. The custom seems to have spread as the veneration for the martyrs grew.

In the Martyrology of Polycarp (§ 18) the Smyrnians took up: 'celebrating the birthday of his martyrdom, for the commemoration of those who have already fought in the contest.' But we are not told how the commemoration was to be celebrated. The Lecienian Acts of John (Gnostic; c. 170 A.D. or perhaps earlier) speak of going 'to the tomb to break bread' (ed. Zahn, p. 231). This may be an Agape or the Eucharist. Tertullian (de Cor. Misl. 3 [Patr. Lat. ii. 99]), immediately before describing baptism and the Eucharist, says: 'We make oblations for the departed annually for their birthdays'; and in de Monogam. 10 (Patr. Lat. ii. 992) the widow 'prays for his (her husband's) soul. . . . and offers (i.e. the Eucharist) on the anniversary of his falling asleep.' So in de Exspect. Casti. 11 [Patr. Lat. iv. 939] the widower about his departed wife, we read: 'For whose spirit thou prayest, and for whom thou offerest annual oblations.' The Canons of Hippolytus (above, 2 (m)) have this direction (§ 108, 170): 'If there is a memorial meal, let them partake of the mysteries, though not on the first day of the week (neque tamen die prima). After the oblation, let the bread of exorcism be distributed to them before they sit down.' This comes after the directions for the Sunday Agape, and before general rules for meals taken in common. We may notice here that the parallel passage in the Apostolic Constitutions (c. 375 A.D.), which follows an office for the departed, refers to the commemorative feasts only, and not to the Sunday Agape, later than Ambrose (c. 376), and rebukes faults of drunkenness. In Cyprian (Ep. xxxiii. [xxxix]. 3, ad clericum [Patr. Lat. iv. 323]) we read of sacrifices being offered ('sacrina offerimus') for martyrs and their anniversaries kept, and the last words probably refer to an Agape (cf. elsewhere in the Epistles). For many years after Cyprian's death they danced and sang round his grave, till this was stopped by Aurelius, bishop of Carthage (Augustine, Serm. cxxi. 5 [Patr. Lat. iv. 323 f.]); a feast is probably implied. The Commentary on Job, ascribed to Origen (Bk. iii. p. 238, ed. Loimatsch), speaks of these commemorations of the departed as being an opportunity for feeding the poor. In the 4th cent. we have an obscure canon of Elvira in Spain (c. 305 A.D.), forbidding lights in cemeteries 'per diem,' as disturbing the souls of the dead (can. 34). This may refer to a funeral Agape; the lamp-lighting rather points to this. Later, Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. vi. 4 ff.) and Chrysostom (Hom. 47, On Julian the Martyr) bawl the drunkenness that was rife at these entertainments (cf. also Chrys. Hom. 27 in 1 Cor. i. 11, Hom. 31 in Mt. 9). Augustine tells us of the pious custom of his mother Monica at Milan, of bringing food 'ad memorias sanctorum,' as was usual in Africa; but that Ambrose had forbidden it (Ep. lxxvi. 37), and had given the laity doubt because of the revelries and lavish repasts in cemeteries, which Augustine himself deplores (Ep. xxii. 6, ad Aurelium). He forbade these commemorative feasts himself in A.D. 392, and says that they were not universal in Italy, and that where they were customary they were abolished by the bishops (ib. 4, 5). Theodoret, however, in the 5th cent., tells us of yearly feasts in honour of martyrs; and the sermons ascribed to Eneseibus of Alexandria (6th or 7th cent.) (see Smith.-Wace, Dict. Chr. Biog. iii. 395 f.) describe banquets given to the poor on Saints' days, 'the hosts considering that they are entertaining the martyrs themselves.' These sermons speak of the disorders and drunken revels going on till daybreak; 'while aside the priest prays for them and consecrates the body of Christ, they separate' (Migne, Patr. Gr. lxxxvi. 357 f., 364 f., quoted by Leclercq). At the funeral itself feasts were common. Paulinus (Ep. xiii. 11, A.D. 397) tells us of a funeral banquet at Rome called an Agape, given to the poor in the basilica of St. Peter, by Pammachius.

In Syriac writers Agape are called nyghabhâ, lit. 'rests' or 'refreshments'; so in Jude and 2 Peter. This word, however, has no special reference to the dead, nor can it be argued from it that the Syriac translator of Jude and 2 Peter took the
meaning of ἀγαπή to be 'commendations of the dead.' On the other hand (see Payne-Smith, *Theaurus Syriacus*, s.v.), the word is often in Syriac writings coupled with δυρκάριον, the ordinary word for 'Saints' days,' and then the reference may be doubt to commemorative Agape.

5. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence—This seems to the present writer not to carry us far. It is too vague, and the dates are too uncertain to lead us to any sure conclusion about the Agape. Reference may, however, be made to Dom Leclercq's art in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, where this side of the subject is treated very fully with excellent illustrations. It will suffice here to mention one or two examples of evidence adduced by the author. There is a fresco in the Capella Greca of the Cemetery of St. Priscilla near Rome, discovered in 1893. The multiplication of the loaves and fishes is represented as a banquet, with seven persons lying at meat. Dom Leclercq thinks that this shows that at the time of the fresco the Agape and the Eucharist were united. But this is very precarious. Of inscriptions alluding to the heavenly Agape may be mentioned παρεκκλησία (Leclercq, *op. cit.* col. 583) and 'Anima dulcis pie zesis in Deo; dulcis anima pie zesis vivas,' where παρεκκλησία is a term, and perhaps vivas = 'bibus' (ib. col. 833).

iii. REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE.—(a) General deductions.—Looking back at the quotations and references detailed above, we may obtain some idea of the history of the Agape, and the present writer it appears, after a careful consideration of what has been written in the last few years, that Bp. Lightfoot's view of the matter has not, in the main, been shaken. The evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the Agape had the same meaning in the primitive among the baptized churches and the Egyptian Agape was the same. It was a meal of holy communion, and the Agape was not universal. It was dropped, in some places earlier than in others, and then vanished under somewhat different names. At first, as the evidence seems to show, the Agape was a meal for the whole community. To call it always a 'charity supper,' as it undoubtedly became in some or in most places later on, is a little misleading, though it was a supposition alike, though no doubt supposed almost entirely by the rich, a sign of Christian unity and marked by liturgical forms. Later, the thought of the rich providing for the poor and of the Agape being a charity supper, and that this was performed largely due to the fact of religious or commemorative feasts, in which the relatives of the deceased gave in his honour, or rich people generally gave in honour of a martyr, a banquet to the poor. These commemorative feasts and the ordinary Agape seem to have been confused, at least in many places, during the 4th century. It is important to bear in mind that the custom of the Agape, being a non-essential, varied in different countries. Perhaps the Agape is the custom of the church, and it was of only partial adoption for the greater part of the first four centuries.

To summarize the evidence, we may say that in Acts and 1 Corinthians the Eucharist and the Agape seem to have been combined; in Jude and 2 Peter perhaps dissociated. In the *Didache* and Ignatius they were probably combined, and perhaps also in Bithynia quite up to the time of Pliny, when they were separated and the Agape dropped. In Justin the Agape does not seem to have been actually excepted in Philo's *Elohist* or in Celsus, Minucius Felix, and *Epistle to Diognetus* it is found existing. In Gaul, at the end of the 2nd cent. it had probably been dropped, as it is not mentioned by Irenaeus. Lucian's satire and the *Acts of Perpetua* probably testify to the custom of a 'prison Agape.' Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and some *Acts of Martyrs* in the 3rd cent., attest the Agape as existing and separate from the Eucharist; the old *Didascalia* describes it as a feast to old women. In the 4th cent., 'Church Orders' the Agape is a common meal, not only a charity supper; it is entirely separate from the Eucharist. From the canons of the Councils of Laodicea, Gangra, and Carthage (No. 3), we gather that it was held in churches; perhaps the evidence shows a tendency for it to disappear at this time. Augustine treats it as a charity supper, 'a feeding of the poor.' In the 5th cent. there is the remarkable testimony of Socrates and Sozomen to the exceptional case of Agape and Eucharist combined in Egypt; but there is nothing to show that this custom had always existed there. It may, on the one hand, be a relic of old custom; or, on the other, it may be a revival, a piece of out-of-date antiquarianism. In the 7th cent. the Trullan Council shows that the Agape still existed. Funeral or commemorative Agape are probably referred to by Tertullian, the *Acts of John*, and Cyprian, certainly in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, in the *Commentary* on Job (by Origen?), by Gregory of Nazianzus, Augustine, Cyprian, and others.

(b) Relative order of Agape and Eucharist when united.—Did the Agape or the Eucharist come first? On the one hand, we have the precedence of the Last Supper, where the Eucharist followed Agape, and the Agape was followed by the Eucharist. On the other hand, the Agape came first (see above, ii. 1). In the *Didache*, if the view taken above (ii. 2) be right, the Agape precedes, and the 'fencing of the table' is followed by the Eucharist. In the exceptional case in the Trullan Council (or Agape (if there was one) clearly came first. On the other hand, in Ac 20* we have the order, 'breaking bread' and 'eating.' If the former means the Eucharist and the latter the Agape, the order is reversed. It is quite possible, however, that 'breaking bread' and 'eating' are here one and the same thing, and refer to the Eucharist and the meal combined; in which case we can make no deduction from the words. As has been seen, Chrysostom, in this passage, was a supposition alike, though by no means the case primarily, that the Eucharist precede, i.e. not in his own day merely, but in the primitive ages. We need perhaps lay no great stress on the evidence of the Didascalia on the one hand, or of Chrysostom on the other: there is probably no better knowledge or Christian antiquities in this department than we have. Chrysostom was no doubt influenced in his view of the Apostolic age by the customs of his own day, and the Christians of the Therdah may have been merely trying to follow what appeared to them to have been the custom at the Last Supper. Confining ourselves, then, to the earlier evidence of NT and the *Didache*, it certainly seems more probable that the Agape immediately followed. This is Bp. Lightfoot's view. Dr. Lock (in Hastings' *DB*, s.v. 'Love-feasts') inclines the other way; and so, more decidedly, does Mr. Box (*op. cit.*).

(c) The name 'Agape.'—It is important to consider why this word was applied to a meal. The Greek ἀγάπη is apparently first found in the LXX. Before NT it is exclusively found in Jewish documents. It is not, however, only biblical. Deissmann (*Bibl. Stud.* p. 190, Eng. tr.) quotes a passage in Philo's *Elohist* (92) which probably took the word from the LXX; the meaning is 'love to God.' ἀγάπη is also found in a scholium on Thucydides, but we do not know if the glossator was a Christian or not (see Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 290). In OT and NT, except in
the two passages Jude 12, 2 P 2:19, the word always means 'love.'

How, then, did it acquire its technical sense? Dr. Keating (paper in the Guardian, Dec. 24, 1902) suggests that it was because of the new commandment given at the Last Supper (Jn 13:1-20 ἀγαπάτω τὸν κόσμον ἕναντι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ); and this may very probably be the case. As bread and wine were always 'love,' because it was the bond which united Christians together; and when (as in Ignatius) the name was applied to the Eucharist and the meal jointly, it would be especially suitable, because Christians and their Saviour. That this was the main idea of the name is confirmed by the phrase 'kiss of love,' φίλαγμα ἀγάπης (1 P 5:2; cf. φίλαγμα ἀγάπης, Ro 16:19, 1 Co 16:16, 2 Co 13:1, 1 Th 5:16), which was no doubt in early times as in later ages, and as it is still in the East, one of the most significant features of Christian assemblies; by it the worshippers reminded themselves of their brotherhood.

As the idea of a charity supper became prominent, after the separation of Eucharist and Agape, the name came to imply 'benestilemen' rather than 'love.' Sometimes in the Last Supper, and perhaps in Greek, agape came to mean no more than 'alms.' Thus Jerome speaks of widows being fond of display at Rome—cum ad agapen vocaverint, praecipuus conducteur' (Ep. xxii. 32, A.D. 384), and in the Acts of Thomas ἀγαπή is used of a charitable gift to a widow, apart from a supper. But this is not certain. The degeneration of the word is exactly parallel to that of our English 'charity.'

It is noteworthy that the name 'Agape' is very seldom given to commemorative feasts. In the passage of Paulus given above (ii. 4), however, the feast is so called.

As will be seen from the evidence produced above, the name 'Agape' is applied to a meal taken in common, if the deductions made in this article are correct, in the following: Jude, 2 Peter (probably), Ignatius, Celsus (probably), Acts of Paul and Thecla (perhaps), Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen (quoting Celsus), Acts of James and Matthias, the older Didascalia, and in the 4th cent. writers passim.

As in the case of other technical terms, it is probable that a double reference was not uncommon. Just as 'Agape' was used of a meal with reference to bread and wine, and its corresponding verb were sometimes used of Christian love with an implied reference to the love-feast. Thus in the Celsus passage (above, ii. 2 (e)) the reference is probably double. So in Ignatius, Rom. 7 (above, ii. 2 (b)), an Eucharistic passage ('I desire His blood, which is love incorruptible'), the primary reference is to love, but there is probably a secondary one to the Agape. And similarly in Symm. 7, the passage which immediately precedes that already quoted (ii. 2 (b)), though the words ἀγαπήν to ἀγαπαί must probably be rendered: 'It were expedient for them to have love,' and not, as Zahn and others suggest, 'to celebrate the Agape' (as if ἀγαπή-παί was equivalent to ἀγαπή-παί, yet the passage is required to have to do with the combined Eucharist and love-feast (see Lightfoot's note, op. cit. ii. 307).

(d) Materials for the Agape.—As to these we have very little evidence. In the Didache only a cup of wine and bread are explicitly mentioned. In the Acts of Paul and Thecla, § 25, 'five loaves of bread, with vegetables and salt besides, and water' are spoken of (Conybeare, Monuments of Early Christianity, p. 75); in the Acts of Pionius, one bread and water. Later, Augustine mentions meat, poultry, cheese, milk, honey (c. Fort. xx. 20). Dean Plumptre (Smith-Cheetham, Dict. Chr. Ant. s.v. 'Agape') suggests, from archaeological evidence, that fish was commonly used. He adds that 'bread and wine were of course indispensable'; but this, as far as the wine is concerned, is not obvious, except when the Eucharist was combined with the Agape.

iv. ORIGIN OF THE AGAPE.—Many suggestions have been made for this subject. Most writers have seen in the custom an endeavour to follow the precedent of the Last Supper, when the Eucharist was combined with a meal. It is also thought that the early Christians were copying the customs of the Jews, who, as the Romans, had clubs, of which banquets were a prominent feature. The origin of the Agape has also been looked for in the funeral feasts which were common among both Jews and Gentiles. Or it has been thought to have arisen simply from the early communions of the Apostolic Church (Ac 4:32).

These suggestions are not all mutually exclusive, and probably all of them have a solid foundation. It would be difficult to deny all association with the Last Supper, and it is certain that the Christians would find ample justification for joining their Agape to the Eucharist, or for making the Eucharist a part of the Agape. But then it is necessary to ask, What was the exact significance of the Agape? Was the Eucharist is made difficult by the apparent discrepancy between the Gospel accounts. St. John suggesting that the Supper was celebrated some twenty-four hours before the Paschal lambs were killed, while the Synoptists would lead us to think that the Supper was the Passover itself. This difficulty cannot be fully considered here (see the discussion in Dr. Sanday's article 'Jesus Christ' in Hastings' DB ii. 633 ff.—the article has been republished in book form, 1904—and the literature enumerated there, i.e. p. 638), but whatever view be taken of the Last Supper, that observance cannot fully account for the rise of the Agape. For, first, suppose that our Lord ate the real Paschal Supper on Maundy Thursday; if the Apostles had instituted the Agape in imitation of the Last Supper, it seems almost certain that the love-feast would have been held only once a year, at Easter. [We cannot use this as an argument for the Johannine account of the disputed chronology, for the combination of Agape and the Last Supper is assumed. But it is probable for other reasons.] Then, (Sanday, loc. cit.) that the Last Supper did not synchronize with the regular Paschal meal. Next, suppose that the Last Supper was an anticipated Passover; then, if the Agape depends entirely on it, the difficulty just mentioned as to its being frequent instead of annual would not be taken away. Thirdly, let us take Mr. Box's suggestion (JThSt, iii. 360 ff.), that the Last Supper had its origin in the Jewish Qidissah or weekly sanctification of the Paschal lamb, the observance, and still a feature of the home life of the Jews. The family sat at table after the synagogue service at the beginning of the Sabbath (i.e. our Friday evening), and on the table are placed two loaves and wine. The father blesses the cup, and all the family drink of it; handwashing follows, and the bread is blessed and distributed. Then follows the Sabbath meal. This ceremony is not confined to the Sabbath, but also precedes other festivals, such as the Passover. This is certainly an attractive suggestion, and one which, if the Agape depended solely on the Last Supper, would account for its frequent, instead of annual, occurrence in the Christian Church. But there are several objections to it. Dr. Lambert (JThSt, iv. 184 ff.) has brought forward some of them. Two considerations seem fatal to it. It assumes
that the Eucharist followed by the Agape (for Mr. Box believes the Eucharist to have come first) represented the Jewish Qiddaṭṭah followed by a festive meal. But at the Last Supper the Eucharist certainly followed the meal (1 Co 11:20); and, further, the balance of the argument appears to be against the order required by this theory for the Christian Agape (see above, iii. (b)). And, further, the Paschal character of the Last Supper seems too prominent for us to be convinced that it was not in some sense a Paschal meal. If so, our difficulty as to the origin of the Agape remains, and we must look elsewhere for it, without indeed denying the influence of the Last Supper on the custom under discussion.

The environment of the Apostolic Church must certainly be considered in judging of the origin of the Agape. To the Jewish meals were quite familiar. The Essenes made a practice of them, living a sort of community life (Philo, Quod omnis probis liber; Jos. BJ ii. 8; Hippolytus, Ref. Har. ix. 18 ff.). For other Jewish illustrations see Keating, op. cit. p. 20 ff. We may also cite the allusion to the heavenly banquet in 2 Es 22:8, 'Behold the number of those that be sealed in the feast of the Lord.' The guilds and associations in the heathen world (Tacitus, Ann. iv. 5, Hist. ii. 95; cf. Conon, de Ag. Carn. 1 [Patr. Lat. ii. 848]) were also very common; of these, banquets were usually a prominent feature (Lightfoot, op. cit. i. 18 ff.; Keating, p. 1 ff.). Funerary feasts were common in the heathen world (Tertullian, Apol. 8); of this time they were part of the sequeois, and were offerings to the dead. They were common in Egypt, Asia Minor, and indeed throughout the countries touched by Christianity. The Jews were familiar with them also (cf. Jer 16:10, Eze 24:27, Hos 9:4, To 47:1, Bar 65:2). For a full account of them see Dom Leclercq's article, which, however, appears to make them too exclusively the origin of the Christian Agape. He seems to look on the Last Supper as a funeral banquet, celebrated before our Lord's death, and on the Agape as having that aspect throughout. The evidence does not show this. We do not read of Christian funeral or commemorative feasts till the fourth, at least; and there is nothing to connect them with the Eucharist or with the Last Supper. They would seem rather to have arisen after the almost total separation of Agape and Eucharist.

The most probable account of the origin of the Agape would seem to be that the Christians of the Apostolic age, desirous of showing their unity and brotherly love, imitated the Jewish and heathen custom of having common meals; they could not join the heathen guilds because of the idolatry that would be involved in doing so, and therefore they had what corresponded to these guilds among themselves, namely, the Agape. The connexion with the Eucharist—which in itself was quite a distinct act—would be a further step. They remembered that our Lord had associated the first Eucharist with a meal, and this was their justification in joining the Agape with it, so that the name 'Eucharist' could be said to include the Agape, as in the Didache, or the name 'Agape' the Eucharist, as in Ignatius. Indeed, in this way they seem to be carrying out our Lord's injunction most fully. That the meal partaken of by our Lord was a Paschal meal—probably one specially instituted by Him in anticipation, but this was immaterial—would not affect the matter. There was nothing Paschal about the Agape, but the point of similarity between it and the Last Supper would be the connexion with the Eucharist. These two points, then, seem to stand out—(1) the frequent Agape was at first due to the early common meal of the Church at Jerusalem, and carried on by the Gentile Churches in imitation of those without; (2) its connexion with the Eucharist was based on the fact that our Lord instituted that sacrament after a common meal. That the origin and history of the Agape are plain cannot for a moment be maintained. But that the connexion here given fits the known facts, appears to be at least probable.

LITERATURE—Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, pt. 2 (Ignatius and Polycarp), 1889, ii. 467, 404, 1890, ii. 467, 404, pp. 88; The Agape and the Eucharist, 1901, and art. and letter in the Guardian, Dec. 24, 1901, Nov. 3, 1902, 1901 (reply to Dr. Keating), letter in the Guardian, Jan. 7, 1903, and art. 'Agape' in Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique (vols. of which have since been much modified by the writer); the Church Quarterly Review for July 1902, notice of Dr. Keating's book; Lock, art. 'Love-feasts' in Hastings' DB; was published 1900; Armitage-Robinson, art. 'Eucharist' in Encyc. BSM, vol. ii. 1905; Zahn, art. 'Agape' in P. R. 1886, and Brod and Wein, Leipzig, 1892 (reply to Dr. Ad. Harnack); Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, 1894, iii. 358; Cooper and Maclean, The Testament of our Lord, 1905, p. 224 (for the Church Orders); J. Wordsworth, Holy Communion, 1891, pp. 45-46, 85-95, and Ministry of Grace, 1911, ch. vi. Bingham, Christian Antiquities, xv. 7; Sniite, La Chretiennet; Plumptre, art. 'Agape' in Smith and Cheetham's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities; Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archeologie Chretienne et de Liturgie (esp. for epigraphy and pictorial representations); Ermont, D'Agape dans l'Eglise gentile, 1900; and D'Agape (in 'L'Agape' in Revue d'Histoire Societale, Jan. 15, 1903), 16-17, 29-30; Brun, Adolf, Harnack, 'Brethren' (Leipzig, 1893); Krauss, art. 'Agape' and 'Mahle' in KE DE CHRIESTL. Altertumse; Landeuse, 'L'Eucharistie et les repas communs de foppes dans le Didache' (Revue des Religions, 1902, No. 3); Spitta, Zur Geschichte und Literatur der Deutschen Religions, 1 (Göttingen, 1883); Jullicher, Zur Geschichte des Abendmaals (Theol. Abh. 1903); Gardner, Origin of the Lord's Supper, 1909; Keating, C.J.; ('The Last Supper') in Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, 1902. The connexion with the Welsh college led to the new sect being called the 'Lampeter Brethren.'

This, however, was misleading, for the Lampeter Brethren, eleven alumni of that institution, were a devout and well-informed band of Episcopalian ministers who met for mutual edification, but who afterwards felt 'compelled,' as they say, 'to be liberal, and, final, though most distressing, conclusion was Prince is unjustly in error.

During his college course Prince was an exemplary student. His brother-in-law and fellow-student, Rev. A. A. Rees, wrote that, till 1843, he never saw or heard of an individual more thoroughly devoted to God.

Prince was ordained in 1840 to the curacy of the agricultural parish of Charlynch, near Bridgwater, Somerset. The rector's name was Starky. The careers of these two men now became identified. Starky, like Prince, was a man of extraordinary gifts of speech, but the rector soon acknowledged his curate as the very voice of God. For the benefit of Agapemones led to its adherents in Weymouth and other parts of the south country being called 'Starkyites.' A wonderful revival of religion began in Charlynch and the district in October 1841. Prince published a book of it in 1842. It is a diary of most earnest work on behalf of souls. In six months the whole parish had professed conversion. Yet we find that, as early as May 4, 1841, the Bishop of Bath and Wells had revoked Prince's licence to preach, on the ground of his labouring in neighbouring parishes, adding *His Christian name appears to have been lost. In the B.M. Cat. the name stands 'Starky' (—) and on the title-page of his book in the Museum it is given as Er. Starky.
to the Lord's Table before Confirmation, and refusing the Sacrament to persons of evil lives. The diary is an instructive and edifying book, but it reveals the subtle and almost hypnotic power of Prince over his rector and the parishioners. While so absorbed in seeking the salvation of his people that he can think of nothing else, the emotion he evokes begins to have the reality of the genuine and unnatural. The Charlynch Revival was published because Prince thought it 'calculated, under the Divine blessing, to stir up the hearts of the Lord's people, and especially of His ministers, to expect great things of God. With a few emendations it might be reissued as a model of pastoral labours.

Before its publication in August 1842, Prince had already sent out two small works, Letters to his Christian Brethren in St. David's College, Lamper, and Strength in the Lord, both of which ran to more than one edition.

The date of the beginning of his delusions seems to have been early in 1843. In May of that year he wrote to Mr. Rees a long letter in which he expounded the steps by which the Holy Ghost entered and possessed and controlled H. J. Prince. In the same year he desired his Lamper brethren to believe (1) that he was the Holy Ghost personified; (2) that the Holy Ghost suffered and died in him; (3) that this suffering and death was that of the last judge; he called himself the Holy Ghost spirit,' or, as he also phrased it, 'a modification of the Holy Ghost.' About the same time he also published Testimony Hymns, religious parodies on certain popular ballads, to back up his own pretensions, -wretched doggerel, like almost all his hymns,—in which he seemed to be losing all consciousness of other things and persons than himself. This was the beginning of his own self-proclaimed apotheosis.

Prince had been inhibited by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and presently the same lot befell him at the hands of the Bishop of Ely. When he attempted to officiate as curate at Stoke-by-Clare, in Suffolk, he suffered once more at the hands of the Bishop of Ely. He appealed to the Archbishop, but could get no redress. Then, to use his own words, 'prevented from preaching within the pale of the Established Church, Bro. Prince, after some months' waiting on God for guidance in faith and prayer, proceeded to preach without it. He became in denominating priestcraft, but apparently without having observed that there were fellow-Christians who felt as strongly as himself upon this subject. Starky and Prince began to preach in barns at Charlynch. What was practically a Free Church was formed at Spaxton, a mile away. Cowards came to hear them. The twain asserted that they were the Two Witnesses of Rev. 11, and Prince published several brochures in regard to the 'Two Anointed Ones.' He declared that community of goods was still binding, and he divided all the lands, and brought the money, 'laying it at Bro. Prince's feet.' About this period also he asserted that he was the prophet Elijah, that this had been made known to him by direct revelation, and that 'people were not to consider what they heard from him as an ordinary sermon, nor to think of him as an ordinary preacher; on the contrary, he was come from the courts of heaven, from the bosom of eternal glory.'

A crop of opposing pamphlets immediately sprang from the press, written for the most part by men who had been his personal friends. It is clear from some of his actions at this time, and particularly from the ballads which he penned and made his own invention sing, that his phenomenal self-love had passed beyond eccentricality into unsoundness of mind.

Prince and Starky now set up the Agapemone, which they opened in 1849 at the entrance to the village of Spaxton. Money was poured into the treasury by their credulous followers. Freehold land was bought, and a beautiful and spacious residence erected upon it (for a description of it see Hope-Dixon, op. cit. infra). The name of the Prince was associated with the Agapemone. A wave of fanaticism seemed to sweep across the district about Bridgwater. Many intelligent persons believed him when Prince announced himself as the Final Revelation of the will of God to mankind. Christ had come again in the person of His messenger, first to judge, and then to convince the world of righteousness. In him the Holy Ghost was to destroy the works of the flesh, and to cast out the devil. Whether he took the title of 'Lord,' or only accepted it, without depreciating its application to himself, seems uncertain. Some who retired from the Agapemone blazed his followers as much as they do Prince. Said one of them, 'They were all very good about him, and were ready to fall down and worship him as if he were God.' Letters passed through the post addressed to our Holy Lord God at Spaxton. The Prince objected to this profane and wicked adulation. He stood the fact that his throne in the auditorium, devoted to visions of the gladness of his abode, is 'the throne of God, and of the Lamb.' He is the Judge, and the Lamb, or One that is slain, death, hell, the devil,—speaking as if he were master of all, until the doubters among the assembly quailed and trembled beneath the awful appeal upon them. Prince had said, 'It is the will of God to give the spirit of prophecy to every man that asketh of Almighty God.' He announced that neither he nor any that attached themselves to him could die, or suffer grief or sickness, because the power had come in his person to redeem and deliver man. He set up royal state. Having purchased the Queen-Dowager's equipage and four cream-coloured horses, he was accustomed to drive rapidly about Bridgwater and the surrounding country. He was accompanied by bloodhounds, whose presence lent the element of fear to the spectacle. In his journey he often stopped to see the Great Exhibition, he drove about the parks and streets in an open carriage, preceded and attended by attendants, most of them bared-headed because they wore no gowns. He declared that he and the Prince 'are the Lord.' After the catastrophe which we have now to relate, he fixed upon the title of 'The Beloved' as his own, because we are 'accepted in the Beloved.' His tombstone as erected in the churchyard was inscribed with a 'B,' as the initial letter of his pontifical title. Presentation copy bore the words 'From Beloved,' and the inscription, 'I have chosen you out of the world.'

It was inevitable that a movement begun in pride and profaneness should develop into uncOUTH, licentiousness. The habits of Prince and his women's domestic affairs were disgraceful, drinking to excess, gaiety, amusements, and the pursuit of wealth had become the order of the day. Disturbances arose out of lawsuits brought by some who ascended from the Agapemone, horridly-striken at what they had witnessed and suffered there. One of these was Prince v. Prince (British Museum, Vol. Law Reports, 29 L.J. Ch. 857) brought about a complete exposure of the methods by which Prince and his henchmen crept into houses, leading captive silly women, and 'turning the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ into licentiousness.' The suit was heard before Vice-Chancellor Stuart in the Court of Chancery, and occupied in hearing June 4–8, and July 25, 1860, when judgment was given. The bill was heard in June 25, 1860, and the suit was decided in favor of Prince and the Agapemone. The property of Louisa Jane Nottridge, and the like amounts on behalf of two of her sisters. The report of the trial is the most trustworthy and complete history of the shameful condition of the Agapemone from 1848 to 1860, when Prince was at the summit of his power and arrogance.

Whether Prince proclaimed or allowed 'freedom' at the Agapemone cannot be proved. But the cross-examination in Court revealed the fact that, up to 1856, at any rate, grave disorders occurred, and the Vice-Chancellor took the strongest terms to the disgraceful revelations.

We have said that there is much in Prince's writings that is commendable and edifying. In the Journal of three years' spiritual experience he bows low before God under the sense of sin, or enjoys ecstatic communion with his Saviour. The
Man Christ Jesus is an enthusiastic review of the life of the Lord, though verbose, dreamy, obscure, and exclamatory,—exhausting all the Orientalism of Holy Scripture that can be used in a luxurious and erotic sense to express devotion to Christ. In *Agnphs* (1867), *The Tale of Life*, and *The Shutters taken down from the Windows of Heaven* contained much that needs to be said in regard to spiritual, as opposed to sacerdotal, religion. But the books, like the man himself, are stealthy and deceptive. While devout Christians can approve large portions of his writings, the latter are sometimes marred by the sudden introduction of his own theories, and by the application to himself personally of the words used by our Lord about His own nature and work. Indeed that the *Journal* the most important book is *The Counsel of God in Judgment, or Prince's Testimony to the Closing of the Gospel Dispensation*, published when he was 77 years old. It declares the doom of Christendom, the fulfilment of all grace in Prince, his rejection by the Church, and the consequent withdrawal of His Holy Ghost from the Church and the world to Prince and the Agápemôn. But he will have to be judged by *The Little Book Open*. The note to the copy in the library, 4th October 1856, is that orders went forth from the Agápemôn that all copies should be destroyed,—so strong was the public sentiment about it. It consists of a collection of the 'Voices.' In one of them Prince proclaims which ascetics Holy Ghost to cover and justify his own adulteries. All this loathsome uncleanness stands dressed in fervid and glowing language which vainly endeavours to conceal its crime.

For the trial in the Chancery Court, comparative silence fell upon the Agápemôn. Prince lived a very retired life. The funds of the brotherhood also seemed to be failing them, until in the late eighties a windfall came in the person of a wealthy London merchant, who presented to Prince all his property, and served the brotherhood in the humble capacity of butler. For the last ten years of his life Prince was very feeble. He outlived all his principal followers. He was buried on the 11th of February 1889, in the grounds behind the Agápemôn.

In 1890 and for a few years later there was a remarkable recrudescence of this fanaticism. Several prominent members of the Salvation Army went off with Prince. A mission to Nottingham was reported to be very successful. Yet, above all, Clapton, in the N.E. of London, became the scene of this renewed activity. The 'Children of the Resurrection,' as they named themselves, built, in 1892, 'The Ark of the Covenant,' an elaborate structure, seating about 400 persons, at a cost of £6,000. The preacher, at its opening in 1899, was the Rev. J. H. Smyth-Pigott, the official successor of Prince. Smyth-Pigott, who is of good family, was formerly a curate of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park. He has also served with the Salvation Army. In his opening sermon he declared he expected Christ to come that very day to judgment, but did not explain why, in that case, this expensive church was being dedicated. In September 1902, Smyth-Pigott proclaimed himself to be Jesus Christ; with the result that most riotous scenes took place for several weeks.

Since the tumultuous scenes which accompanied the making of this announcement, Smyth-Pigott has lived in retirement at Clapton, at the Agápemôn at Spaxton, worshipped as Divine by the little company who accept his pretensions. 'The Ark of the Covenant' remained closed to the public during 1903 and 1904, private services being held at rare intervals. It needs only to be added that the present tenants of the Agápemôn are a quiet, blameless, and elderly company, numbering about 35 persons, whose praise is sung throughout the whole neighbourhood for their unquestioned piety and fervent charity (1907).

LITURGICAL—Prince's own *Journal*: or, An Account of the Destruction of the Works of the Devil, 1846; written by the Lord Jesus Christ, through the Gospel, published in 1839, but relating to the period of his last earthly sojourn; *The Struggle*; or, An Account of the Remarkable Work of Grace at Chalresworth, 1844; J. G. Dick, *A Word of Warning*: The Heresy of Mr. Prince, London, 1847; *The Holy Peace* of the Heresy of Rev. H. J. Prince, Weymouth, 1838; O. Herr, *The Door Not Shut*; or, Three Reasons for not believing Prince, to be a celestial maried in the struggle for life and in the conflict against their own flesh they being 'The closed Divine Door,' 1847; when Prince, *A Book in the Name of Levison* was published, 1868; *The Soul*; or, Prince's Testimony to the Closing of the Gospel Dispensation, and the Revolution of Jesus Christ as the Son of Man, 1837; also a variety of pamphlets of a painful nature, printed for private circulation only.

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sought power in a union of souls, which was supposed to bring them nearer to God.

The old Irish Church had made this kind of asceticism a foundation-pillar of its organization. According to the primitive Christian custom, no difference was then made between man and woman (cf. Gal. 3:28), and both were to take part in Church functions. In the monastic houses, moreover, the priestly monks lived together with the priests, according to an old anonymous reporter, up to the year 343: *Mulierum administrationem et consortiam non responsam, quia super genus hominis et mulieris*. (Haddan-Stabbes, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, ii. 2, p. 292). At the time, too, when the Irish, with their mission, undertook a forward movement towards Brittany, the Gallican bishops found it especially blameworthy in the incoherence that they were accompanied by women, who, like the men, assumed to themselves sacramental functions (cf. the letter of the three bishops in the *Revue de Bretagne et de Vendée*, 1885, i. p. 5 ff.; they did not know that the Irish-Breton Church had already adopted and principles of the most ancient Christian Church.

After the well-to-do circles in the large cities had become Christian, there was developed a new form of spiritual marriage. It happened frequently that rich young women who lived in the tendency of the time, refused marriage, and in order to provide a master for their large houses, caused clergymen or monks to bind themselves to them in spiritual marriage. This is a variety of Syneisaktism, but an unfortunate one. The role seems to be reversed. The woman had the upper hand, because she retained the mistress of her large possessions, and in addition she enjoyed the reputed of virginity. On the other hand, the position of the priest was difficult, and often precarious. However seriously asceticism and the union of souls might be taken, still the fact could not be lost sight of that the priest was a subordinate, and his position may have varied between house steward, domestic chaplain, and spiritual lover. This is the role which the priest in Francia had in the 17th and 18th centuries. At the time of Chrysostom this evil custom was widespread in Constantinople (Migne, clxxxv. col. 495 ff.); likewise at the same time in Gaul, as Jerome (Ep. 117) di- cnotes, it is therefore to be regarded as a peculiar product of Christianity.

The spiritual marriage of the clergy is most frequently mentioned, and therefore best known; so much so that it has been widely believed that only the clergy of the ancient Church lived with Syneisaktai. And it cannot be denied that the custom, just as in the case of Monasticism, found its especial home here. It stands parallel with celibacy, which, in like manner, in Christianity was not created for the clergy, but none the less became a dwelling place among the clergy at a later date, and was elevated to a law, because people judged marriage to be inferior, and imposed the highest and most ideal demands on the clergy. Now, as the clergy who withdrew from marriage became more numerous, this choice of a companion for spiritual wedlock, in order professedly to live a life of asceti-

ism, was of much more frequent occurrence. And as time went on, the ideal nature of the relationship seems to have disappeared in face of practical motives. Out of the ascetic and the bride of the soul there arose a companion of friendship, the housekeeper, who was suspected to be also the mistress. No doubt the common judgment on this form of asceticism had changed in course of time. Men's roles had become more alert and same, and the priest who lived together with a woman was looked on with other eyes than at an earlier date. It seems, however, as if Syneisaktism itself had degenerated. The housekeepers of the clergy were called *mulieres extraneae*, and placed on the same footing as servant maids. Spanish synods, about the year 600, even ordered that the extraneae should be sold as slaves, and the proceeds given to the poor (cf. Can. 5, Toledo, 633). In the Decretals of Gregory IX., iii. 2, *de cohabitatione clericorum et mulierum*, the concubinage of the clergy is forbidden. In the East the same development can be proved. Even in the later synods the Syneisaktai are alluded to: *His sanctissimae mulieris*; but it was often the occasion of female servants of the clergy; and to the Greek canonists of the 12th cent. the name Syneisaktos means no more than the housekeeper of a clergyman. Syneisaktism must, therefore, have undergone a transition. Even in the later centuries clergy lived together with women without being married to them, just as in earlier times; but people regarded this living together differently. In the early times man and woman had taken the vow of virginity, and had struggled in a union of souls to attain the common ideals; in the practical requirements of life came to the front. The clergyman needed a woman to look after his household, who was faithful and devoted to him. The natural way of marriage was barred to him by the ordination and celibacy; but if he took a young woman into his house without marrying her, he was exposed to evil report. Without doubt, even in later times the ideal motives of the community of life may in many cases have been alive, as formerly. On the whole, the development which has been sketched is thoroughly natural. An ascetic enthusiasm which proposes to itself such high aims must, in the course of time, evaporate and make room for the sober realities of the day. Such an heroic ideal may perhaps be suitable as a way to heaven for a few specially favoured natures; but it becomes questionable, and even pernicious, as soon as it is made a rule to be fol- lowed by a large class of men.

The different forms of Syneisaktism arose under the influence of social conditions. In the loneliness of the desert, the man became servant of the hermit; in the cities and villages, the soul-friend of the well-to-do priest degenerated into his housekeeper, just as, on the other hand, rich widows assigned to their spiritual friends the role of steward; and if in Ireland nuns lived together in large companies, that was caused by the peculiar conditions of the Irish monastic church, which was a monastic church. The difference of the forms, however, allows us to see clearly the original form. The original motive was in all cases a religious one—more precisely, an ascetic one; brotherly love was supposed to take the place of the love of marriage. Syneisaktism was the natural product of two opposing tendencies in ancient Christianity. On the one hand, brotherly love, in all its forms of expression, was highly prized, so that it was declared to be the proper palladium of religion (cf. 1 Co 13), and the exclusiveness of the small and intimate congregations favoured the rise of a narrow social life and close friendly relationship between Christians who were widely separated in age and social position. We can see, from the example of the Irish religious houses, how great an influence the idea of community must have had. On the other hand, there was a strong aversion, based on religious feelings, to sexual intercourse. Marriage was a not very honourable concession to the sensuous nature of mankind, and people revered the ascetics without inquiring what sacrifices they paid for their ideals. Owing to the conflict of social ideals, which bound men most closely with each
other and yet threatened to estrange man and woman, there arose the unnatural combination of asceticism and brotherly love, which meets us in Syneisaktism. A form of intimate social life of the sexes was created, which was not marriage either in name or in intent, and was blind to its own dangers, because those who adopted it trusted everything, even the quite impossible, to the power of the Spirit animating the Christian.

Thus it is only natural that it was just the spiritually elevated Christians, the leaders of the community, who were the prophets, confessors, and friends—whom lived in spiritual marriage. In the same way the uxor res spiritualis of the earlier times were always such women as enjoyed a special position of honour in the community as ‘brides of Christ’—the virgins, widows, or even prophetesses. What they undertook was not hidden in a corner, but was generally admired as a glorious example of Christian love and continuity. But in course of time the judgment of the ancient Church regarding the Syneisaktoi changed.

Hermas seems to regard spiritual marriage, in all its forms, as a precious characteristic of the life of the Christian community. The Syneisaktism does not disappear of it (v. 1. 6. 3, f.). Tertullian regards it as the most desirable form of cohabitation of man and woman (see above). Paul of Samosata warns his readers against it and his opponents in the Synod of Antioch (Epich. III v. 30. 12 f.), and, shortly before, Irenaeus also (Ep. v. 4. 18.) says that the first to give themselves against it. The Synods of the 4th cent.—Elvira can. 27., Anycra can. 19., and Nicea can. 3.—forbid the clergy to have women in their houses, and after that date prohibitions of Syneisaktism are never absent from the Church ordinances. In cases of disobedience the clergy are punished or even deposed. In the case of laymen or monks, strict admonitions are as a rule, regarded as sufficient.

The different attitudes taken up by the Church on the question are explained by the development which the ascetics underwent. According to Tertullian, the first three centuries had spread very widely, and the communities had in places become very numerous. There were many elements in her that did not take the moral precepts of Christianity seriously. The strict prohibitions regarding sins of the flesh were, owing to the necessity of the case, weakened and modified in the 3rd century. The Roman bishop Callistus likened the Church to Noah’s ark, in which there were clean and unclean beasts (Ap. ix. 12). Points against the purely spiritual marriage had to be abolished,—a custom which, if feasible at all, was so only in small intimate communities, where each knew the other and all were under supervision and discipline. It proved excessive forms of Syneisaktism, as we may learn from the ever repeated prohibitions, which become more and more strict as time goes on. How very deep the opposition to it went can be gathered from the fact that the later bishop of Antioch, Leontius, castrated himself in order to be permitted to retain his house companion. Yet people were in many places convinced of the innocence and the justice of such a relationship, and even produced proofs from writers who justified the Syneisaktoi by quoting Ephesians and other Clementine and New Testament passages (Achelis, Virg. Subintrod. p. 421 f.).

That spiritual marriage was in course of time regarded in a different light, is proved further by the changes of designation.

Tertullian calls the female ascetic, who lives with a man, his uxor spiritualis— which is the appropriate name in the sense of early days. Then there occurs the term comhospita. The syneisaktoi have been called allegores, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Antioch invented for the female friends of Paul of Samosata the nickname oveirases, and this name is highly respectable to female folk who lived together with like-minded male friends. The term was carried over into the Latin Church in the translation subintroducta (Roman Synod a d. 745 in Mansi, vi. 261). More frequently still the general designation, mulieres extraneous, is used.

In regard to the question of the age of spiritual marriage, the Shepherd of Hermas comes especially under consideration. Hermas knows the custom of Christian men and women being united to each other by a bond of special affinity, even when they are separated from each other by all kinds of relationships in life (Vis. i. 1. 1); he presupposes that virgins find such partners in their brothers (Syn. v. 8); and, finally, knows the intimate forms of intercourse which were usual between the spiritually betrothed (Syn. ix. 11, 3, 7). He reports, of course, not facts but visions, but he would not have been able to introduce the situations he describes in such a matter-of-fact way, if he had not regarded them as characteristics of Christian brotherly love, of which he was proud.

The passage 1 Co 7 has also to be considered, since it has been brought by Ed. Grafe into connexion with the question of the Syneisaktoi. According to the interpretation suggested by Grafe, 1 Co 7 is to the awakening love between a Christian householder and a young girl residing in his house, who are bound by a common vow; the Apostle recommends that an end be put to this precarious situation by marriage. But, on the other hand, in v. 35 he praises the Christian who, in the like situation, understands how to control himself; while v. 36 unites both decisions. The matter, however, does not end here. The Christian who has generally been held by exegetes, but is a case of spiritual marriage—the same situation as we found above in the case of the bishop and clergy of Antioch, as we must presuppose in Hermas, and as we saw in the letters of Clement, was certainly an inevitable past place at Corinth (although it was avoided in other places), viz. that the peculiar relation between the guardian and his spiritual bride became too intimate to be endurable for any length of time. According to St. Paul himself, at least, the case of young girls living in the community with the leader of the Christian community, who had had a disappointing experience, a marriage was certainly the best way. It must, however, be granted that this interpretation of the passages in Corinthians is not beyond question, especially as that text is rarely quoted. Lastly, the de Vita Contemplativa must be mentioned. This may be regarded as a genuine work of Philo. The Therapeuæ in Egypt, who are there described, and who tabooed marriage and sexual enjoyment, lived in union with female companions, just as the Christian monks did at a later date. It is the same combination of sexual asceticism and brotherly communion as in Syneisaktism, only that the personal intimacy between the individual pairs is wanting; the brotherly love is just as great as it is in specific fraterly and sisterly Christian marriage. This makes it possible to place the beginnings of Syneisaktism in the Apostolic Age. The ascetic cohabitation of man and woman had already had its prototype in Hellenistic Judaism. It can, however, on more general grounds, hardly be doubted that spiritual marriage with its extravagances belongs to the earliest Christian times, when the ‘Spirit’ ruled the community, and the ‘first love’ still burned. At that time the communities were small and intimate, and had had no disappointing experiences with regard to themselves; asceticism makes its way into the Church; and so all the conditions for the rise of Syneisaktism were present. This must be so if Syneisaktism is conceived of, as it has been by us above, as
an attempt to substitute for marriage Christian brotherly love. If we seek to derive it, in the way formerly adopted, from the celibacy of the clergy or from Monasticism, then we are driven to a much later date for its origin. But in face of the testimony of the most ancient authors, that can hardly be maintained.

LITERATURE.—The question was first raised by Henry Dobbs in his Cypriote, ii. (Oxford, 1889). Thereupon a small literature on the subject grew up. The titles of books which have been given are by D. v. Volckering, India dissertationum (Leipsic, 1849), p. 197. So far as is known to the present writer, all the authors held Syneasitism to be an error of a minor character, of little importance. The above mentioned discussion of 1 Co 7:36-38 by Ed. Grafe, "Geleitliche Verblüftisenn von Paulus," followed a notice of Weiszäcker, and appeared in Thed. Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissen. fil. Prediger-Verein, N.S., iii. (Freiburg, 1899). This interpretation has found considerable approval. The conception of Syneasitism given above is proved in detail by H. Achelis, "Vorgeschichte Subintroductc in... " (Leipsic, 1899).

AGARIÁ, AGAR, AGARI.—An Indian tribe which, at the Census of 1901, numbered 270,370, of whom the vast majority are found in Bombay, the Central Provinces, and Bengal, with a few in other parts of N. India. The ethnography of this tribe is very large, for it is well described under one head, and in the Census returns, it includes at least three different communities, who may, however, agree in being of common Dravidian or Mundé origin. In Chota Nagpur and the adjoining district of Mirzapur the Agari practise a bold method of smelting iron. In the Tributary Mahals of Bengal and in the Sambalpur district of the Central Provinces they are a fair, good-looking race, who claim to have once been Rajputs in the neighbourhood of Agra, whence they say they derive their name. The legend runs that they refused to bow the head before the Muhammadan emperor of Delhi, and were compelled to leave their original settlements and migrate southwards. These returns describe under the name of Agharia, in order to distinguish them from the Agaria, who are pure Dravidians. In the Mandla district of the same province they are described as a subdivision of the Gonds (wh. see), and among the laziest and most drunken of that race. In Bombay another branch practises the business of smelting iron, and derive their name from the pit (Hind. Mahr. agar, Skr. akara, 'a mine') in which the fire is evaporated.

It is only the tribe in Chota Nagpur and the immediate neighbourhood that preserves its original beliefs. Generally they have a well-marked potentistic division into sub-castes; a vague form of ancestor-worship, which is confined to propitiating the dead of the preceding generation; and a respect for the Sál tree (Shorea robusta), which is used at their marriages. In Mirzapur they neglect the ordinary Hindu gods, and have a special worship of Lohára Devi, the Mother-goddess who presides over the smelting furnaces. To her the boiság, or village officiant, sacrifices a goat which has never been fed; and in a few days of cake, the meat and the remainder of the bread being consumed by the worshippers. In Palamau, according to Forbes, their worship is of a still lower type. "They appear," he writes, "to have no deities, and to have no knowledge of the Supreme Being, though some of them appear to have heard of the universe Devi; but I do not think they worshipped her in any way. On certain days of the year they offer up sacrifices to propitiate the spirits of the departed members of the family." This ceremony is called Múa, i.e. "the Dead." They generally also worship the Dih or local gods of the village in which they happen to settle. In Bengal their women have the reputation of being notorious witches. Dalton was told that 'in Gangour there are old women, professors of witchcraft, who stealthily instruct the young girls. The latter are all eager to be taught, and are not considered proficient till a fine forest tree, selected to be experimented upon, is destroyed by the potency of their "mantras" or charms, so that the wife a man takes to his bosom has probably done her tree, and is confident in the belief that she can, if she pleases, dispose of her husband in the same manner if he makes himself obnoxious.'

A closely allied tribe of the E. Munda in Lohár-daga— the Æsurs, who speak the same language as the Agaria—worship Andháríya Devátì, the Earth-godd. The sacrificer places a fowl with its head tied to a tree, and as he beat it with the forge pincers, strikes its head with a hammer, praying that the goddess will protect the worshipper from injury by the sparks which fly from red-hot iron. These people also worship Bør Fakhárí Bongá, the great Hill-god, with the sacrifice of a brown goat, and Pándrá Devátì, the Sun, with a mottled fowl.

The Agaria of the Central Provinces and the allied tribe in Bombay are practically Hindus, worshipping in particular Hánamántí, the monkey-godd, and all the village gods and spirits. But, they still preserve traces of the original pre-Aryan beliefs in representing these deities by stones and white ant hills, and by performing their worship through their own headman, and not by a Brahman officiant.


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AGASTYA (or Agasti).—The reputed author of some Vedic hymns (Rígveda, i. 105-101). In the Rigveda he is sometimes mentioned, and some particulars are alluded to, notably his miraculous origin and his relation to Lópamúrdha, his wife (see E. Sieg, *Sagenstoffe des Rigveda*, i. 105-129). In Hindu mythology he is regarded as the patron saint of Southern India, where places sacred to him abound; still, his hermitage was shown on the Yamuná near Prayágā. He originated from the seed of Mitra and Varuna, which they had dropped into a water-jar on seeing the heavenly mýthum Urvasí. For a time he was taught, in the manner of the Maithrávari, and from his being born from a jar he got the names Kumbhasambhava, Kalyásoní, and similar ones denoting "jar-born." A Vedic name of Agastya is Mánýa.

Agastya, growing old as an ascetic, was admonished by his ancestors to beget a son in order to save himself and them from perdition. He therefore produced, by magic power, a beautiful maiden, Lópamúrdha, from the best part of all creatures, and gave her to the king of Vídarbha to be his daughter. Nobody daring, on account of her supernatural beauty, to pretend to her hand, Agastya at last demanded her in marriage. The king, fearing his wrath, acceded to his wish, and Lópamúrdha became the wife of the ascetic. When, however, after a course of penance, Gánádávára, Agastya desired to embrace his wife, she refused to do his will unless she was decked out in such splendid robes and costly ornaments as she had been accustomed to in her father's house. In order to satisfy her demand, Agastya applied to different kings for treasures; but he had calculated that their budgets were just balanced, so that they might not bestow wealth on him. On their advice and in their company he went to the king of Manimátí, the Dánava Víra, who was famous for his riches.

*See Holtzmann's paper on Agastya in the Mahábhárata in ZDMG xxvi, p. 389.*

† Mahábhárata, iii. 57.

† Dhádávárdásá, v. 30; *Rómáyána*, vi. 57.
Now Ivala, an enemy of the Brāhmanas, had a brother, Vatapi, whom, on the arrival of a Brāhman, he used to kill and then to prepare as a meal. When the unsuspecting guest had finished his dinner, Ivala, by his magical power, called Vatapi to life again, and in this way killed his victim. The latter died from the ordinary eyes, but his incantation failed to revive Vatapi, whom Agastya had already completely digested. So Ivala was slain to give Agastya such treasures as satisfied the desires of Lopamudrā. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (iii. 11, 13) and the Mahābhārata, the latter work, on this occasion, reduced the Dānava to ashes by fire issuing from his eye. The Rīga had by Lopamudrā a son called Drīṣṭaṣvā or Idhmavaha.*

Another famous deed of Agastya was his having caused the fall of Nabhāsa.

When, after vanquishing Vṛtra, Indra, polluted with the sin of brahmacayā, or killing of a Brāhman, fled and hid himself, the gods made Nabhāsa ruler of the ship. But Nabhāsa soon became overbearing and desired to make Sachi, Indra’s wife, his own. She, however, would consent unless he came to her on a car drawn by the seven Rīgas. Nabhāsa therefore took them to his car, and made them drive it. During his ride, he, for certain reasons, was stated in different places, killing Agastya on the head, whereupon the Rīga turned him, by his curse, into a serpent, until Yuddhishthira should release him from that curse.†

Most frequently Agastya is mentioned in Sanskrit works as having stayed the abnormal growth of the Vindhyā range, and as having drunk up the ocean.

The drinking up of the ocean is thus related in the Mahābhārata (iii. 103 ff.):—

The Kālakayas or Kālayas, a class of Asuras, had fought under Vṛtra against the gods. After the death of their leader they hid themselves in the ocean; but the gods could not reach them, and determined to exterminate the Brāhmanas and holy men; for thus, they thought, they would bring about the end of the gods, alarmed by their raids, were advised by Vīruṇ to implore Agastya for help. The Rīga, according to the Vāyu-sūtra, made his way, as usual, in the ocean and thus laid the Kālakayas, who were then slain by the gods. The ocean continued a void till Bhagiratha led the Gangā to it and thus dispelled it again with water.

A curious trait of our saint is that he was a famous hunter and archer. For this reason, probably, Manu (v. 22) adduces Agastya as an authority for killing deer and birds for sacrificial purposes and for servants’ food.

After his death Agastya was placed among the stars as Canopus, the most brilliant star in the southern heavens except Sirius. The heliacal rising of this star, while the sun is in the asterism Hasta, marks the setting in of autumn after the close of the rains.‡

Agastya seems, in popular belief, to represent that force of nature which makes an end of the monsoon,—in mythological language, drinks up the waters of the ocean,—and which brings back the ordinary eyes, temporarily hidden by the clouds of the rainy season, or, turned mythologically, stays the growth of Vindhyā obstructing the path of the sun. As a rain-godling, * who is supposed to have power to stop the rain, he is still invoked in Mazaffarnagar.*

In Southern India, Agastya is venerated as the earliest teacher of science and literature; he is the reputed author of many Tamil works; * he is believed to be still alive, though invisible to the human eye. He is sometimes represented as living somewhere on the fine conical mountain in Travancore commonly called Agastya’s hill, from which the Poruneli, or Tāmraparṇi, the sacred river of Tinnevelly, takes its rise.† See also VEDIC RELIGION (4 B).

AGE.—In most animals there is a normal specific size to which the great majority of the adult members of the species closely approximate. In a large collection representing a species there may be a few giants and a few dwarfs, but most of the members show a close approximation to the same limit of growth, and there are good reasons for believing that the normal specific size is adaptive, i.e. that it has been slowly established in the course of selection as the fittest size for the given organization and the given conditions of life. In some cases, e.g. many fishes, there is no such definite limit of growth; thus haddocks are often found as large as codes.

Similarly, in many animals that have been carefully studied, we find that there is a normal potential duration of life, which is normally exceeded, though it may be seldom attained. This normal ‘lease of life’ is in most cases known only in a general way, though in individuals we are able to say that the living creature in question never lives longer than a few months, or a year, or a few years. Statistics from forms kept in captivity are obviously vitiated by the artificial conditions, and the life of animals in their natural conditions is so often ended by a ‘violent death’—coming sooner or later according to the varying intensity of the struggle for existence—that it is difficult to say what the normal potential duration of life really is. But a critical survey of a large body of facts led Weismann in his essay on ‘The Duration of Life’ (1889) to the conclusion that, this, like size, is an adaptive character, gradually defined by selection in relation to the external conditions of life.

Attempts have often been made to correlate the duration of life with certain structural and functional characteristics of the type discussed, e.g. with size, with the duration of the growing period, with rapidity or slowness of development, or with the number of the tail, or with the sex of the organism, and many of these correlations have been generalized, and there is much to be said for Weismann’s more cautious thesis, that the length of life is determined in relation to the needs of the species. Given a certain rate of reproduction and a certain average mortality, the duration of life that survives is that which is fittest to the conditions. (See ADAPTATION.) In the same essay Weismann pointed out that unteilerell organisms, which have none of the ‘body’ to keep up, which can continually make good their waste by repair, and which have very simple inexpensive modes of reproduction, are practically ‘immortal,’ i.e. they are not subject to natural death as higher organisms are. Epigraphically expressed, natural death is the price paid for a ‘body.’

In the case of man, we must clearly distinguish between the average specific longevity, about 34 years in Europe—but happily raisable with decreasing infantile mortality, improved sanitation, and the decreasing numbers of human, increasing warfare, increasing temerence and carefulness,—and the potential specific longevity, which for the present race is normally between

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* Crooke, The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, i. 76.
† Caldwell, Compar. Gram. of Dravidian Languages, 119 ff.
‡ Taittiriya Aranyaka, i. 11. 2.
† Varāha Muhūra, Syāmat Sankhīd, xii. 78.

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seventy and one hundred years. There is no warrant for fixing any precise limit, either for the past or the future. All that we can scientifically say is that there are few well-established instances of a greater human longevity than 104 years. Sir George Cornewall Lewis did good service (1862) in destructively criticising numerous alleged cases of centenarianism. The occurrence of the two at last regarded as quite unproved, but even he finally admitted that men do sometimes reach a hundred years, and that some have reached one hundred and three or four. The famous cases of Thomas Parke, the Countess of Desmond, said to be 152, 169, and 140 respectively, were ruled out of court by Mr. Thoms, who edited Notes and Queries at the time when Sir G. C. Lewis's wholesome scepticism created much stir. As man is a slowly varying organism, as regards physical characters at least, it is extremely unlikely that his longevity was ever much greater than it is now. Monsters in age and monsters in size are alike incredible.

Prof. E. Metchnikoff is one of the few modern biologists whose name would deal generously with Biblical and other old records of great human longevity. He apparently thinks there has been some misunderstanding in regard to Methuselah's 909 years and Noah's 950, but he accepts the great ages of 175, 180, and 147 years ascribed to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Similarly, he accepts the 186 years with which St. Mungo of Glasgow has been credited. And as he is generous in regard to the past, he is hopeful in regard to the future, believing that a more careful and temperate life, as well as an enlightened recognition of the disharmonies of our bodily frame, may bring about a time when man will no longer, as Buffon says, 'die of disappointment,' but attain everywhere 'a hundred years.'

'Humanity,' Metchnikoff says, 'would make a great stride towards longevity could it put an end to syphilis, which is the cause of one-fifth of the cases of arterial sclerosis. The suppression of alcoholism, the second great factor in the production of senile degeneration of the arteries, will probably still more mark the expiration of the term of life. Scientific study of old age and of the means of modifying its pathological character will make life longer and happier.' He also quotes the theoretically simple conclusion of Pflüger's essay on 'The Art of prolonging Human Life':—'Avoid the things that are harmful, and be moderate in all things.'

A fact of much interest is the statistical evidence that such a subtle character as 'longevity,' that is to say, a tendency to a certain lease of life, be it long or short, is heritable like other inborn characters, though it rests, of course, to some extent with the individual or his environment to determine whether the inherited tendency is realized or not. Just as stature is a heritable quality, so is potential longevity. The expression of this expression is in part determined by 'nurture'—taking the word in the widest sense.

There is, as we have hinted, reason to believe that natural death is not to be regarded simply as an acquiescence in the rate of all life; we can carry the analysis further, and say that it is incident on the complexity of the bodily machinery, which makes complete recuperation well-nigh impossible, and almost forces the organism to accumulate arrears, to go into debt to itself; that it is incident on the limits which are set to the multiplication and renewal of cells within the body, thus nerve-cells in higher animals cannot be added to after an early stage in development; and it is incident on the occurrence of organically expensive modes of reproduction, for natural death is often the beginning of death. At the same time, it seems difficult to rest satisfied with these and other physiological reasons, and we fall back on the selectionist view that the duration of life has been, in part at least, punctuated from without and in reference to large issues; it has been gradually regulated in adaptation to the welfare of the species.

It seems to us suggestive to recognize four categories of phenomena in connexion with age. The first is that of the immortal unicellular animals which never grow old, which seem exempt from natural death. The second is that of many wild animals, which reach the length of their life's tether without any hint of ageing, and pass off the scene—or are shaved off—victims of violent death. In many fishes and reptiles, for instance, which are old in years, there is not in their organs or tissues the least hint of age-degeneration. The third is that of the majority of civilized human beings, some domesticated, and some wild, which reach the maximum of normal senescence. The fourth is that of many human beings, not a few domesticated animals, e.g. horse, dog, cat, and some semi-domesticated animals, notably bees, in which the close of life is marked by distinctively pathological senility. It seems certain that wild animals rarely exhibit anything more than a slight senescence, while man often exhibits a bathos of senility. What is the explanation of this?

The majority of wild animals seem to die a violent death, before there is time for senescence, much less senility. The character of old age depends upon the nature of the physiological bad debts, some of which are more unnatural than others, much more unnatural in tamed than in wild animals, much more unnatural in man than in animals. Furthermore, civilized man, sheltered from the extreme physical forms of the struggle for existence, can live for a long time with a very defective hereditary constitution, which may end in a period of very undesirable senility. Man is also very delicate in old age and seldom takes much thought about resting habits. In many cases, too, there has come about in human societies a system of protective agencies which allow the weak to survive through a period of prolonged senility. We cannot be wise in regard to those we love; but it is plain that our better ambition would be to heighten the standard of vitality rather than merely to prolong existence, so that if we have an old age it may be without senility. Those whom the gods love die young.


AGED.—See ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE, OLD AGE.
AGES OF THE WORLD.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Primitive and American).—I. The conception of a series of cosmic eras, mutually related, yet separated from each other by cataclysms destroying the entire known world and forming the basis for an essentially new creation, is peculiar to a high degree of religious development. The idea of creation is common to practically all religious systems (see art. Cosmo-

gony), and at a later, though still relatively primitive, period is evolved the notion of a cosmic
cataclysm which is to annihilate the world. Still
later, it would seem, comes the doctrine that after
this cosmic annihilation there is to be a new world, a
belief which is found, for instance, in systems so
divergent as the Arabian and the Norse. Closely
connected with the belief in the regeneration of
the world is the well-nigh universal doctrine that
the entire earth has already been destroyed by a
flood (see DELUZE). The theory of Ages of
the World has been carried still further by the
phase which holds that the present cosmic era-has
been preceded by others, and the Greek, Hindu,
and Buddhist systems have even evolved a series
of cycles each of which contains four Ages, and
which have been and are to be repeated in infinite
succession.

2. The most familiar example of the belief in
Ages of the World is, of course, the philosophized
Greek view presented by Herodotus (Works and
Days, 109-201), according to whom there have been four
Ages—golden, silver, brass, and iron—each worse
than the one preceding. Equally pessimistic is the
Hindu system of Ages, where the four yugas, or
Ages of a ‘day of Brahmas’ (12,000 years), are
successively shorter in duration and increasingly
degenerate. Among primitive peoples such a series
of Ages of the World seems to be unknown, yet it is
noteworthy that among the South American
Indians it is generally held that the world has
already been destroyed twice, once by fire and
again by flood, as among the eastern Tupis and
the Arawaks of Guiana. In like manner, the ancient
Peruvians fancied not only that two cosmic cataclysms had occurred, but that the
world was again to be destroyed, so that they
stood in terror of every lunar and solar eclipse.

3. Outside the great culture nations of Asia,
Northern Africa, and Europe, however, only the
Aztecs of ancient Mexico, perhaps under the influ-
cence of the still more highly developed Moys of
Yucatan, evolved a doctrine of Ages of the World.
This marvellous people held that the present era,
which bore no special name, was preceded by four
Ages or ‘Suns’: the Sun of Earth, the Sun of
Fire, the Sun of Air, and the Sun of Water. Each
of these cycles had been terminated by a fearful
and universal cataclysm, and the Aztecs looked
forward with dread to the end of the present era.
At the close of each cycle of fifty-two years they
were filled with special fear; every fire was
extinguished, and all the priests, followed by the
people, marched in solemn procession to a moun-
tain two leagues from the capital. There they
watched with bated breath for the rising of the
Pleiades, and when this constellation was seen,
the priests rekindled fires by the friction of two
pieces of wood, one of which was placed on the
breast of a human sacrifice, while the multitude
rejoiced in the assurance that the world would
surely survive for another cycle of fifty-two years.
It is noteworthy that Aztec sources vary widely
with regard to both the length and the sequence
of the cosmic eras, the latter being given not only
as stated above, but also as Water, Air, Fire,
Earth; Earth, Air, Fire, Water; Water, Earth,
Fire, Air, and Water, Air, Earth, Fire. In like
manner, the order of the cataclysms which termin-
ated the several eras varies according to the dif-
f erent sources, but it is certain at least that the
Sun of Earth was terminated by famine, the Sun
of Fire by conflagration, the Sun of Air by a
hurricane, and the Sun of Water by a flood.

4. The basis of this Aztec belief in Ages of the
World is not altogether certain. It has been
suggested that it was due, at least in part, to the
tremendous natural phenomena of a tropical
country, and also to the political and social revolu-
tions which took place in ancient Mexico. The
former explanation is doubtless the one to be pre-
ferred, implying a remembrance of a cataclysmic
catastrophe, mythopoetically magnified by suc-
cessive generations, especially as this hypothesis
also explains the characteristic South American
belief in a twofold destruction of the world by
fire and flood.

LITERATURE.—Waltz, Anthropologie der Naturvolker, Jv.
161-163 (Leipzig, 1864); Brinton, Myths of the New World’s,
pp. 229-253 (New York, 1870); Revilla, Native Religions of
Mexico and Peru, pp. 119-138 (London, 1884); Eberenreich,
Mythen und Legenden der indischen Ureinwohner, pp. 90-91
(Berlin, 1866).—LOUIS H. GRAY.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Babylonian).—
Even before the discovery of the cuneiform inscrip-
tions, it was known that the Babylonians had
reflected on the course of the world’s history, and
that they regulated the Ages of the World according
to the movements of the planets. Seneca* reports
a statement of Berossus, who under the rule of the
Seleucids was priest in the Marduk temple of
Babylon, and whose lost historical work Chaldaea
was intended to prove the commencement of a
new world period under the Seleucids or under
Alexander.

* Berossus says that everything takes place according to the
course of the planets, and he maintains so confidently that he
determines the times for the configuration of the world and for
the flood. He asserts that the world will burn when all the
planets which now move in different courses come together in
the Crab, so that they all stand in a straight line in the same
sign, and that the future flood will take place when the same con-
junction occurs in Capricorn. For the former he is the constelle-
tion of the summer solstice, the latter of the winter solstice;
they are the decisive signs of the zodiac, because the turning-
points of the year lie in them.†

These accounts of Berossus have here, as well as in the
narratives of the Creation and the Flood, been proved thoroughly reliable. The teaching
which underlies them regarding the course of the world
corresponds to the accounts which we can read from the cuneiform inscriptions.

† The sign of the Crab in the zodiac is the turning-point of the
summer sun, if the vernal equinox lies in the Ram; the corre-
sponding turning-point of the winter sun is in Capricorn, as the
calendar has retained the designations, although the vernal
equinox has long ago moved into the Fish.
The Babylonian doctrine, which we find popularized in myths, dramatic and festive customs, and games, inquires into the origin of things and the development of the world from its beginnings in chaos to its renewal in future eons. The doctrine has spread over the whole world. We find it again in Egypt, in the religion of the Avesta, and in India; it is also found in Mexico and among the savage nations of South America. To refer these phenomena back to 'elementary ideas' (Bastian, Völkeridee), such as may arise independently among different peoples, will not suffice, for the most ancient circumstances that we have to do with ideas connected with definite facts which rest on continued astronomical observations. Babylonia was, moreover, according to a constant tradition, the home of astronomy ('Chaldean wisdom'), and there the science of the stars formed the basis of all intellectual culture.

In the Babylonian conception of the universe, which regards everything earthly as a copy of a heavenly prototype, the zodiac is considered the most important part of the whole universe. The zodiac (as it was understood in antiquity) is a system of 20 divisions in the heavens, c. 20 degrees, upon which the sun, moon, Venus and the four other moving stars (planets) known to antiquity, trace out their course; while the other stars, the fixed stars, seem to stand still on the ball of the revolving heavens. The moving stars were identified with different parts of the Divine will. The heaven of fixed stars was related to them like a commentary written on the margin of a book of revelation.

The rulers of the zodiac are the sun, the moon, and Venus. In a mythological text (WAI iv. pl. 6) we are told that Bel placed them to rule the šipuk šamé. The four remaining planets, Marduk, Jupiter, Nebu-Mercury, Ninib-Mars, and Nergal-Saturn, correspond to the quarter appearances of the three, and have their special place of revelation in the four points of the cycle, or, speaking in terms of space, at the four corners of the world. Every one of the astral divinities represents the whole Divine power. Polytheism rests on myth, which popularizes the teaching, and on worship, which again is a product of the mythology. The temple-teaching at every place of worship serves to prove that the divinity reveals itself at a particular place in a definite form, as result from the relation of that place to the corresponding sacred region of the heavens (róros, templum). The local god is summus deus for the region; the other gods are like wonder-working saints.

Seeing, however, that the Divine power reveals itself in the zodiac, the theory involves a triadic conception of the godhead. The triad—sun, moon, and Venus—in their relation to each other, as well as each of these three bodies individually, comprehends the whole being of the godhead. In the case of this mythological phenomenon, the question must be raised whether the divinity in the particular place or in the expression of its worship stands for the sun, the moon, or the Venus (štár) character. In each case, however, the deity represents the same time of the cycle, which repeats its phenomena in every microcosm of the natural world. The same is true of Marduk, Nebo, Ninib, and Nergal. In the teaching of Babylon, which is best known to us, the chief point in the sun's track belong to them in a special sense as well as the quarter appearances of the sun's course. They can thus be designated sun-gods, but they can equally well be represented as forms of the moon or of Venus as they appear in the sky. In like manner, they are representatives of the course of the cycle of nature (Tammuz in the upper and under world), which runs parallel with the astral phenomena in the changes of the year. Marduk and Nebo as the embodiments of the spring and harvest phenomena, or Ninib and Nergal as the embodiments of the phenomena of summer and winter, could occupy the place of Tammuz in both halves of his cycle.

The Babylonian sages reached the profound conception that time and space are identical; both are revelations of the Divine power, and have therefore the same principles of division.

The course of the world cycle is consummated in the struggle of the two powers of the world system, with light and darkness and evil as result, which are traced in the summer of the world and the winter of the world. In the myths the sun and the moon are the combatants. The moon is, according to the Babylonian teaching, the star of the upper world (the reverse holds in Egypt). She dies and rises again from the dead (šenbi ša šarmanša šubanāti, 'fruit, which produces itself out of itself'); she symbolizes the power of life from the dead. The sun, which, in opposition to the moon, stands at the low point, and in which the stars disappear, is the original power of fire on earth; the sun gives birth to the sun-child or the moon-child, which then overcomes the dragon of darkness and thereby becomes the queen of heaven. In the myth she is the heavenly virgin (in the zodiac she is represented by the figure of the Virgin with the ear of corn or with the child) who gives birth to the sun-child or the moon-child, which then overcomes the dragon of darkness and thereby becomes the queen of heaven in the new era,—then at the highest point of the course dies and sinks down into the under world; or she is the Venus, who descends into the under world and brings up the fallen ones. The four planets of the four points of the world, which indicate in the gyration the turning-points of the sun (Ninib and Nergal) and the equinoctial points (Marduk and Nebo), are made use of in the mythology in the following manner: Marduk is the bringer in of the new time (the spring sun), Nebo (Hermes with the balance of the dead) is the guide to the dark half of the lower world, Ninib (Mars) brings the doom of the change of the summer sun (death of Tammuz by the boar, the sacred animal of Ninib, Nergal is lord of the dark half of the lower world. Thus the dead places under the preceodence of Babylon, whose local god is Marduk. The rôle of bringing in the new time belongs in reality to Nebo. His name indicates that he is the 'prophet' of the new time. He is the Nebo-Mercury, sacred region of Venus, and in the world of the dead, in the underworld, of the sacred region of Venus, and in the world of the dead, in the underworld, of the dead (Tammuz is the day by the boar, the sacred animal of Ninib, Nergal is lord of the dark half of the lower world. Thus the dead places under the preceodence of Babylon, whose local god is Marduk. The rôle of bringing in the new time belongs in reality to Nebo. His name indicates that he is the 'prophet' of the new time. He is the Nebo-Mercury, sacred region of Venus, and in the world of the dead, in the underworld, of the dead (Tammuz is the day by the boar, the sacred animal of Ninib, Nergal is lord of the dark half of the lower world. Thus the dead places under the preceodence of Babylon, whose local god is Marduk. The rôle of bringing in the new time belongs in reality to Nebo. His name indicates that he is the 'prophet' of the new time. 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AGES OF THE WORLD (Babylonian) 185

1. Lam abubi, 'the time before the Flood.' In the time before the Flood there lived the heroes, who (according to the Gilgamesh Epic, which on the 11th table tells the story of the Flood) dwell in the under world, or, like the Babylonian Noah, are removed into the heavenly world. At that time there appeared, too, Bugba, i.e. Mardu, the son of Ea in the heroic age, who, as the bringer in of the new age (cf. Amun, Horemak), Mardu as fighting with the dragon, will introduce the new age of the world.  

2. Abaduwa = Ammon, 'man.' As Adapa corresponds to the Biblical patriarch Seth, Ammon in like manner corresponds to Enoch (i.e. man).

3. Amnon = ummaddu (workmaster) = Calm (Cainan), smith = (Ex. 32, quinquies = smith).

4. Megalosara = I.

5. Isanu = 1.

6. Oetsa = 1.

7. Oet'sodiac = -sunnebatum, 'favourite of the great gods,' who taught his son the secret of heaven and earth; i.e. Enoch, who walked with God, and after a life of 666 years the chief of the moon-signs of Babylon took away. The Jewish feast of the turning of the winter sun (Hannukah, feast) (applied to the dedication of the Temple) was connected with Enoch. Jubilees (44) says of him: 'Enoch was among the angels of God six jubilees; and they showed him all the history of the sun in heaven and on the earth, and he wrote it all down.'

8. Theophanes = Adam, 'man of god.' Sin = Methuselah. There is a Babylonian text which communicates the secrets of Am'am-Sin.


Berosus relates that Kronos before the Flood had ordered Xiauthros to engrave with letter-signs all the affairs according to their beginning, middle, and end (engraving on tablets with cuneiform letters is meant), and to deposit them in Sippar. After the Flood his children and relatives had gone to Babylon, taken the writings from Sippar, and circulated them among the people.

2. The historic period, which again unfolds itself in Ages. The division of the Ages into periods before and after the Flood is also connected with the course of the stars. The Golden Age of early times corresponds to the time in which the vernal equinox goes through the domain of Anu (four figures). The Flood brought the course of the world through the domain of Ea (four figures, water-region); the historical period corresponds with Bel's realm of the zodiac. The zodiac is portioned out into four parts: Anu, Bel, and Ea, the triad of Divine power in the whole universe of space, corresponding on the zodiac to Sin, Sama, and Istar. The restoration of the world after the Flood corresponds to the fashioning of the world after the original chaos, which also appears as the power of the waters (in the myth the water-dragon had been subdued); the world after the Flood corresponds to the primeval world after the Creation.

The application of Ages of the World to the periods of the evolution of the sons of mankind is connected in a special way with the teaching about the calendar, which is based on observation of the precession of the equinoxes.

By the precession of the equinoxes is meant the gradual displacement of the same point of day in the ecliptic, the middle line of the zodiac, which the sun's track marks out. The inclination of the axis of the plane of the earth to the ecliptic in the following phenomenon: The position of the sun in the same spring signs of the zodiac varies from year to year through 72 years the displacement amounts to a day, in every 2560 years therefore, about a figure in the zodiac. The vernal equinox traverses once in 12,000 years (and 5400 years) into the fire-region. On this fact rests the teaching of Berosus given above (p. 183).

In the region of further Asia, the earliest historical time of which we can trace traces in the original sources had placed the cult of the god of the moon in the forefront. Sargon says, in his State inscription of the king of Meluhha, that his fathers had, from distant times, since the son of the moon-god (Adi Nannan), sent no more messengers to his predecessors. In the scheme of the partition of the world between the moon and the sun (moon = star of the upper world, sun = star of the under world; see above, p. 184), Nebu would, in the Babylonian calendar, correspond to the moon, Mardu to the sun. Nebu, too, in accordance with his character, is the 'prophet'; and, according to the nature of the doctrine regarding him, also the victor over the power of darkness, the herald of God Sin = Methu-selah. Under the influence of the supremacy of Babylon he has exchanged his role with Mardu; and this, by the way, agrees with the principle of the Babylonian doctrine, according to which opposites pass over into one another (east no more messengers to his predecessors).

We could thus speak of an Age of the moon or an Age of Nebu, to which in the epoch of the supremacy of Babylon an Age of the sun or an Age of Mardu would correspond. But if there was a theory which reckoned in this way, still the latter is at least subsequently regarded as the Age of the moon; i.e. the Neo Age, which preceded the rule of Marduk of Babylon, has been transposed in the teaching of the calendar, which was reckoned according to the precession.

(a) Age of the Twins.—In the Age before the rise of Babylon (about B.C. 5000–2800) the sun stood in the zodiacal sign called the Twins. If we were to make additional use of this circumstance in the theory of the Ages of the World, as we are inclined to do, the two phases of the waxing and waning moon would in harmony with it correspond to these twins. The moon also is called repeatedly allmam, i.e. 'twins;' and the hieroglyphics of the zodiac, which even to-day indicate the Twins in the calendar, consist of the picture of the waxing and waning moon, just as the Romans represented Janus, who bears the character of the moon, as the two half-moons with human faces.

This Age of the Twins was for Babylon the age of the settlement of the Semitic Babylonians.

The Twins (Diocuri) thus supply the ruling motive for all the myths which indicate the beginning of a new epoch (Cyrus, Cambyses, Romulus, Remus, etc.). And if, as appears in the Assyrian predominance wished to dispose of the claims of Babylon, he went back to the archaic form of calculation. Either Nebu was deliberately raised to a more prominent place than Mardu, or (e.g., under Sargon) Sivan, the month of the moon-god, was regarded as the first month of the year. In the same way the Roman calendar was made archaic by beginning the year with Janus (January), although the last month was called December (i.e. the tenth month).
One would expect an Age of the sun to follow an Age of the moon (the sun and the moon are also twins). As a matter of fact, the reckoning of the calendar, which was changed about B.C. 2800, on the basis of the procession into the next figure of the zodiac, was so adjusted that in the zodiac the figure of the Bull was followed by that of the Twins.

(6) **Age of the Bull.**—This reform of the calendar was assisted by the actual state of affairs. The time of its introduction corresponds with the period in which Babylon became the metropolis of the world. Marduk, the god of the city of Babylon, the ‘farmer of Babylon’ (Nebuchadrezzar calls himself Iškur in Babili, as representative of the god on earth), is symbolized by the bull, which corresponds to the figure of the Bull in the heavens. In this way the Age of the sun came at the same time to its rights, for Marduk as the representative of the Divine power is in an especial sense the sun-god. Hammurabi took advantage of the reform of the calendar to glorify his rule as a new epoch of the world. He says that he has succeeded in exalting Marduk. The priests of Babylon celebrated the Rē of Marduk with the dragon and as the demiurge, and found the claim of Babylon to world empire on the rôle of Marduk as creator of the world. The honour which belonged to Nebo as the lord of the destinies is transferred to Marduk, and determines on New Year’s Day the fate of the world. Nebo, who in the older teaching carried the tablets of fate, is now recorder of the destinies.

The calendar which corresponded to the Age of the Bull must have reckoned the beginning of the year a month earlier, so that the year began with ḫiyar and closed with Nisan; for the world-eclipse embracing a sign of the zodiac corresponds to the course of the sun through a sign of the zodiac, i.e. one year. That it was so reckoned can, of course, be proved only indirectly. The king of Assyria allowed himself to be invested in office in the month ḫiyar. The investiture is a ceremony which took place also in Babylon, and therefore according to Babylonian law. The king seized the hands of Bel-Marduk, and by this act his rule obtained its ratification and consecration. This inauguration was still observed in ḫiyar after Nisan must have long been regarded as the first month. Under Sargon and Nebuchadrezzar the inaugurational place is transferred to Nisan. The new calendar had thus in the meantime secured recognition for its claims.

The mythological motives of the Age of the Bull had to be taken from the myths of Marduk. Seeing that Marduk is regarded as the child of the sun (the ideogram signifies ‘son of the sun’), the motive of the mysterious birth is connected with his appearance as well as the motive of the persecution by the dragon (exposure and rescue). The myths of Marduk which are as yet known have not supplied evidence for his birth from the virgin queen of heaven (see above, p. 184). But the myths tell of the marriage of Marduk. The child of the sun in the course of the cycle becomes the lord and king of the queen of heaven (Ištar). Every historical celebrity who, in the Bull age, was distinguished as a ruler of the world, a founder of dynasties, etc., was furnished with the Marduk motive, if some antiquated method corresponded with the myth of the Twins did not prefer the motive of the Discovery (see above, p. 185). In this way we can explain the mythical setting of the history of Sargons I., who founded Babylon, and in all probability was the first to introduce the Marduk method of reckoning.

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1 From the Babylonian ideogram of the planets, Jupiter signifies 'bull of the sun,' and is explained as the 'narrow of the heavens' which the bull of the sun placognos. 
2 'Sargon the mighty king of Agada sm 1. My mother was a vestal,' my father of the lower class. . . . My vestal mother conceived me, in secret did she bear me. She laid me in an arx of my mother’s walls, closed my doors with pitch, laid in the way . . . the river bore me downwards to Akki, the water-carrier, Akki, the water-carrier, received me in the friendliness of his house, brought me up as his child, made me his cradler. From my activity Ištar tell in love with me. . . . For years I enjoyed sovereign power.'

3 It is related of the hero of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic how Ištar seeks to win his love. Elius, however (Hist. Anim. xii. 51), says his mother had been a king’s daughter, who conceived the hero by means of an insignificant man.

4 Gudes, the South Babylonian private prince, says to the goddess, who was standing by his side, 'I have no mother, thou art my mother; I have no father, thou art my father; in a secret place hast thou borne me.'

5 Ninib appears in an epic poem as the hero, who will allow his royal power to extend to the bounds of heaven and earth. He is a child of Ištar, he is called 'My father know I not.'

6 Asuransipal allows the following story to be told of himself: 'I was born in the midst of mountains, which no man knew; thou hast, O Ištar, with the glance of thine eyes chosen me, hast longed for my supremacy, hast brought me forth from the mountains, and called me as ruler of nations.'

7 Asurbanipal wishes to be regarded as a child of Ištar, who had once nourished him. The writers of his tablets represent his Age as the Golden Age of the world (cf. p. 187).

8 (c) **Age of the Ram.**—The recognition of the fact that the calendar must now be arranged according to the Ram as the vernal equinox, and the fixing of it so, give to the otherwise unimportant king Nabonassar (Nabû-nasir, 797–734) a special significance. The framers of the calendar in his time have dated a new age from Nabonassar. Syncellus relates (Chronographia, 207) that Nabonassar, according to the testimony of Alexander Polyhistor and Berosus, destroyed all historical documents relating to his predecessors, in order that dates might be reckoned only according to his time (συνογιστὴν τῶν προ̱δικῶν τῶν προ̱σεχθείσων δόξαμα, διόλιος ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ καθάρθησις γένεται τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων).

The breaking of the tablets is not to be taken literally. It is the same as the burning of the books in reforms of other ages, e.g. the Persia under Alexander, in China, and to-day in China and Indochina. In the case of the burning of the libraries of Alexandria, too, this motive must be taken in a symbolical sense. It signifies the beginning of a new era of Islam in Egypt.

This is the reason why the Babylonian chronology contained in the extant inscriptions begins with Nabonassar. The Ptolemaic canon, too, which, as is well known, did not follow historical ends, but represented a calendar with astronomical limits, had begun with Nabonassar. The misunderstanding of Syncellus can also be explained in this way: the Chronographia (267) says the Babylonians had from the time of Nabonassar written down the periods of the courses of the stars (ἀπὸ Ναβονασσάρος τῶν χρόνων τῆς τῶν αστρῶν κυβερνῶν Χαλδαίων ἀκριβείας).

In Babylon itself the reform of the Age of the Ram never obtained full recognition, because the Age of Nabonassar coincided with the fall of Babylon. The old Babylonian reckoning kept its hold here. Still Berosus, under the rule of the Seleucids, reckons, as we saw (p. 189), with the Age of the Ram. The new reckoning seems to have found its chief support in Egypt. Just as the Bull Age received recognition in the form of Marduk of Babylon, in the same way the Age of the Ram served the purpose of glorifying Jupiter Amon, who is represented with the head of a

9 Ετέκις, the 'sister of god,' in the Code of Hammurabi, the priestly representative of the side of the goddess, is by no means the author; he had collected the traditions and preserved them in their true form.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhist)  

ram, although he is in his nature identical with Marduk. Alexander the Great, who allowed himself to be celebrated by contemporary writers as lord of worlds, and to be painted by Apelles as Jupiter, consulted the oracle in the oasis of Jupiter Ammon. Marduk says that under Bocchoris 'a ram (Apelles) spoke.'

The doctrine of the Ages of the World, as may already have been inferred from the preceding explanation, is connected with the expectation of a deliverer. As deliverer there appears the Divinity, which reveals itself in the spring equinox. It is Marduk-Adapa, it is the 'Ram,' which, according to the Age, overcomes the power of darkness. In 4 Ezra (11-46) the see reflects on the ways of the Highest:

'Then the Highest looked at his times; lo, they were at an end, and his sons (successors) were full. . . . Now the earth will be refreshed and return . . . and trust in the judgment and mercy of her creator.

In these words lies the fundamental religious idea of the doctrine of the Ages of the World. 'The sons were full.' 'The time is fulfilled.'

The connexion of the doctrine of the Ages of the World with the distresses viceroy predicts lies in the following characteristic opinions, which meet us at once as axioms:

1. The Age of perfection lies at the beginning. Just as pure knowledge, revealed by the godhead, lies in the dawn, so that it is the task of science to discover the original truth by observation of the book of revelation written down in the stars, and to obtain freedom from the errors which have crept in through human guilt, so also the Age of pure happiness lies at the beginning.

This fundamental idea has produced a special theory regarding the doctrine of the Ages of the World which is based on the connexion of the planets with the metals. Silver is the metal of the moon, gold the metal of the sun, copper the metal of Istar. According to the reckoning which begins with the Age of the moon, the silver must have been the first Age, on which a less valuable then followed. We know from classical antiquity the succession: Golden, Silver, Copper (Iron) Ages (Hesioc, Works and Days, 90 ff., and Ovid, Metam. i. 89 ff.). The succession of the Ages of the World lies also at the basis of the Book of Daniel. The commencement with the Golden Age points to Babylon, where the sun predominates (see above, p. 184). It may, however, point to the Babylonian conception, which gives the first place to Marduk as a sun-phenomenon, just as the planetary series of our days of the week places Sunday before Monday. The Golden Age is also called the Age of Saturn. Owing to the change of the heptagram into a pentagram, Saturn is represented by the sun, as Mars is by the moon; and an astronomical text of the Babylonians, which has been handed down to us from the time of the Assyrians, expressly says that Saturn and the sun are identical. As far as the rest is concerned, the order of succession corresponds to the astral theory. The third, the Copper Age, corresponds to Istar-Venus, the third figure among the rulers of the zodiac.

The succession gold, silver, copper, brings the second characteristic at the same time into view. It is as follows:

2. The times are becoming worse.—This is much

*End insula, the days are full," are the words in an oracle which, according to Graecina in Sues, to which we are said to have been prophesied 1626 years before as the saviour of Nann, the queen of heaven.

The relation of the value of silver and gold in antiquity is 1 : 123, i.e. the relation of the course of the moon to that of the sun. The relation of the moon, which Rawlinson found on the planet steps of the Nebo temple in Borsippa, were for the moon silver, for the sun golden, for Venus lapis lazuli.

* 13. For this, the present writer's Das AT im Lichte des alten Orientes, p. 13.

more strongly expressed when the theory departs from the scheme provided by the planets with regard to the fourth Age, and allows an Iron Age, corresponding to the distress of the present time, to follow after the Golden, the Silver, and the Copper Ages. The end of these evil times, which precedes the destruction of the world, is a time of cursing, a time of tribulation, and the reversal of the natural order. The Babylonian omens often speak of this time of cursing, which stands in opposition to the time the deliverer brings (see above, p. 184). If the sun is dead in heaven, then will the clear become dull, the pure dirty, the lands will fall into confusion, prayers will not be heard, the signs of the prophets will become unfavourable. In a form of curse which speaks of powers of darkness, may not obey the commands of the gods, we have the following:

'Under his rule the one will devour the other, the people will sell their children for gold, the husband will desert his wife, the wife her husband, the mother will bolt the door against her daughter.'

In the Atarhazes myth, the text of which originates in the 3rd mill. (the time of Ammianus), Babylonian, the Elamites, the Carseite the Carseites, the Suseans the Susians, the Cushiens the Cushiens, the Lububans the Lububans, one land another land, one man another man, one brother another brother, but they shall strike each other dead. But after that shall become the Akmish, who shall lay them all low and overwhelm them severally."

Signs in the sun and in the moon proclaim the end. In a hymn we have the following: 'Oh, father Bel . . . oh, lord of the land, the eves reject her lamb, the wise-child her kid. How much has been torn, how much is torn. The whole city shall the mother reject her son, the wise-child her daughter. Heaven and earth are, in low, the sun does not rise to its radiance over the land, the moon does not rise with her light over the land. Sun and moon do not rise with their radiance over the land.'

The time of the curse corresponds to the rule of the powers of the lower world. It is like the time of the descent of Istar to Hades. When Venus is in the lower world, all life is dead. As it is in the small year, so is it in the world year.

But then comes the great revolution:

3. The happy time of the beginning comes back. The Babylonian texts seldom speak of this time of blessing. It is only from the description of the happy rule of kings, who are praised by the writers of the tablets as the bringers in of the New Age, that we can extract the motives of the time of blessing. Especially is this the case with Ashurbanipal.

'Since the time the gods in their friendship did set me on the throne of my fathers, Hammurabi has set forth his rain, as opened the springs; the grain was five eels high in the ear, the ears were five-sixths eels long, the harvest was plentiful, the corn was abundant, the seed shut up, the trees bore rich fruit, the cattle multiplied exceedingly. During my reign there was great abundance, under my rule rich blessing streamed down.'


ALFRED JEREMIAS.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Buddhist).—The views of the Buddhists on periods of cosmical destruction and renovation were matters of vivid interest to the first Orientalists, as will be seen from the bibliography on p. 190. This interest has rather languished since the publication of Religion des Buddhas of Koppenn, the last who has dealt thoroughly with this topic.

* Note bow the whole world is embraced in the range of vision.
The fanciful theories of the Kalpas or Ages of the World do not appear to be essential to Buddhism, whether looked upon as a religion or as a philosophy. Nor are they of mythological moment, being rather matter of ‘secular knowledge,’ or, as a Buddhist would say, lokayatika. Nevertheless, as they can be proved to be very old; as they are mentioned in the myths of Buddhists of the Great Vehicle are honoured, and have been duly recorded by the Buddhists of every country, Sinhalese as well as Mongolian; as, moreover, some bits of philosophic or religious reflection are interwoven with them, we may be allowed to consider the subject in all its aspects.

There is no beginning of transmigration (or samsāra); there will be no end to it: on these two points all Buddhist schools agree. But, without mentioning that speculations on the beginning or the end of the cosmos are forbidden by the Buddha in some texts (see Aphonakacharika), it must be observed that there is an end to transmigration for the Arhats, who right away die at the time of dying. ‘This existence is for me the last one.’ Moreover, in the Buddhist of the Great Vehicle, Avadāna, for instance (see Avakorita), resolved to postpone his entering into Nirvāna till every creature should, by his own really divine exertion, have been delivered. In this problem, where the texts are silent, or rather, contradictory, we may probably have to solve it as has been by the Saivaists: this is, that beyond the cosmical destruction, there will never come a time when all will have attained Nirvāna. Hence there need be no present urgency for us, can be among the elect, if only we care for theories.

Theories on the revolutions of the world are said, in the Brahma-sūtras, to be ‘very absurd’ and ‘even alien to its spirit. But they soon became naturalized; and, while originally very like the brahmanical theories, they were worked after a different plan.

There is mention in the fourth edict of Akoka of the next destruction of the Universe. ‘The king wishes to know if it is true that his sons and grandsons, and so on, will maintain good practices till the age of cossical destruction (saivāntakalpa).’ This text does not show that the belief in the very speedy disappearance of Buddhism was still unknown.

The canonical Pali texts do not furnish us with the complete theory now to be stated. These afford only hints or allusions, from which it is difficult to draw any conclusion as to the conditions of the elaboration of the doctrine of these hints, however, will be carefully pointed out. So far as the Buddhism of the South is concerned, we derive our knowledge from the Commentaries, of which we shall make use here. We know that Buddhism in Ceylon, its official compiler; and for the Buddhists of the North from Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese sources, confirmed by the Abhidharma literature.

The general lines are as follows: A ‘Period’ (kappa), or ‘Great Period’ (mahā-kappas, kalpa) of cosmical evolution, is to be divided into four ‘Incalcubles’ (asankheyyas) or ‘Incalculable Periods’ (asankheyyakappas, asankheyyakalpas). These last are always mentioned in the following order: (1) Period of destruction (saivāntakalpa, saivāntakalpa); (2) of duration of the destruction (saivāntatthāyin, saivāntatthāyin, when the world remains destroyed); (3) of regeneration, or rather revolution (svānūcch, svānūcch); (4) of duration of the world renovated (Aghatavana, ii. 142, iv. 100; Majjh. i. 30).

How long is an ‘Incalcuble’ period? The answer given by Buddha himself is a very good one: It is difficult, i.e. impossible, to exhaust an ‘Incalcuble’ by numbering of thousands of years. In Samyutta, ii. 181–2, there is a simile which has found its way into the Chinese and Sinhalese records: ‘Suppose a mountain of iron to be touched every hundred years by a muslin veil; the mountain will be divided in one hundred thousand years. The same is the case with the Incalcubles, nay, with hundreds of thousands of Incalcubles; the saṅkhaṇa being ‘infinite,’ as we should say, and the

The same problem occurs in the Mahāvastu (i. 77). It is said that the future Buddha must, be-
destruction by wind is greater than the destruction by water (samvattasima, limit of destruction by fire) appearing on the thousand, ten thousand, and hundred thousand worlds in the Brahmāvīmañña, with its threefold division of inhabitants, coming from the Abhāṣāvara abode; then in order the three Deva abodes of the Parinirmavāsāvartīna, the Nirmānārati and the Vīra-vīra. The Four中级 Periods (Chiliocosm) are not named; then the Circle of the Wind (vayumandala) on which is established the Circle of Water, etc., with Mount Meru and its heavenly inhabitants, with the sun and the moon, etc. all this is called the bāhūnala or the 'receptacle world.' And that is the end of the first Intermediate Period of the 'Incalculable of Renovation.'

During the nineteen following periods the inferior parts of the bāhūnala are successively peopled by men and women. First, the men are said to be aparimātīya, i.e. of immeasurable life. Such they remain to the end of the Period of Renovation, according to the Abhidhārma.

The sources known to Hardy and Koppen agree in stating a decrease to 84,000.

When the infant beings have appeared, the Incalculable Period of Renovation (vivartamānāvasthā) is finished.

The following Period of Duration (vivartana 1891, p. 321) is divided into twenty well-characterized Intermediate Periods. During the first, the whole of which is of decrease, the average duration of human life falls from 'immeasurable length' (or 80,000,000 years) to 80,000 years. The eighteen following are divided into two parts: the first of increase (ukarbhakalpa, udhvavamukha), during which life increases from ten years to 80,000 years; the second of decrease (apakarbhalpa, adhomukha) inversely to the twelfth and last is only of increase. We do not know if the first and the last are shorter than the remaining ones, but that seems probable.

Here the Brāhmanc theory of the Four phases finds a place: the increase will be by wind, the decrease by fire. The fourIntermediate Periods are united.

Nothing is known of the Second Period. The world remains chaotic, or, if we prefer it, a pure nothing with no regions of space becoming at all like those below, and wholly dark. There are no ashes left by the fire; no dust by the wind. One would assume that the water (which, being very acid, disintegrates the Iron or Crystal Mountains) does not annihilate itself. On the contrary, the water does not settle so long as anything remains.

To understand the following, the reader is referred to the Cosmology. We give below the necessary ideas:

Above the world of desire (i.e., the four continents, Mount Meru with its divine inhabitants) begins the world of form, consisting of three (or two) heavens of the first meditation, then of the second, etc., of the four heavens.

The four heavens of form: the worlds are organized in such a way that the second meditation realms are established above a thousand first meditation realms (Little Chiloicon); the third meditation realms cover a thousand second meditation realms (Great Chiloicon), and the four meditation realms cover a thousand third meditation realms (Great Chiloicon).

For one universe, in the proper sense of the word, there are 1,000,000,000 first meditation abodes (Māyavāsāvartīna), 1,000,000,000 second meditation abodes (Śākta-vīra), 1,000,000,000 third meditation abodes (Śākta-vīra), and 1,000,000,000 fourth meditation abodes (Śākta-vīra). One universe is the realm of a Buddha. The authorities are not very constant. For instance, we learn that the Buddha destroys the same number of worlds (1,000,000,000).

In lateral expansion the Buddha always perishes to the extent of a tenth of a Buddha's domain (Pāramitāśūlī, in Warren, p. 231).

The latter opinion is better supported by the texts at our command (TPS 1591, p. 118).

For particulars see S狍c Hardy, Manual; Koppen and Warren, loc. cit.

According to Ānātha, "Cat. Osoon, 3475, 33, there are seven clouds 'to give the destruction-water'; the first is named 'destruction' (samvattasima)."

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case. Sometimes a great Period elapses between two appearances of a Buddha; sometimes an in-
calculable number of great Periods; sometimes, on the
contrary, there are in the same period many
Buddhas. We have 'substantial' -periods (sāra),
with one Buddha; 'cardinal' -periods (mandara),
with two; 'excellent' (tora), with three; 'substantial-
cardinal' (bhajjana-kula), with four; 'excep-
tious' (bhadda) or 'greatly auspicious', with five.
Such is the present Period. There have been
twenty-nine 'void' Periods before it. So far the
old tradition. The redactors, moreover, of the
Mahābhārata, the Buddhist Rājagṛhāspravakas, etc.,
are already aware that in the Bhād-
arakala a thousand Buddhas are wanted.

At the beginning of the Universe, when the
primordial water (see above, 189) is about to give
way for the appearance of the solid world, a
lotus appears at the place where the sacred tree of
Buddha has been and will be.* There is no flower
if the period is to be void; there are as many
flowers as forthcoming Buddhas.† Compare the
Brahmanical flower.

* A point of interest is the description of the
first men, or, as it has been called, the Buddhist
Gnosis. Originaly, as they did from the
Abhāsvara-abode, human beings retained the
attributes of their former existence. Born by
'substantial birth,' self-radiant, with joy as their
own food, with spiritual bodies, such beings
are evidently meant by the 'men of immeasurable life'
referred to above (see p. 189). There is neither sun
nor moon. As time goes on, earth appears for
the surface of the primeval ocean. It is a savoury
earth, and, as it were, a forest. Men eat it, and
their radiance is lost for ever. Sun and stars
furnish some light. Then follows the eating of
some honey-moss, of creepers, of a marvellous
rope. It is a long decadence. When this last has become
a regular food, organs of sex appear; and with the
institute of marriage, of private property, and of
caste, begins the organization of human society.

Interesting for general folklore (especially the
details on marriage), the story is certainly very old,
and was adapted before the actual location of the
celestial abodes. That in falling from the Abhās-
vara-abode the beings do not go through the
heavens of Brahmat and the Devas, and that these
are utterly ignored, are significant facts. But it
is more astonishing that the 'self-appearing' men
do possess the attributes of the other World
beings, i.e., 'replejent,' and the Abhās-
vara gods themselves may be derived from this old
conception.

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2. Indian Sources.—Fahrist and Mahasandhi, trans. by Warren
Buddhism in Translations (1900), p. 193; the Sarvatvadharmí
vedika, named Lokaprásadika, known in the Tibetan version
(Hijenpo-dpal, Tari, ed. iii. 1-107), regarded by the

* On the intervention of the surjandana see Real, Buddhist
Records, ii. 110.
† In the late records a thousand lotuses appear at the begin-
ing of the time of the Buddha.

2. By Prof. R. D. Davids, Dial. of the Buddha, p. 105, and by A.
The text of the (Revue du xxv.) is translated from the Chinese by R. Seel, Four Lectures, pp. 151-155, and it is found in the Mahasandhi (Sacred Book of the Mahasandhi-
gikas), i. 336-345. See E. Hardy, Buddha, p. 81.

VAHĪSĀKAS as forming part of the Scriptures, but in reality
constituting a Sutra; the Lokaprásadika-Abhidharma-sūtra
(Mahajato 1397), said to be closely related to it (see Taka-
kusu, 'On the Abhidharma-Lit. in J.A.S. viii. 305, 314, 651, etc.)
Neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese question seems to have been directly
studied. It is the tradition of these books of Abhidharma,
whereas, that is found in the Run of the J.B.P. vol. 202 of the MS. of the French Asiatic Society, which has been
consulted for the present article.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Christian).*—The poets and the philosophers of pagan antiquity
have, as a rule, represented the evolution of man as a gradual but inexorable decay, putting the
happy era at the beginning of the world, and supposing that the end of the world would end in complete destruction.
The Christian idea is exactly the opposite; and this is quite natural, for Jesus Christ caused a great hope
to shine on humanity, groaning in the darkness of paganism. The prophets of Israel had already
hung out some rays of this hope, in foretelling the
coming of the Messiah, who would establish on
earth an era of true religion, of peace and happi-
ness. In short, while pagans placed the Golden
Age in the past, Christians put it in the future;
they have described the history of the world as
an ascent, if not continuous, at least intermittently progressive, and finally triumphant, towards good
and happiness. The writer of the Apocalypse (ch. 20)
describes in an imaginative style the last phases
of this historical drama.

St. Augustine is the first Father of the Church
who explicitly mentions Seven Ages in the history
of man, and all the theologians who followed him
were more or less inspired by his idea. His plan
is derived from the 'Days of the Creation' in
Genesis, the passage is de Carite Die, xxii. 30
ad fin.

Paulus Orosius, a Spanish priest (d. 418), the
friend and admirer of St. Augustine, to whom he
dedicated his Historia, besides trying to prove
incidentally the Bishop of Hippo's theory of the
government of God in history, divided his work
into seven books, which, however, correspond to
different epochs. He had clearly come under the
influence of Roman history. The founding of
Rome, the taking of Carthage, the death of Alexander, the taking of Carthage,
the Servile War, the reign of Caesar Augustus, with
which he makes coincident the birth of Jesus Christ,—these are the memorable events which form the
boundaries of his periods,†

The Venerable Isidore (c. 570), who in his
Chronicles owes much to Paulus Orosius, also
adopts seven Ages, and surmises that the last one,
ending with the year 1000, will mark the end of
the world.

Adson, abbot of Montier-en-Der, in his treatise,
* [As the Jews were accustomed to distinguish the age before,
from the age after, the advent of the Messiah, so the majority
of NT writers distinguish διακονοκρατία from διακονοκρατία.
In both cases an ethical is always superimposed upon the temporal
meaning. The former age is the period which shall elapse
before the appointed Parousia of Christ, 'the period of in-
stability, weakness, impotency, worldly care,' (Thayer); the latter is the age after Christ has come again in
power to establish his Kingdom, definitively, with all its
blessings. It is inaugurated by the redemption of the dead,
and it answers, in scope and nature, to the completed work
of Christ. The present world, as being subject to a
medallion angels, who mediate the law; the world to
come (διακονοκρατία ἡ δικαιοσύνη, He 8), on the other hand, is
viewed as already existing, in a spiritual world, outside of which it will come down as a new and divine order of
things. The term 'world' (Δαίμονος) expresses the constitu-
tion of that state of things which as an age of 'law' is viewed as
in relation to its development in time. The tone of the NT in
speaking of the present age is almost always negative.
The gulf between the two ages, however, is not conceived as
being quite absolute. 'The powers of the age to come' (He 9)
is not so much an object in itself, as a definition of the
harmony and order throughout what is otherwise a chaos,
and preparing ultimately to supersede the laws of the present
depensation.

† See the Anglo-Saxon version of the Historia of Orosius by
de Antichristo, dedicated to queen Gerberge (954), sketches the preliminaries of the final judgment, which will follow the apsotasy predicted by St. Paul, and the struggle against Antichrist; and he puts off the end of the world until this epoch.

Bernard, a hermit of the Burgundia (d. 1153), announces, on the contrary, that the end of the world is near. He and a great number of preachers in the 10th cent., through their allegorical interpretation of the Apocalypse, spread the belief in the immediate coming of Antichrist and the end of the world.

Nevertheless, this view was combated as an error by Abbo, abbot of Fleury-Loire, the most learned monk of his time.

Scotus Erigena (d. circa 860) groups the first six Ages into three epochs, each marked by a different priesthood. The first epoch, comprising the first five Ages of St. Augustine, was contemporary with the patriarchs and priests of the OT. The second, beginning with Jesus Christ, was marked by the priesthood of the NT. Erigena foretells a third, in the everlasting life, in which the faithful will serve as priests, and will see God face to face.

Joachim of Flora (d. 1292), the famous visionary hermit of Calabria, in his book, de Concordia, and de Divisione Mundi, according to Turenne's interpretation of the Apocalypse, sketches the preliminaries of the beginning of the 3rd Century, and the new age of peace and universal happiness. The socialists of the present day have unwittingly adopted the Christian idea of the 'Millennium.'

It was the privilege of a Frenchman, more famous as an economist than as a theologian, to return to the Christian idea of a progressive development.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the idea of the development of the Ages of the World, i.e. of mankind, by analogy with the ages of human life, was renewed by some Christian philosophers. J. G. Herder, in Ideen zur Physis. Gesch. der Menschheit (1784), admits that there are in the evolution of races and nations, in the life of plants, periods of growth and blossoming, of fruit-bearing, and, lastly, of withering. Mankind tends, by the reciprocal influence of the nations, to the realization of that blessed Age announced by Christ under the name of the 'Kingdom of Heaven.'

The founder of positivism, Auguste Comte (d. 1857), thinks that religion is contemporary with the infancy of humanity.

'Following the resurrection of the human mind,' he says, 'each branch of knowledge must pass through different stages: the theological stage, which is the age of fiction; the metaphysical or physical stage, which is the negative age; the positive stage, which is the positive age (Courc de philosophie positive, iii., Appendix, p. 77).

Henrik Ibsen maintains that man evolves in turn through three phases:

- ‘the kingdom founded on the tree of knowledge; the kingdom founded on the tree of the Cross; and, lastly, the kingdom founded on two trees at once, for the sources of its life are in the paradise of Adam and at Golgota’ (Emperor and Galilean, 1st Part, Act II).

Drummond, in his Ascent of Man (1894), distinguishes three ages in the evolution of the world: the first, in which the Vegetable Kingdom was led to produce the flowering plants; the second, the evolution of the Animal Kingdom, where the possession of consciousness lead to the separate species and to the organization of the Mammals; the third, the human, which comprises the ascent of man and of society, and is bound up with the struggle for the life of others.

'This is the Further Evolution, the page of history that lies before us, the closing act of the drama of Man' (p. 443).

This is a short sketch of the Christian theories of the Ages of the World. In opposition to the pagan conception of a fateful decay of man, ending in annihilation, the Christian conception, derived from the Messianic idea of the Hebrews, shows the ascent, the progress of man, though not without falls, towards more truth, more justice, and more happiness. The socialists of the present day have unwittingly adopted the Christian idea of the 'Millennium.'
Pascal summed up the Christian conception of the Ages of the World very well when he said: 'The whole race of men, during the course of so many centuries, ought to be considered as being the same man always living and continually learning' (Fragment d'un traité du Vide, Paris, 1897, p. 436).

Living roofs. Auguste, de Civitate Dei, xii, 3, and 13; Paulus Orosius, Historia in mundum, libri xvi, aduersus paganos, sive Ormesta; Bede, Chronicon, sive de saeculis nostros Erroma, Historia in proluges Johannes evangeli; Joachim de Floris, Liber de Concordia, v. 84; Vico, Principii di una Scienza Nuova d'istoria alla comune natura, Turin, Discours sur le progres de l'Humanitie (1790); J. G. Herder, Ideen zur Philosophie der Gesch. der Menschheit (1794); Auguste Comte, Cours de philosophie positive, ii, App. 77; H. Leibniz, Emperors and Gallatians (1783); Jules Roy, L'an mille, Paris (1888); Drumbmond, The Ascend of Man (1889).

Gaston Bonet-Maury.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Egyptian). — In their literature the Egyptians have not left any formal description of the world and its ways as they imagined it to have been in past ages. Manetho (c. B.C. 300), enumerating the rulers of Egypt in the records in the period before Menes two dynasties of gods, followed by four others the character of which is not defined, and finally a dynasty of deities, demi-gods. The fragments of the Turin Papyrus of kings principal view was already established in the 14th cent. B.C. although the details cannot yet be recovered. Hephaestus, the creator-god, heads the list in Manetho, and he is immediately succeeded by the sun-god. These two correspond in Egyptian to Ptah and Re, the latter being the organizer of the world. An inscription of the Tenth Dynasty says of the temple of Siut that it was 'built by the fingers of Ptah and founded by Thoth for Ophiol, the local god; and a Ptolemaic text ascribes to the sun-god, during his reign on earth, the building of most of the Egyptian cities and their shrines. Stories of the time of the rule of the gods on earth are seen in the mythology (e.g. the myth of Osiris, and the legend of Hathor's massacre, and the Heavenly Cow) and in the popular tales (vaguely in the story of the Two Brothers).

'Since the time of the god' and 'since the time of Re' are old formulas for expressing immemorial antiquity; so also is 'since the time of the worshipers of Horus.' These last correspond to Manetho's 'deities,' and are shown by Sethos to be historical personages, representing the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt before Menes united the two lands. Their records, when they had not perished altogether, were written in so primitive a style as to be incomprehensible to the Egyptians of the third millennium B.C., and these 'worshipers of Horus' entered early into the realm of the legendary. The Turin Papyrus appears to give 23,200 + 2 years to the god-kings, and 2101 + 2 years to a dynasty of 19 'worshipers of Horus.' The wise Ptohilo, in his rather cryptic proverbs dating from the Old Kingdom, seems to refer to the 'counsels of them of old, of them who listened to gods;' and the 'worshipers of Horus' are the type of virtue rewarded in the same collection of proverbs: 'An obedient son is like a worshipper of Horus, his happiness in consequence of his obedience; he grew old, and attained to the honour of great age.' Thus there was some idea of a more perfect condition having prevailed in primeval times. None of the above myths show rebellion, deceit, and wickedness of all kinds appearing among both gods (e.g. Seth) and men in the age of Divine rule.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Greek and Roman). — The Greeks, and after them the Romans, were

"There is no extended treatment of this subject as a whole. Among the three or four briefier accounts, the only one of any especially interested in this subject, and it is largely to their speculations that we owe those familiar references to the Ages which we find in the literary tradition of our Western civilization. In the Graeco-Roman world this theme was actively discussed for nearly a millennium. During that long period the theory of the Ages was worked over and again by the various schools of philosophy, by manifold attempts to harmonize conflicting authorities or to incorporate new ideas, by the lore of the people, by the fictions of the poets, even by the embellishments of mere rhetoric. The result is that a complete and detailed exposition of the idea is not to be expected in the space at our command.

Every theory upon this subject belongs to one of two types. The first assumes that man has risen from his former estate; the second, that he has fallen. Both of these occupy an important position in the history of ancient thought, but, so far as the present inquiry is concerned, the theory of descent, that belief in the progressive degeneration of mankind which is cherished by the folk of many races, was at all times the dominating theory in the well-known lines of Horace (Odes, iii. vi. 46-48).

"Eros parentum, poior avis, tult
Noequeiores, moaces daturos
Progrium vitiosum

are the expression of a view which recurs again and again in the Graeco-Roman world, from the Homeric poems (Il. i. 272, v. 304; Od. ii. 276, etc.) to the last words of Classical Literature.

A strictly chronological development of our subject is impracticable. The beliefs in our surviving tradition are so large, especially in the departments most important to us, that no definite date for the inception of any one article of doctrine may be assumed with safety. Indeed, practically every idea by which the later tradition is distinguished will be found upon examination to possess a high antiquity. We may assert, however, that three periods of formative influence are especially prominent. The first is represented by Hesiod, the second by the Stoics and their predecessors, the third by the revival of Mysticism in the 2nd cent. B.C. and the corresponding

1. Hesiod.—The position of Hesiod was always paramount. The influence of Hesiod upon our theme is very much the same as was the influence of Homer upon the form and content of Greek literature. The account of the Ages which we find in his Works and Days (109-201) is our earliest classical authority upon the subject. It is, also, to a remarkable extent, the centre and ultimate source of the later development. There were several other accounts of the early history of man, and some of them were evidently folk-legends of a high antiquity. None of them, however, is of any great importance to us. A few have contributed a detail here and there to the development of the Hesiodic norm, but most of them languish in comparative obscurity. Such being the case, it will be advisable to make Hesiod our basis, and to begin with a summary of his famous account.

First of all, the Olympian gods made the 'Golden Race of men.' These men lived when Kronos was king in heaven. They fared like the gods themselves, always making merry, and untroubled by toil or care, for the teeming earth bore of its own accord an abundance of all good things and there was no old age. Even death itself, when at last it came, stole upon these men like a pleasant slumber. When this race passed away, many gods made them to be changed into stars and earth and are the invisible guardians and helpers of mortal man.

Then the Olympians made a second race, the men of the Silver Age. These were far inferior to the Golden men for they reigned little children a hundred years, and when they finally reached maturity they straitway were swallowed up by their own folly, for they slew each other and refused to worship the immortal gods as men ought to do. Therefore Zeus was wroth, and put them into an ironearth, the real value is by O. Gruppe, in his G. Mythol. und Religion
gesch., Munich, 1912, pp. 447-450 (Müller's Bibl. der Erzä
tschauensche, vol. v).
awed. But even these men were honoured, for they were made the good spirits that live beneath the earth.

Then Zeus made another and a third race, the men of the Bronze Age. They were sprung from the sub-trees, and were strong and terrible, eating no corn, lovers of war and violence, and full of rage. Their weapons and their houses were of bronze, and they wrought in bronze. There was no iron. These men, too, fell by the work of their own hands and fared to Hades. Thus the story of mankind was brought down to the death laid hold of them, and they left the bright light of the sun.

Then Zeus made a fourth race, better and more just. These were the Heroes of the elder days, such as fought at Troy and at Athens. We call them the Demigods. And when they perished and an abiding-place at the border of the earth. There they dwell in careless ease in the Isles of the Blest, hard by the deep-eddying stream of Ocean, and thence a fair world bears them fair fruit.

Would that I had not been allotted to the fifth period, but might have died earlier, or else have been born later! For this is the Age of Iron. There shall be no surfeits of labour and sorrow by day or by night, and the gods will lay bitter burdens upon us. But, even yet, not all will be bad. This race shall Zeus destroy, when men are born with horry hair, when fathers strive with sons and sons with fathers, guest with host and friend with friend; when brothers cease to be dear, when goodness, justice, and piety are no longer regarded.

Then Alcis and Nausixe, whose fair bodies are clothed in princely raiment, shall depart to heaven, and men shall find no succour in their grievous calamity.

The inconsistencies in this account were perceived by the ancients themselves, and in modern times a literary criticism has gathered about its subject. For our present purpose, however, it is enough to say that these inconsistencies are due to the fact that Hesiod’s version is a composite structure, the main support of which is an ancient discussion of the history of mankind into four Ages. No reference to this version is found in the Homeric poems, but, even at that early period, some form of it was probably current amongst the Greeks.

The designation of these four Ages by the four metals—gold, silver, bronze, iron, in the order named—is, in itself, an indication that the theory of descent is the fundamental idea of the legend. True, the causes and symptoms of descent, the coefficients of degradation, so to speak, are by no means clear at first sight. This, however, is, in itself, a striking proof of the high antiquity of the theory. Our long familiarity with the later phases of the legend naturally suggests the ethical motif as the standard of measurement here. But in the pristine stage of a myth like this, neither moral nor our moral responsibility is of much account. The Golden Age is a replica of heaven, a mortal reflection of the glory of the immortals. The men of those days were superior to us simply because they were nearer to the gods than we are.

Their position was a matter of powers and privileges, not of character. The long descent from those happier days has been measured by the gradual loss of those powers and privileges. The causes of it are in the will of the gods themselves. The idea of moral responsibility as a factor in the problem belongs to a period of more mature reflection, and we see the first beginnings of it in Hesiod’s own account. Peace and plenty in the first Age are followed by brutal anarchy and warfare. The second sees organized violence and deliberate cruelties; the fourth, crime of every sort and description. The steps, however, are none too clear, and the old description of the Ages was not yet in harmony with the new standard.

During the subsequent history of our discussion, more and more emphasis was given to the ethical motif. The basis of it continued to be the assumption of a descent from innocence and happiness to guilt and misery, the adumbration of which has already been observed in Hesiod. More specific details of the process frequently reflect the philosophical tenets of the writer, and may, also, be freely manipulated in the interests of rhetoric or for other purposes.

The principal difficulty with Hesiod’s account arises from the fact that there was no place in the old-four-fold scheme for the Heroic Age. As a matter of fact, the Heroic Age belongs to another and a different account of the development of mankind. Neither of these accounts, however, could be neglected, and in Hesiod we see the first known attempt to combine and harmonize the two. The deduction upon which it was based seems tolerably clear. According to the old-four-fold system, the Bronze Age immediately preceded our own. On the other hand, it was also generally accepted that the Heroic Age immediately preceded our own. Consequently, the Heroic Age of the one scheme ought to coincide with the Bronze Age of the other. This, however, is impossible, as any one may see by comparing the two. Hesiod, therefore, inserted the Heroic Age between the Bronze and the Iron Ages of the old scheme, and re-numbered accordingly. The result was a system of five Ages, the inconsistency of which was usually clear enough to the ancient critics themselves. Two famous accounts given by Aratus and Ovid indicate a full realization of the fact that the only way of harmonizing the two systems was either to revise Hesiod’s conception of the Four Ages in such a way that the Heroes could find a place in them, or, better still, to shift all four Ages to the past. In that event, our own race, of which the Heroes are, in any case, the earlier and better exemplars, may be assigned to the period between the close of the Iron Age and the flood.

As we have already seen, the presence of the Heroic Age in Hesiod’s account upset the principle of progressive degeneration, a fundamental idea of the old four-fold scheme. It also runs counter to the belief that each of the Ages is represented by its own separate and distinct race of men. It was not until the rise of the Cyclic Theory that this idea was in any way disturbed, and, even then, the process was one of revision rather than destruction. The doctrine of successive races affected by the later intrusion of the Flood Legend. At first thought, we might esteem ourselves the descendants of Deucalion and Pyrrha, who were themselves survivors from the previous race. But the story itself reminds us that we are really terrigena, a new race sprung from the earth.

We now come to one of the most notable and, doubtless, one of the most ancient features of our legend. This is the significant association of it with the great dynastic change of Olympus. The Golden Age was under the sway of Kronos. Since then, his son Zeus has ruled the world in his stead. On this basis, the Four Ages are sometimes reduced to two, the Age of Kronos and the Age of Zeus, the old régime and the new, the happy past and the present. This may well be an older and a simpler version. But it occurs only in the later writers, and, so far as they are concerned, is probably for brevity, or to score a rhetorical point.

Real variations from this feature of the old account are especially characteristic of the philosophers, and may best be taken up in connexion with...
with the Cyclic Theory. But the Hesiodic version of this motif, above all, the primitive association of Kronos with the Golden Age, persisted until a late date, not only in the genuine folk-tradition to which it really belongs, but also, to a large extent, in the literature. In fact, the Golden Age is often designated simply as 'the Age of Kronos,' 'the Golden Age of Kronos' was to the early Christian writer Philo, an image applied by them to their deceptions of heaven.

The main reason for such a similarity is, of course, not far to seek. In all cases, the theme is ideal happiness, and whether we locate it in the past or somewhere in the present, in this world or the next, the details which make up the vision of unfulfilled desire are, for the average man, very much the same. Nor should we fail to remind ourselves that in the speculations of the folk there is no impassable barrier between our life and the life of the gods, and therefore, that the very thing which was more certain than that the Golden Age and the race who had lived in those happier days had both passed over our ken; but that they still existed somewhere, and that, even now, a mere mortal man might be able to find them again, was not felt to be utterly beyond the bounds of possibility. Odysseus had returned alive from Hades, and it is a well-known historical fact that the gallant Sertorius was, at one time, actually on the eve of setting sail for the Fortunate Isles in the Western Ocean. Thus, as many of the Orphics and their disciples in the Golden Age, the ideal of the Lost Paradise became more and more prominent. Discussion or description of the Golden Age, more especially of its analogue beyond the grave, the Golden Age, so to speak, of the future—continued to grow in importance and interest. We hear many echoes of it in Plato. But, especially to the writers of the Old Comedy and Satire, the Orphic doctrines were a never-failing subject for parody and satiric comment.

One of the plainest signs of Orphic influence upon this discussion was the marked improvement of the traditions. According to the popular belief, old 'King' Kronos had been in the Golden Age a sort of divine Roi d'Yvetot, afterwards consigned to nethermost Tartarus, and, ever since then, a synonym of extreme old age and harmless senility. This view, however, was deliberately opposed by the Orphics. Their teaching was that Kronos had long since been freed from his shameful captivity. Moreover, he is not old and weary. On the contrary, he is ever young and vigorous, and now rules in Elysium, the happy land of those who have passed the grave. There, in a world of eternal youth and joy, he is surrounded not only by the heroes of old, but also by the spirits of just men made perfect—after the Orphic pattern—and, indeed, as some say, by a remnant of men from those golden days whom he was king in heaven.}

Piety and justice as motifs in the ideal of happiness had been ascribed, long before Hesiod's time, to peoples living beyond the limits of the known world. Such were Homer's Abios (H. xiii. 6), 'the most righteous of men,' and to give one more.

*e.g. Homer, Il. xiii. 6, Od. iv. 86, 96, 103, 195, 45, 586, vi. 41, 158. See Graf, Lage p. 4 ff.
*See M. Mayer in Roscher, ii. 1590 ff.
*Pindar, Olymp. i. 124, Pyth. 1. 291; Echyl. frag. 190, ed. Nauck; Teleclides, frag. 1, ed. Kock; Varro, de Re Rust. iii 1, 5; Horace, Epod. xvi. 63; Orphicon, frag. 345, ed. Abel.
example, the Hyperboreans,* so long famous in the literature and legend of the Greek-Roman world. This idea was now emphasized in the analogous legend of the Golden Age—the ideal world of the past—and on the basis of it not only the Orphics but other schools of philosophy exploited their specific view of the nature of righteousness and the indispensable conditions of happiness. In other words, as the Golden Age ceased to be an article of faith, it became, more and more, the field in which those thinkers aired the theories of what the world ought to be. From this sort of thing it was only a step to that long line of Utopian romances which were quite as characteristic of late antiquity as they are of the present day.†

Among the various bits of specific theory imported into the Golden Age by the philosophers, one of the oldest and most important was the doctrine of vegetarism. This doctrine doubtless goes back to the older Orphics, but the most prominent representatives of it in antiquity were the Pythagoreans. The earliest reference to it now surviving is a fragment of Empedocles (127 D), and the most complete discussion of it in connexion with the Golden Age is Ovid, Met. xv. 90 ff. In this fragment the Pythagoreans introduce themselves as the exponents of his own doctrine. The essence of it is that, in the Golden Age, upon the fruit of the earth, and that the degeneration of later ages is marked by the departure from this rule.

It is stated that the Golden Age was distinctively the era of perfect love and peace is easily inferred from Hesiod's account, but the later development is marked by a much stronger emphasis upon this feature. This was partly due to the influence of the Cyclic Theory, in which, as we shall see later, it was the necessary result of the Platonic conception of harmony. The first to lay stress upon it—and probably in this connexion—was Plato's predecessor Empedocles.‡ This, no doubt, is the reason why he made Aphrodite instead of Kronos ruler of the Golden Age.

Among those not interested in any cyclic theory—poets, for the most part—the favourite method of bringing out the peace and harmony of the Golden Age was to emphasize the contrast with later times by diluting upon war, violence, and bloodshed as both causes and symptoms of degeneration in the succeeding ages of mankind. This distrise on war comes first to the front during the Golden Age. It is characteristic of Roman poetry, especially of the Elegy, and, in the end, became a mere rhetorical commonplace.†

Another important line of development in later times was inspired by the varying use and interpretation of one of the principal characteristics: the problematical and characteristic peculiarities of the genuine folk-legend. We refer to the belief that in the Golden Age all the imaginable blessings of life come of their own accord. In this way we have an ideal combination of fabulous plenty with the austere idleness.

* See esp. O. Crussius in Boccher, l. p. 280 ff., and the references.
‡ See Schmeckel, de Ovid. Pythag. Adumbratione, Diss. Gött. 1784, p. 28, etc.
§ See Bol, too, Aratus, 125 ff., and the references in the poem, e.g. Vergil, Ehd. iv. 18, Georg. i. 126 ff. and ii. 539; Tibullus, i. 10 ff.; Ovid, Met. xvi. 97; Seneca, Hel. vii. 1064; Hesiod, Theog. 377; Cicero, De Divin. leg. v. 76; Claudian, de Raptu Proserp. ii. 55, proem., Land. Seren. 70; Sidon. Apoll. Pan. 105, etc.

When treated seriously, either for literary or for didactic purposes, this motif led directly and inevitably to the conclusion that the ideal condition of human society was communism. Several commonplaces which the Alexandrian age might be included here. We know, too, for example, that this theme was one of the preoccupations of the historian Ephorus in his account of the idealized nations of the North.¹

When treated by the satirists and by other people of a less serious turn of mind, the same motif led quite as directly to one of the most important and interesting developments in the literary history of this legend. This new note of the Golden Age or its analogues in this world and the next as a comic theme. It makes its first serious appearance in the Old Comedy, and was primarily intended by them to satirize the peculiar tenets of the Orphics. But the story of Topsy-Turvy Land (des Menchen und der Orphischen Religions, G. Germans call it) was certainly not invented by the Comic Dramatists. It is rather a folk-variation of the old story of the Golden Age, and references to it turn up now and then from the Old Comedy of Greece to the present day. The comedy in this description of the land, the rotaty of ease, and the irresponsible bachelor. The nearest conger of this type is the conception of the Golden Age especially affected by the idyllic-erotic poets of the Alexandrian age and by their Roman imitators. The same can be said of the Orphists and communists.

On the philosophical side, the growing distrust of everything in Hesiod's account that savoured of the supernatural served to bring out still another aspect of the Golden Age more clearly. Before taking up this point, however, we should remind ourselves that the counter-theory of ascent was, meanwhile, being supported by a party of such activity and intelligence that it was absolutely and, by their examples, a new step from this state of mind to that ironical extravagance of humorous absurdity—this, too, has its pathetically—so to say—which we are indebted for the literary world.

It is evident that until the account of Hesiod was revised the two parties were utterly irreconcilable. If one did not believe Hesiod, the most
logical course was to agree with the Epicureans, who denied the account of Hesiod in toto, and replaced it by their own view, which is the nearest approach in antiquity to our modern theory of evolution. This denial, which lies implicit in the famous passage of Lucretius (v. 925 f.), is stated positively, for example, by Diodorus, who (i. 8 f.) describes the theory of Hesiod upon this point, and (v. 66 f.) implies that the Golden Age was a mere invention of the Cretans. But this summary disposition of the difficulty is of no value to us. We are more interested in the process of reconciliation implicit in this process, so far as it was accomplished at all, was a gradual realization among thoughtful men of the fact that the ideal of life traditionally associated with the Golden Age, though it seemed attractive, was, in reality, unfit to pose as the highest development in any theory of descent.

2. Cynics, Stoics, etc.—At this point, certain Stoic modifications of Cynic doctrine are of especial value to us. The great representative passage to be considered in this connexion is Aratus, Ph. 140. * To Eustachius, by this famous Alexandrian poet of the 3rd cent. B.C. was one of the best known in the ancient world, and undoubted traces of its influence are to be found in most of the later accounts. Briefly described, it is a revision of Hesiod under Stoic influence. The main aspect of the author was not only to reconcile the discrepancies of the old version, but also to remove whatever was irrelevant to a theme which he proposed to treat not as an independent account, as Hesiod had done, but as a modern version of his account by his mention of the constellation Virgo, i.e. Astrea, whom Aratus, following an old tradition, identifies with the Nemesis of Hesiod, and calls Dike.

This was comparatively unimportant in Hesiod. Owing to the exigencies of rhetoric, she now becomes the central figure. Moreover, after the true Stoic fashion, she is made to assume the functions of both Zeus and Kronos in the traditional version. The five ages of Hesiod are reduced to three—so Age of Gold, of Silver, and of Bronze.

The men of the Golden Age are described as peaceful tillers of the soil, with no knowledge of civil strife or of the vexations of the law. Moreover, they were removed from the perils of the sea. In those days there were no ships to bring the luxuries of life from abroad. The goddess mingled freely with the simple souls, and taught them how men should live with reference to each other.

The Silver Age was more sophisticated. Nevertheless, the god was present on earth, although he was now retired to the mountains, and was seen but rarely. The poet turns some thoughts, and the first slaughter of the oxen for food. Then Dike, rejecting that race of men, finally departed to heaven and took her place among the stars.

It will be seen that one of the most notable signs of revision here is the disappearance of the old folk-element of marvel. In its place we have a conception in which the Stoics are mainly responsible for the emphasis laid upon the ethical rôle of the *motive*, especially upon the relation of man to his fellows, to the world about him, and to the State.

The underlying principle in such a theory of the Ages is the conclusion that the ascent of man in the arts of civilization is accompanied, at all events beyond a certain point, by a corresponding descent in moral and even in physical fibre. Why is this the case? The reply was that to be healthy in mind and body, and therefore, happy, we must live in harmony with nature. But civilization beyond a certain point, especially in its more refined parts, has an opposite effect on nature. Accordingly, beyond a certain stage of civilization, we can be neither healthy, virtuous, nor happy. Now, as journeying into the future should lead us naturally, finally to a state of ideal misery, so journeying into the past naturally led us back to a state of ideal happiness. That state of ideal happiness was, of course, the Golden Age. The Golden Age of the past was, therefore, the ideal simple life of the past.

Such in substance was the general drift of the Cynic argument as modified by the Stoics, and, as a matter of fact, the Golden Age of Aratus is really an ideal of that pastoral stage of human society—a theme which always comes to the front in any period of over-cultivation, as soon as men begin to stagger under the burden of their own inventions. So conceived, the theory of the Ages was not only consistent with the evolution of civilization from the crudest beginnings, but agreed with the Epicureans in presupposing such a process. But, as regarded the various inventions and discoveries by which that process has been marked, it loved to dwell upon those very devices, and to lay great stress on the view that they had been the most conspicuous cause of the downfall of man himself. The favourite examples are those chosen by Aratus. They are the first sword and the first ship.

The first sword is that made in the course of the war which we have already mentioned. The first ship was also a favourite way of connecting the discussion of the Ages with the various phases of civilization. The two were so closely connected, especially among the Romans. In fact, it is a common-place of modern criticism that the Romans were afraid of the sea. As, however, the opinion is a specialization for the most part, upon these various passages, we need not take it too seriously. There was a certain attraction in the idea that man, and restless deep was a subject inspired not so much by national character as by literary tradition. It is fully developed in the Works and Days of the old Egyptian poet, and adopted by Homer as a theme of the Greek epigram at all periods, a regular *motif* in the poetry of the Augustan age, and by the 1st cent. of our era a mere rhetorical question, the answer to which, according to Stoic reasoning, that theory was founded. We mean the conclusion stated above, that advance in the arts of civilization is at the expense of the character, health, and happiness of the individual. Now, when we consider the Stoic argument by which still another *motif* was made to yield the theory that the Golden Age of

* Horace, Epod. ii.; Propert. iii. 13. 25; Seneca, Medea, 333; Plutarch, de Nabil. 20, etc. etc. This interpretation of the Golden Age was especially welcome to the Romans because of their temperamental Stoicism, but because it agreed more nearly with their own tradition of early times and with their characteristic and attributes of Sakos before he was identified with the Greek Kronos. I. e. Vergil, Georg. ii. 546; Ovid, Met. i. 99; Juvenal, xv. 168; Tibullus, i. 347. The rhetorical question, marriage (l. 10. 1) states a maxim of the philosophers which is often repeated. See, e.g., Seneca, N. Q. v. 18. 15: 'Nihil inuenissim tam manifestissim quod non in contrarium transeuntia culpa. So Ovid, Met. xv. 163, speaking in the person of Pythagoras. Opponents of the theory of descent especially the Epicureans, contended that the sword merely marked one period in the long chronicle of mankind. It was the successor of the club and the large rough stone (Lucretius, v. 969). M. Al. Sat. i. 1. 160; Valer. Flacc. v. 145, and esp. Plato, Rep. 358 E (see the natural condition of mankind), and the commentary of Adam.

1 Among the most important of the numberless references are, Stobaeus, 67 (who gives a number of the opinions): Herod. W. and D. 236; Sophocles, Antig. 332; Seneca, Medea, 301 and 607; Thibullus, i. 37 and bi. 33. 30; Propert. i. 13. 17 and iii. 7. 29; Ovid, Amor. ii. 11. 1; Statius, Theb. i. 29; Ovid, Amor. ii. 11. 1; Statius, Theb. i. 29; Ovid, Amor. ii. 29; Claudian, de Rapta Pras. i. ii.; Proem. The original conclusion, after generations of discussion, was that the one great cause of the downfall of man had been his knowledge of himself. It was clear to the poets and philosophers that man was exclusively a social animal and that the common places of the fall of man were really so many illustrations of this one *motif*. It drove him to war, it urged him on to explore the earth for treasures better hid, it devised the vexations of the law and brought about the injustices of wealth and poverty; through crime and selfishness it has caused the state to be divided and all the lies that flesh is heir to. The result is that he has been only shortened his life by his work, and, what with anxiety, dyspepsia, and a bad conscience, a failure and children a burden, the little life he has left is no pleasure to him.
of the waxing and waning of the moon, and of the eternal round of the seasons, the entire Universe itself is subject to an ever-recurring cycle of change. This ancient Babylonian doctrine⁶ of the world-year, the magnus annus, as it was called by the Romans, makes its earliest known appearance in Greek soil with Hesiod. It was, of course, thoroughly discussed by the later philosophers, and finally became known to the world at large. Indeed, it may be called the prototype of some of our most recent views suggested by the nebular hypothesis.⁷

The associations of the Ages was inevitable, and appears at a very early period in the history of Greek speculative thought. In fact, it has often been stated, though without sufficient warrant, that belief in a cyclical theory of the Ages is the explanation of Hesiod’s wish that he had died earlier or could have been born later. § The fragments, however, of Empedocles show, in spite of their scantiness, that at that time the process had already begun and was the most important and important discussion, so far as we are concerned, the one, too, which had the strongest influence upon later times, is developed or touched upon in various dialogues of Plato,² more especially in the Polit., Timæus, and Republic.

According to Plato’s definition,—and this much, at least, appears to have remained unchanged in later ages—a magnus annus means the period which elapsed before each revolving about the earth in an orbit of its own, with the one preceding. In the opposite direction. A motion forward, as it were, is followed by a motion backward. The history of mankind is directly affected by this motion, and especially by the alteration of it. The motion forwards and of the cosmic upheaval, promotes harmony. During all this period the great Helmsman of the Universe is at his post, and we have the Golden Age of the poets. As the motion is the reverse of that which prevails in our time, it is naively assumed that the conditions of life are to a large extent the opposite of those with which we are familiar. The men of that age are born old, with hoary hair; ² and instead of growing older continue to grow younger, until they finally disappear. Moreover, they are born from the earth, and the earth feeds them. There is no toil, no pain, no war, there are no women ¹ and no children of women. Yet with all their advantages these men do not attain unto immortality.

When the forward motion is completed, the Helmsman retires from his post, and in its stead he places Venus, the god of gravity, as it were, and begins its backward revolution, which is in the direction of discord. The point at which the motion is reversed is always signified by some other cosmic upheaval, involving a terrific destruction of organic life. The few men who survive cease growing young and begin to grow old, those that were once of hoary hair die, and return to the earth from which they came. Men are no longer born from the earth, as before, but even as

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⁴ Gomperz, loc. p. 117.
⁵ Hesiod, W. and D. 174 ff. See the editions of Reisch, Leipzig, 1925, 2, and of Gottingel-Fisch, Leipzig, 1878, 2, with notes and references; Graef, loc. p. 11; Schoell-Stundemann, Anecd. ii. 407 ff.
⁸ See a full discussion of this theory and of the Platonic Number with which it is associated, and also for a selected bibliography of the enormous literature which has gathered about it, see Adam’s ed. of the Republic, 394 ff.
⁹ Tim. 39 D; Cic. Timæus, 38; Macrob., Somn. Scipionis, i. 8, 129; Stobæus, Eleg. ii. 394 p. 222; Ps.-Usserius, Rhœm. Mus. xxiv. 395; Ritter and Pratner, Hist. Philos. Graec. , Gothe, 1888, pp. 404; Reitzenstein, Poianzandræ, Leipzig, 1904, p. 50, s. n.
¹⁰ The likeness to Hesiod, W. and D. 180 ff., has been pointed out and discussed by Adam in the Ck. v. 445.
¹¹ Polit. 271 f, Leg. v. 378 Cff, as it has been observed by Eichhoff (loc. p. 589) and others that the story of Pandora as told by Hesiod (Theog. 570, and W. and D. 70) implies that there was no woman in the Golden Age, and that this happy period came to an end. See also, Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 640.
the Universe is now left to itself, so are all and several of its parts; and each race is propagated in the manner familiar to us who belong to that period. The continuance of the motion backward and forward, and of the process of disorganization, until, by the time the Universe again reaches the point of departure, it is ready to fly off at a tangent and disappear for ever. The native of the later Greek and Roman ages could seldom see what is happening on the other side of body or soul. But the Helmsman again proceeds, reversed the direction of the Universe, and with the change again to harmony the god of change again returns. The few who survive from the preceding period suffer change in sympathy with the whole, become young and young, and continue to do so until they finally disappear. Again the new generations are born with hoary hair, and not from each other, but from those who died in the preceding period. They were buried in the earth that now rise again from the dead, and in their turn are born old, grow young, and finally vanish.

It will be seen at once, according to this remarkably suggestive theory, which, of course, owes much to earlier thinkers,1 the sum of human experience is measured by two world-years. During the first the Universe moves forward, during the second, backward, to the place of beginning. Each magnus annus is therefore one of the two Ages into which the history of mankind is divided; and this alternation of Ages will continue as long as the Universe remains whole, with the whole, so with each and all of its parts. The Ages of man, the life of man himself, are closely connected with this eternal oscillation of the Universe. All move in a cycle. The Golden Age of the later Greek and Roman times will surely come again some day. Moreover, each one of us shall rise again to another life in that Golden Age. Thus, as the past was balanced by hope for the future. In the later history of our theme, this association of idea with the utmost of importance, and served to identify the theory of the Four Elements with the old, and closely with its ancient analogue, the doctrine of a future life beyond the grave.

The Stoic theory of cycles occupies an important place in their systems. Here, their acknowledged doctrine is pristinus, it is clearly seen in the prominence they give to his doctrine of *eternitas*, the elemental fire into which the world is periodically resolved, and from which it is periodically born anew.

In the old world has been completely consumed, the four primal elements—fire, air, water, earth—which are indestructible. The Stoics, therefore, assume their world contains only those four, and in this way a new world comes into being exactly like the old. As soon as the proper point is reached in the process of regeneration, the living fire is born from the earth, and from that time proceeds to increase after its kind. Man, too, is here, "knowing nothing of wrong and born under the influence of the "eternitas." His life is to last for long. Villainy steals on space. Virtue is hard to find out, for it needs a leader in every place, and a guide. The vices are learned without a master.1 So the process of degeneration goes on until the time comes for the next *eternitas*. Then the world is destroyed and built anew, as before.

An *eternitas* occurs each time that the eight circles are in conjunction at the place of beginning.1 For the Stoics, therefore, every magnus annus is the measure of one complete life, as it were, of the Universe. It follows that the totality of human experience must, alike between those impassable barriers of flame by which every generation is divided from its fellows, the soul outlives the body, but even the soul of the idea of the *eternitas*. Nothing escapes from this trial by fire except the primal elements from which all things are made. In short, however, we all have a personal interest in every period of the world's existence, for the reason that, according to the Stoic doctrine of *eternitas*, the history of every magnus annus is, necessarily, the exact counterpart of the history of every other magnus annus. The chain of existence is divided by a succession of magnus annus, and its body begins anew, just as it did in the previous epoch; and every thing down to the slightest detail is exactly repeated. To describe a favourite point of this theory, the lowest human race (Socrates) of a previous magnus annus will see Socrates. In every magnus annus we shall see Socrates. In every magnus annus we shall see Socrates. In every magnus annus we shall see Socrates. In every magnus annus we shall see Socrates. In every magnus annus we shall see Socrates.

1 See the two preceding notes, and Adam, *Repul.*, ii. p. 296, n. 5, p. 297, n. 1, and references.
3 Cleanthous, frag. 497, ed. van Arnim.
4 Chrysippus, *Meta.*, iii. 50 ff.
5 See Appendix, last note.28 (quoted by Ritter and Preller, p. 404).
7 See *Diog. Laert.* vii. 156, which says that "the Stoics claim that the soul is a spirit which is a part of ourselves. It is, therefore, indestructible, and though it survives death, it is not immortal. It is sure to be preserved, if only it know that only souls of the "wise," last until the *eternitas*." Cf. also viii. 151; *Dionysop. Græci*, 398, ed. Diels, etc.
8 *See but Ritter and Preller, l. e. p. 401 ff.*
To mention it is Aristotle. The quotation, which we owe to Censorinus, xviii. 11, was probably from Aristotle's lost Protrept., the model of Cicero's famous dialogue, the Hortensius, which is also lost. * No doubt it was largely inspired by the statement that the Romans became familiar with Aristotle's observation that the two disasters of the magnus anus, or, as he termed them, the great signs, occurred at the summer solstice and the winter—summer in the Greek world, the winter—summer in the Roman world. The fact that the Romans were exposed to both great storms in the summer solstice and winter solstice, because the great summer is hot and dry, and the magnus anus in the great winter, because the great winter is cold and wet. We should not expect this sort of logic from Aristotle, and, as a matter of fact, the idea was not his own. Indeed, as the Protrept. was a discourse, this is quite possible, we do not know that he approved of the view at all. That his information went back to some Eastern source is indicated by a fragment from the voluminous history of his younger contemporary, the Chaldean priest Berosus. The passage is quoted by Seneca, Naturalis Quaestionis, iii. 29. If Berosus, he says, 'qui Belum interpretatus est, insistit nonne sit the time for the confregatio and the diluvium. The earth will burn up, he adds, when all the stars, which now move in different orbs, are in conjunction in the constellation of Cancer. The flood will take place when the same stars reach conjunction in the constellation of Capricornus. 'Ibn Hamdunius and the Sages confutatur.' Conjunction in Cancer produces the confregatio, conjunction in Capricornus a monsoon, and the actual occurrence of the fact seems nothing if not impressive. But, "as Gomperz has already observed, 'the actual occurrence of the confregatio is charitable, and the fact that the summer and winter solstices of the ordinary solar year are presided over by Cancer and Capricornus respectively. When this passes the assumption that the theory of Berosus is probably identical with the one mentioned by Aristotle.

Now that fire and water had acquired a definite and important position in the cyclic scheme, it followed inevitably that the two remaining elements, air and earth, ought to be put on the same plane. The line of development followed was largely suggested by the fact that there were three Elements, four Seasons, four Ages of man. The four seasons of the year are spring, summer, autumn, and winter—a series which has always been associated with man's own descent from youth to hoary old age, from strength and happiness to weakness and sorrow. So the four seasons of the great year are the four Ages of man, another series with which the idea of descent had always been associated. As the springtime of the little life of our life is the golden youth of mankind, so the autumn of that greater year was the golden youth of all mankind. § Finally, the traditional order of the four elements—fire, air, water, earth—is also one of descent from the lighter to the heavier, from pure spirit to the earth, earth to water, water to air, air to fire.

If, now, we associate the four elements in their regular order with the corresponding Ages of man in their regular order, the dominating element during the Golden Age will be fire, during the Silver Age, air, during the Brazen Age, water, and during the Iron Age, earth. The conclusion of this is that the descent of man himself is due to his ever-increasing distance, so to speak, from the Divine fire. We are thus brought back to the Orphic theory reported by Nigidius Figulus, in which, as we have already seen, the magnus anus was equipped with four seasons, each ruled by the appropriate element, is a complete illustration of the tendencies we have just been discussing.

A theory ascribed to the Magi was described by Plutarch and partially reported by him (xxxvi. 45 ff.), should also be mentioned here. The Magi tell us, he says, that the Lord of the world rides in a chariot drawn by four horses sacred to Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Hestia respectively. In other words, the four horses are the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth. As a rule they are tractable. Now and then, however, the first steed becomes restive and sets fire to the other three. This is Orphic or Ionic, but not Greek. Again it is the steed of Poseidon that becomes


§ Vergil, Georg. ii. 336 ff.; Ovid, Met. i. 107; Persu. Veneris, 2 ff. etc.

**See Usener, Rhein. Mus. xxviii. 391 ff.**
restive, and the drops of his sweat are sprinkled upon the
other three. This, again, is the source from which the Greeks
derived their story of Deucalion's flood.

If one were to insist upon completing the analogy
between the four Elements, the four Ages of man, and
the four Seasons of a great year, the Ages
presided over by air and by earth, as was already
the case with the Ages of fire and water, should
each be marked by a cosmic disaster appropriate to
its nature. We know that this was actually
done, but as these attempts lie outside the sphere
within which this article is concerned, they do not
require discussion here.*

3. Revival of Mysticism in 2nd cent. B.C.—The
last important stage in the long history of our
subject is the era of the prophets. The rapid
growth of Mysticism which began early in the
Alexandrian age reached its culmination in the
2nd cent. B.C. One of the most striking features of
the movement, and a significant comment upon
the mental and spiritual condition of the entire
Greek-Roman world, was the rapid production of
apocalyptic literature. It is probably fair to assume
that the production of this literature was much
encouraged, if not actually suggested, by the
then widespread belief that the life of mankind
moves in cycles. At all events, one of the most
characteristic features of all these visions and
prophecies was the emphasis given to some cyclic
theory of the Ages. It would be quite unnecessary
here, even if they were still available to us, to
examine these works in detail. Their chief
importance to us would be derived not from their
contents, but from the point of view which, by
virtue of their very nature, they all possess in
common. These visions and prophecies, like all
other works of the same class, appealed more to
faith and the emotions than they did to reason and
the understanding. The author tells his reader that
this last Age has nearly run its course, and
that the great change is near at hand. He does
not state it as an opinion or a theory, capable of
being discussed as such. He states it as oracular
utterance, as inspired prophecy, the truth of which
is already foreshadowed in current events and
cannot be questioned. In this way the Cyclic
Theory of the Ages was transformed from a rhetorical
and philosophical theme into a Divine as
suming upon itself. As a class, these compositions contributed almost nothing to
the development of the Cyclic Theory itself. A
word or two, however, should be given to the Sibyl.
The Oracles of the Sibyl have been ascribed to
about the middle of the 2nd. cent. B.C. They were
well known to the Romans for the next 200 years;
but at the time when the collection now bearing
that name† was composed, the earlier had
apparently ceased to exist. Meanwhile, however, they
had won a sort of secondary immortality through
the influence they had exerted upon the fourth
Eclogue of Vergil,‡ the most famous literary work
ever inspired by any aspect of our theme. From
this poem and the ancient comment upon it, it
appears that the Sibyl adopted the Stoic-Orphic
identification of the Four Ages of man with the
four seasons of the magnus annus. In addition to
this, she—or her authority—was inspired by the
analogy of the ancient solar year to divide the
great cycle into ten great months, each of which
was the length of a socculus and presided over by

* O. Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. p. 450, n. 1, also his Gr. Kulte und
Mythen in ihren Beziehungen zu den orient. Religionen,
Leipzig, 1897, p. 672, n. 2, and 606, n. 2, with references.

† The two modern editions of the Graeca Sibyllina are by
Razch, Vienna, 1891, and by Geffcken, Berlin, 1902. See also
C. H. Körber, München, 1906, p. 634, and references.

‡ I. O. Gruppe, Gr. Kulte, etc., p. 657, n. 2, and references.
82 f.; W. W. Fowler, Harvard Studies, xiv. 132 f. etc.

As a god. Ever since the time of Sulla there had
been rumours afloat that the Sibyl's last socculus
was drawing to a close, and that the Golden Age
was at hand. One cannot read the fourth Eclogue
without feeling that Vergil was himself impressed
by a prophecy so much in harmony with the
aspirations of his own lofty soul. Nevertheless,
we must not forget that the poem is really a poem
of congratulation upon the birth of a son, into
which, as Marx has clearly demonstrated,† Vergil
introduced the topic of the Ages in accordance with
the specific suggestion of the rhetoricians for poems
of this type, and developed it in strict conformity
with the rules laid down by them. The most famous
line in the poem,

'Ina nova progenies caldo demittitur also,'

is a clear reflection of the cyclic theories which
we have just been discussing. That, in itself, it
should also foreshadow quite as clearly the
important part which the Sibyl plays in the
historical view of the modern age, is seen from
the fact that the poem was never published in its
full form. It has come down to us as an inedita
which passed into the hands of the monks,
and was afterwards inserted in the Grandes
Chroniques of France.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian).—The
Hindu doctrine of the Ages of the World (yugas)
are combined with that of two other great periods,
the manvantaras and kalpas, into a fanciful
system of universal chronology, which passes for
orthodox. Its basis is the yugas; they are, therefore,
treated here in connexion with the other elements
of the chronological system. Orthodox
Hindus recognize four Ages of the World (yugas),
roughly corresponding to the Golden, Silver, Brass,
and Iron Ages of the ancients. They are called
kṛta, tretā, dvāpara, and kali after the sides of a
die; kṛta, the lucky one, being the side marked
with four dots; tretā that with three; dvāpara with two;
and kali, the losing one, with one dot. These
names occur in the period of the Brāhmaṇas
as names of throws at dice, and in one verse of
the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (7, 14) they are already
referred, by the commentator, to the yugas. In
the epics and the Purāṇas the belief with regard
to the four yugas has become a fully established
doctrine. The general idea, the same in all
Brāhmaṇical sources, is that the character, or, if the
expression may be used, the proportion of virtue,
and the length of each yuga conform to the number on
the side of a die, after which it was laid
down. The term kṛtayuga, virtue (dharma) was fully present in
men, with all four feet, as it is expressed, but it
diminished by one quarter or foot in every suc-
ceeding age, till in the kalihya only one foot of
dharma remains. The same proportion holds good
with regard to the duration of the several
yugas. The kṛtayuga lasts 4000 years, to which a dawn
and a twilight of 400 years each are added; the
same items in tretā are 3000 and 300, in dvāpara
3000 and 3000, in kali 1000 and 100 years. Thus
the period of the four yugas together is usually
called a mahāyuga or chaturyuga, though common
ly a yuga lasts 12,000 years (Mam., 1, 69 ff. =
F. Marx, Neue Jahrh. 7, das kshit. Altemum, 1, (1886),
pp. 106-126.

1 Comparetti, Virgilio nel medio eva, 1896, l. 129-138, and
II. 80-99; Mayor, etc., Vergil's Messianic Eclogue, 1897.
Mahābhārata, iii. 12, 826 ff.). The years in this statement are interpreted as Divine years, consisting each of 360 human years, giving thus a total of 4,320,000 years in each mahāyuga, and this interpretation, once adopted in the Purāṇas, became a dogma.
The usual descriptions of the kṛta- (or satya-) yuga reveal to us a happy state of mankind, when life lasted 4000 years, when there were no quarrels nor wars, when the rules of caste and the precepts of the Vedas were strictly obeyed, when, in short, virtuous reigns paramount. In the kṛta period the yugas justly held the first place.
There is a confusion of castes and ādrāmas. The Veda and good conduct gradually fall into neglect; all kinds of vices creep in; diseases afflict mankind; the term of life grows shorter and shorter, and is quite uncertain; barbarians occupy the land, and people kill one another in continual strife, till at the end of the yuga some mighty king extinguishes the infidels. From these extremes the character of the intermediate yugas may be imagined. The dawn of each yuga brings in a new race, originally created for the destruction of the existing world; indications, indeed, of such a belief are not wanting, as will be noticed later. Still, the common doctrine is that one mahāyuga followed on another, and that the thousand twilights of the several Ages are periods of transition from one Age to the next, when the character of the one is not yet entirely lost, and that of the other not yet fully established.

It is usual to presume that originally the mahāyuga comprised the whole existence of the world; indications, indeed, of such a belief are not wanting, as will be noticed later. Still, the common doctrine is that one mahāyuga followed on another, and that the thousand twilights of the several Ages are periods of transition from one Age to the next, when the character of the one is not yet entirely lost, and that of the other not yet fully established.

The Vedic period may be divided, according to the Atharvaveda, into a. eight thousand yugas, b. thirty-two thousand yugas, c. sixty-four thousand yugas, d. one hundred and twenty-eight thousand yugas, e. three hundred and twenty thousand yugas.

The emphasis is on the astronomical use of the yugas, the reader is referred to the translation of the Surya-Siddhanta, JAOS vi p. 16 ff.

A similar belief seems to have been expressed by the term ‘kalpa,’ but perhaps with this difference, that the concept of a yuga was intimately connected with the idea of the four stages through which mankind must pass, analogous to the four ages of the sun, viz., childhood, youth, middle life, and old age, while this idea was not necessarily implied in the concept of the kalpa. The combination of both these popular beliefs, with regard to the kalpa and the yuga, is in the form described above, was pressed upon the systematizing efforts of the Purāṇikas.

There is still a third kind of long period, the manvantara, fourteen of which go to the kalpa.

Each manvantara contains 71 mahāyugas, and 14 manvantaras are therefore equivalent to 934 (14 × 71) mahāyugas. The remainder of 6 mahāyugas required to make up the kalpa (= 1000 mahāyugas, sup. p. 200) is so distributed that the first manvantara is preceded by a dawn of the length of one kṛtyuga (= 34 mahāyugas), and each manvantara is followed by a twilight of equal length (15 × 0.4 = 6 mahāyugas). The twilight of the manvantara is, according to Śrīya Siddhānta, 1, 18, a deluge (jalapalae). This artificial system of the Vedic period, which is repeated in the Śrīya Siddhānta, is intended to account for the different patronymics of Manu, such as Vaivasvata, Svāyambhuva, Svātanrava, which occur already in different Vedic works. These early caused a belief in the existence of several distinct ages. The Purāṇikas systematized these notions as described. Since Manu was thought to have introduced the social and moral order of things, and to have played a part in the creation of gods and men, ‘the seven Rāis, the four seasons, the four yugas, the four thousand years, the twelve months of the year, the sun, the stars, the moon, the planets, the four elements, the five indusities, Indra, Manu, and the kings, their sons, are created and perish’ in each manvantara; and the details of these recurring events in each manvantara are given, e.g., in the same Purāṇa. Artificial as these manvantaras appear to be, still they are given as one of the five characteristic topics of the Purāṇa in a verse found in several Purāṇas. And the whole system of yugas, etc., is regarded as orthodox to such a degree that all the astronomical works, the Siddhāntas, have adopted them, except the Romaka Siddhānta, which for that reason is stigmatized as not orthodox.

The astronomical aspect of the yuga is that, in its commencement, sun, moon, and planets stood in conjunction in the initial point of the ecliptic, and returned to that point at the end of the age. The popular belief on which this notion is based is older than Hindu astronomy. The current yuga is the 457th of the present varaha-kalpa, or kalpa of the Boar, the 26th of the present manvantara (that of Manu Vaivasvata), which itself is the 7th of this kalpa. We are now in the kaliyuga, which began Feb. 17, B.C. 3102, the epoch of the still used era of the kaliyuga. At the end of the last tretāyuga lived Rama, the son of Daśaratha, and at the end of the kaliyuga Pāṇḍava and Kauravas took place the great war of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, described in the Mahābhārata.

A kalpa is called a day of Brahman, and his night is of equal length. At the close of the night he creates the world anew. Of such days and nights a year of Brahman is composed; and a hundred such years constitute his whole life. This longest period is called a para, half of which, a

* Vīyu Purāṇa, i. 8.
* Vīyu Purāṇa, vi. 3 ad.

† Cf. DES xxv. p. 1iv f.† Wilson, *Purāṇa Purāṇa*, p. 60.
† Wilson, loc. iii. p. 1 f.
† Wilson, loc. cit. p. viii, note 1.
† See *Actes du X Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 104. For details of the astronomical use of the term “kalpa” refer to the translation of the Śrīya Siddhānta, *J.A.O.S* vi p. 15 f.
parārddha, had elapsed at the beginning of the present kalpa.\(^*\)

The notions of the Buddhists about the Ages of the World (yugas) and about the larger periods (kalpas) are similar to those of the orthodox Hindus, but still more fanciful. The names of the four yugas have the same meaning, but their arrangement is different. They begin with kṛta and go on up to kṛtyuga, and then in reverse order, go over to kalyuṣya.\(^\dagger\) Thus, instead of a mahāyuga of four Ages, the Buddhists assume a period of eight Ages, which is called an antarākalpa. An antara-kalpa is the interval of time during which the age of man increases from ten years to an asaṅkhyeya (asaṅkhyeya = 10,000,000,000\(^2\)), and then decreases again to ten years; this period is of immense length.\(^\S\) According to some authorities, it has a length of 1,860,000,000 years. Together with the age, the moral state of mankind increases and decreases.

Twenty antarākalpas form one asaṅkhyeya kalpa (Pali asankheyya kalpa), and four asaṅkhyeya kalpas constitute one mahākalpa.

The first asaṅkhyeya kalpa is called saṁvartaka (Pali samvatta) period. Fire completely destroys the chakravāli (Pāṇini: cakravāla) is completely destroyed by fire, water, or wind. In the second (saṁvartaka), the world is empty and without any inhabitants, and in the fourth (vasantaka), the world continues to exist.

It is during this last period that the world becomes first inhabited, by ābhāsvara gods of the Brahmaloka being born on earth. These self-luminous beings lost their lustre when they first began to feed on a delicious juice produced by the earth. They then created the sun, the moon, and the stars. While these beings gradually degenerated, the earth ceased to yield this first kind of food, and produced a kind of cream-like fungus. This was followed by a climbing plant, and this again by an extraordinary kind of rice. When this rice was used as food, sexual intercourse began.

The rice deteriorated, and at last ceased to grow of itself. At the same time other vices were introduced, and personal property, till at last the present order of mankind was established.\(^\dagger\) Then comes the period of the twenty antarākalpas, described above. A hundred thousand years before the end of a mahākalpa, a god appears and warns mankind of the coming event, exhorting them to change their ways. And after that time the destruction of the earth—i.e., a billion of worlds or chakravālas—sets in by fire, water, or wind.\(^*\) The mahākalpas are either empty (kāya) kalpas—those in which there is no Buddha—or Buddha kalpas. The latter are of five kinds, śrava, manda, vara, sāravanda, and bhadra-kalpas, according as one, two, three, four, or five Buddhas appear. The present kalpa is a bhadra-kalpa for four Buddhas have already appeared—Krakucchanda, Metteyya, Kakusandha, Kassapa, and Gotama; and the fifth, Maitreya (Metteyya), has yet to come (see above, pp. 187-190).

The notions of the Jainas about the Ages of the World are not quite unlike, yet curiously different from those described above. The Jainas liken the time to a wheel with twelve spokes; the descending half of the wheel is called the avasarpini period, the ascending half utṣarpini. Each half is divided into six āras (āras = spokes). The āras are, in avasarpini, the following (1) four birth, and the duration of which is 400,000,000,000,000 years of years (śāgaraṅgama); (2) suṣumā, 300 billions of oceans of years; (3) suṣamadusumā, 200 billions of oceans of years; (4) duṣamadusumā, 100 billions of oceans of years, less 42,000 common years; (5) duṣumā, 21,000 years; (6) duṣamadusumā, likewise 21,000 years. The same Ages recur in the utsarpini period, but in reversed order. In the first āra, men lived three pālys or palyas at a time, but at the end of a long period, not to be expressed in a definite number of years (one billion of palyas go to one ocean of years), and men grew to a height of three gavyūṭis, a gavyūṭi being about two miles. Men were born as a pair of males and females, and all the sub-human life was the same, with the exception of marriage, who married. There were ten kinds of miraculous trees (kalavṛkṣa), which furnished men with all they wanted. The earth was as sweet as sugar, and the water as delicious as wine. This state of things continued through the first three Ages, but gradually age after age the length of life declined, and was only two palyas at the beginning of the second, and one pālya at the beginning of the third Age, while correspondingly the height of the body diminished to two and one gavyūṭi. Furthermore, the planets and the earth were then one cubit in height, and water deteriorated at the same rate. In the third Age the trees more slowly satisfied the wants of men, who therefore claimed them severally as personal property. Vimalavāhana was appointed to keep them among men; and he became the first patriarch (kulakara). The seventh patriarch, Nandi, was the father of Rṣabha, who was anointed the first king, and who introduced the principal institutions of mankind. Rṣabha became the first tirthakara, or prophet of the Jainas. His nirvāṇa occurred 23 years 4 months before the end of the third Age. In the fourth Age the order of things was similar to the present one, except, of course, that everything gradually deteriorated with the lapse of time. The life of man lasted a krota of pārvus (a pārvus = 8,400,000\(^3\) years) at the beginning, and diminished to a hundred years at the end of the Age; and, similarly, the height of men decreased from 2000 cubits to 7 cubits. 23 tirthakaras were born in the fourth Age, the last of whom, Mahāvīra, died 24 years 9 months before the beginning of the fifth Age, which began in B.C. 528.

In the fifth and sixth Ages length of life will diminish down to 16 years, and the height of men to 1 cubit. There will be no tirthakaras in the last two Ages of the avasarpini period. In the succeeding utsarpini period, the same will be the case, but in reversed order. In this way an infinite number of avasarpinis and utsarpinis follow each other.\(^*\) The idea on which the notion of these periods seems to be based is apparently the year. The avasarpini and utsarpini correspond to the two ayanas, the southern and northern course of the sun; and the six āras of each period to the six months of the ayna.\(^\dagger\) On the other hand, the first three āras, with their pairs of twins, with the miraculous trees, and their subsistence, much resemble the first kṛtyuga of the Purāṇas, while the remaining three āras may be compared to the tretā, dvāpara, and kalyuṣya. A peculiar feature of the Jaina system, however, is the great disparity in length between the last two Ages and the first four, while the relative length of the four yugas is reproduced in the āras, if we consider the earth, fifth, and sixth āras as one.

On the whole, there is an unmistakable family likeness between the notions of the orthodox Hindus, the Buddhists, and the Jainas, as described above, though they have developed on different lines.

**Literature.**—Besides the works referred to throughout this article, consult the literature given at the end of the article Ages of the World (Buddhist).

\(^*\) Hemacandra, Adīśvara-charitra, 2. 113 ff.
\(^\dagger\) Cf. SBE xxiv. p. 16, note 1.

\(^{1}\) Wilson, Vīraṇi Pūrṇīpa, i. p. 63.

\(^{2}\) Upanisats yugas: see Hardy, Manual of Buddhist, p. 7.

\(^{3}\) See reference for avasarpini, ch.

\(^{4}\) Childers, Pali Dictionary, e. v. "Kappa."

\(^{5}\) Burnett, Lotus de la bonne foi, p. 324 f.

\(^{6}\) Hardy, loc. p. 64 ff.

\(^{7}\) Hardy, loc. p. 28 ff.
AGES OF THE WORLD (Jewish).—1. The Heb. word yom (םי), 'day,' is frequently applied in both Biblical and post-Biblical literature in a sense closely allied to that of an Age of the World. Lev. 19:11 and 23:30, referring to Ps 90:4, and to the 'ages of a man' is a thousand years. Philo in de Opificio Mundi, 1:3, etc., treats of the 'Days of Creation' as covering an epoch. He denies that the story of Genesis is to be taken literally as meaning an actual creation in six ordinary days. Creation was not in time; the six days described the arrangements or order of the world which follows. Midrash Ber. Rab. xii. deals with the time occupied in creation. 'The day of the Lord' (Mal 4) 'that day' (Zech 14), 'the great day' (Mal 4), 'the day of judgment,' 'the day of vengeance' (Jer 46:10), 'the day of rebuke' (Hos 5), are all expressions for the Last Judgment, sometimes covering the future world (קָּשָׁם) which will succeed it. קָּשָׁם, 'our day,' is used as a synonym for מַעֲשֵׁים, 'this world' (Targum for 'days' in Ps 34). 'The days of the kings' (Dan 2) means the everlasting kingdom of the future world. 'The days of the Messiah' (Sanh. 95a) is used in the Talmud and Midrash for the Messianic Age; 'the days of the Messianic Age' are the future world to come, which follows. 'The day which is all Sabbath,' 'the day which is altogether good,' 'the day which is altogether long,' 'the day wherein the righteous sit with crowns upon their head and enjoy the splendour of the Divine Presence,' and here are expressions found in the Jewish Liturgy (in the grace after meat for Sabbaths and Festivals, especially Passover) which also denote the future world.

2. Before this world existed there had been succession of days (Gen. xxxvii. 3b, R.A.V., 'Seven' = 'seven') 33, in accordance with the notion held in the Hebrews, and by some also in the Greeks, that there are seven times of seven days in the heavenly spheres, each with its own distinct name. In Zech 12, 14, the seven days are compared with seven days of judgment in the future world.

3. In the Bible narrative there are traces of a Golden Age in the account of the Garden of Eden, where man is clothed and our sons by his own hands. The story, of his sojourn the Rabbis differ. The Bible narrative presents some striking parallels to the Assyrian story, just as post the Biblical does to Zarathushtrian speculation. But, as Goldziher points out in his Mythology among the Hebrews, even if its cosmogony had been derived from Iranian sources, it is an essential part of their system, whereas the Pentateuch makes no further use of it. It is notable that the later Jewish view is that Chasidism will be the future reward for good conduct after death. This is a development from the Golden Age to an Iron Age (for traces of which in Dn 2, see below), and no evolution in an opposite sense, but rather a sort of endless cycle; 'the thing that hath been, is that which shall be' (Hb 13:4).

4. The Pentateuch is almost exclusively concerned with the first age of persecution, after Israel, as מֵבֶט הָאֱלֹהִים, or 'captivity,' is that of Egypt. According to Gen 11:9, Abraham's seed is to be afflicted for 400 years. In Jg 11:16 a period of 300 years is given as the interval between the Exodus and Jephthah, during which the children of Israel were left in undisturbed possession of the other side of the Jordan. In 1 K 6:1 the period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple is fixed at 480 years.

5. The Prophets, before the Assyrian captivity, are concerned only with the immediate future. They deal with practical politics, and warn the people to repent in view of disasters that are imminent. The Day of the Lord, which in the post-captivity literature of the Bible becomes the Day of Judgment, occurs already in Amos (5:18-22), the earliest of the later prophets, as well as in Isaiah (cf. W. R. Smith, Prop. 131 f.).

6. In the poem, much in the literature of the Bible we first meet with a distinct promise of an ultimate, not immediate, Messianic Age, in which all wrongs will be righted. The return under Zerubbabel had proved a disappointment. The autonomy of the Jews had not been satisfactorily re-established. The Jews did not occupy their proper position in the world. The people were dissatisfied with their leaders, and thus the notion of an ideal Messiah rather than a political one seems to have become prominent. The Day of the Lord, which in the post-captivity literature of the Bible becomes the Day of Judgment, occurs already in Amos (5:18-22), the earliest of the later prophets, as well as in Isaiah (cf. W. R. Smith, Prop. 131 f.).
Kingdom is also that of His people (Dn 2:7). And this idea prevails throughout the Jewish apocalyptic writings, e.g., Assumpt. Mos., Enoch (Eth. and Slav.), 4 Ezra: God's enemies, whole peoples, will be previously destroyed. It is perhaps based on Ezekiel's Vision of Gog and Magog (38:20) as the culmination of this stage. After this world-war comes the Judgment (J 3:4). The Messiah of the Kingdom will be hidden away in safety (Is 26:6, Zec 14, Apoc. Bar 59, and Mk 13:22-23). The precurors of the Messiah are Elijah (Mal 4:5, Sir 48:20, Orac. Sib. ii., Ed.oth, vi 25:1, and Enoch [12 Ed.]. 6). The Messianic Kingdom is predominatingly particularistic. The Diaspora will be reunited, Jerusalem rebuilt, the heathen converted.

8. In the Apocalyptic literature, and first in Daniel, we get the universalist idea of the world and the next as parallel to the tribal idea of the Present Age and the Messianic Age. The Aeon of the world (5,6) is 5000 years in Assump. Mos.; 10,000 in Eth. En 16:59; 21:8; Jub 18; 7000 in Sanh. 97a, where R. Katina says the world is 7000 years, to be destroyed; of the 6000, 2000 years are 'Tohu' (chaos), 2000 Torah, and 2000 Messianic. This theory is based on the 6 days of Creation. As the historical remembrance is remitted once in 7 years, so there existed 1 childr., Agada der Tannaiten, i. 130 ff. (2nd ed. 133 ff.).

Daniel's theory of year-weeks (ch. 9) is based on the 70 of Jer 25:12, 29. (The Babylonian year was divided into 72 weeks of 5 days each). Daniel's 4 metals (ch. 2) and his 4 great beasts (7) are based on the classical conception of this world's division into the Gold, Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages. Eth. Enoch also divides the period of the 70 shepherds into 4 ages ('cursum alter' is divided in a 4-fold, meaning perhaps 4 Roman Emperors).

9. The division into 7 millennial years is the duration of 'this world' is made in Eth. Enoch, Test. Abr., R. Katina (Sanh. 97a). The preceding tribulations of the Messiah are to last 7 years, says R. Simeon ben Jochai (Ber. Erets zut. 10). In 3 periods (Dn 12) 'all these things shall be fulfilled, and 4 Ezra divides the world into 12 portions. All these figures, 4, 7, 70, 72, and 12 have an astronomical basis, and correspond to the seasons, the days of the week, the weeks of the Babylonian years, the zodiacs.

10. The mathematical determination of the end of this world and the beginning of the next was eventually discarded by the Rabbis after all such calculations had proved false. Rab says, All the terms [i.e., calendar] have ceased, and the matter resteth only upon repentance and good works (Sanh. 97a, ed. Am 5:8). Before God renews His world (עמורה), the Messianic Age will come. It is intercalated between this world and the next. The time of Messianic tribulations (עמורה) is the period in which the world is to return to the state before the Flood (Gen 6:7, 4 Ezra 5:24). They will suffer terrible diseases (Orac. Sib. iii. 538), children will be born with white hair (Jub 22:21), women will be barren (Orac. Sib. ii. 164). Fields will not fructify (4 Ezra 8:9), poverty and famine will prevail (Eth. En 99:7, Apoc. Bar 27:1). universal war will rage (4 Ezra 9:1), the wise shall be silent and fools shall speak (Apoc. Bar 79). Then will come the Judgment (נ thru), when God will weigh sins and virtues, but even he who was the Messiah, Prince of Peace, emerges (Apoc. Bar 29 and 73); and after all these events the time of the Messiah shall be revealed, though He is here no longer the national hero but the renewer of Paradise, the restorer of the Golden Age. Next will follow the Resurrection of the Dead (Is 26:19), God will destroy death (Dn 12:2). Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake' (En 51:1).
AGES OF THE WORLD (Zoroastrian).

x. By far the most detailed account of Iranian cosmology is afforded by the Pahlavi Būndahishn, a work which, though dating in its present form from the post-Mahomedan period, undoubtedly contains material of far greater antiquity. According to it, Ahūmazd (Ormazd) produced spiritually the creatures which were necessary for those means [his complete victory over evil], and the third thousand years in the spiritual state, so that they were unthinking or [in]vulnerable and unmoving, with intangible bodies (i. 8). "And Ahūmazd spoke to the evil spirit thus: ‘Appoint a period, so that the intermingling of the conflict may be for nine thousand years.’ For he knew that by appointing this period the evil spirit would be undone. Thus the evil spirit, unobservant and through ignorance, was content with that agreement; just like the man when the length of the day is uncertain who, for a time, thus said: ‘Let it be the such-and-such a day for a fight.’ Ahūmazd also knew this, through omniscience, that within these nine thousand years, for three thousand years everything proceeds by the will of Ahūmazd, three thousand years by the will of his plants and three thousand years by the wills of Ahūmazd and Ahurman, and the last three thousand years the evil spirit is disabled, and the adversary is kept away from the creature’s (i. 18–20, West’s tr.). Then Ahur Mazda (Pahlavi Aōhurmarzd) recited the Ahumavār, and exhibited to the evil spirit his own triumph in the end; the evil spirit, perceiving his own impotence and the annihilation of the demons, became confounded and remained three thousand years in confusion, thus the second millennium of time. During the confusion of the evil spirit, Ahur Maza created Good Thought (Pahlavi Vohvāmān), as well as the five other archangels. Ahriman (wh. see) produced in opposition to them six corresponding evil powers. Of the creatures of the heavens there is no mention (and the light of the world); second, water; third, earth; fourth, plants; fifth, animals; and sixth, mankind (i. 21–28). The spirits of men, their jamaahās and their consciousness, had already been created in the beginning. Now Ormazd deliberated with them, asking them if they would assume a bodily form in order to contend with the fiend Ahrimah, and in the end become wholly immortal and perfect for ever, whereupon they consented (ii. 10–11). According to the third chapter, the confounding of the evil spirit and his demons was due to the righteous man,’ a phrase which doubtless designates Gaya-maretn (Pahlavi Gāyomārt), the primeval man, who existed undisturbed, during the same second millennium, with the primeval ox.

The evil spirit now rushed into creation, and the seventh millennium, or the third millennium, began. The elements, the primeval ox, and the primeval man went on to the world; there was none but thee, O our Redeemer, for the days of the Messiah; neither is there any like unto thee, O our Saviour, for the resurrection of the dead.’

LITERATURE.—Bacher, Agada der Tannaiten, vol. i. 1884; Bousquet, Rel. d. Judenreim, 1890, pt. iv. pp. 353–346 (cf. the list of authorities cited by him); Schürer, Die G’s i. ii. 495–500; R. H. Charles, A Crit. Hist. of the Doc. of a Future Life in Israel, London, 1890; Leewy, Messianizm and Zukunftiche Welt in MGVJ, 1897, 382–409; Sanh. a. 11; Maimonides, Yd. 87, Yemen Epistle; Nachmanides, Toseft Adam, Shaki H. God, 1891, five to the Perpetual, ii. 25, 30, 43, 68, 81, his Mishna Torah, Hitzel Teshubh, vii.; Abaria del Rossi, Moor Ebnayim, xiv. 54; Lipschitz, Mirhah, )ivan ha-re'um; An Excursus on the Future Life (based on Rashi), London, 1897.

E. N. ADLER.

AGES OF THE WORLD (Zoroastrian).—The 34th chapter of the original Būndahishn sums up the first two trimillenniums of the creation as follows: ‘Time was for twelve thousand years; and it says in revelation, that three thousand years was the duration of the spiritual state, where the creatures were unthinking, un-moving, and intangible; and three thousand years was the duration of Gāyomārt, with the ox in the world. Those three millenniums are in thousand years connected with three of the constellations of the zodiac: Cancer, Leo, and Virgo.

The first millennium of the human race is distributed as follows in the same chapter:

Gāyomārt, 30 years.
Māhaya and Māhāpi growing up during 40 years (Būnd. 15. 2).
living without desire for intercourse, 50 years.
living as husband and wife, 93 years, until Hōshang (Av. Hassagangha), great-grandson of Māhaya, came, 40 years (and six months, according to Akbar-ī)
Takḥomārū (Av. Takhma-utupu; Shāh-nāma Takhomārv), great-grandson of Hōshang, 30 years.
Yim (Av. Yima; Shāh-nāma Jamshīd), brother of Takḥomārū, 616 years and six months, until the sun power and glory of the Iranian rulers left him, in the shape of a bird, because he took pleasure in words of falsehood and error (Yasli, xix. 54), and made himself something more than a man.
Then he lived in concealment for 100 years.
Total, 699 years and six months (or 1000 years).

The next millennium, the second of human history, and the eighth of the creation, was under the sway of Dāhāk, whose lineage on his mother’s side is traced, by Būnd. xxxi. 6, nine degrees from the evil spirit himself. Dāhāk is the Azī Dāhāk, the dragon with three heads, of the Avesta, who tried to seize the kingly power-substance of the world, the left Yima, who had become too proud owing to his happy paradise-reign; but Atar, the fire, saved it (Yasli, xix. 47 ff.).

According to another tradition in the same Yasli (xix. 83), the kāvah[mah, in leaving Yima, went in three parts: one to Mithra; the second to Thraṭṭa, who killed the dragon Ashī Dahāka; and the third, the dragon Zeremah, is to be the successful adversary of the dragon at the end of the time. Those three guardians of the ‘kingly glory’ are regarded as succeeding each other, so that Mithra preserves it during part of the end, until Thraṭṭa comes— as, in the other version, just mentioned, Atar is said to save the kingly glory, which takes refuge in the waters of Dāhāk. After the millennium of Dāhāk, who is assigned

*The twenty-seventh chapter of the Būndahishn presupposes the existence of plants before the attack of the fiend: ‘it says in revelation, that, before the coming of the destroyer, vegetation had no thorn and bark about it.’
by Bând. xxxiv. 6 to Scorpio, the sovereignty devolved on Frâtan, the Thraçnêas of the Avesta, the Frâtn of the Shân-nâmah, who killed the terrible usurper and introduced the third millennium of mankind and of the third millennium of creation. This millennium is assigned by the Bândîahshn to Sagittarius, and contains the names of some of the ancient heroes of the Middle East. The Bândîahshn makes the following calculation (xxxiv. 6–7):

Frâtan, contemporary of the 12 years of Ahrîb, 500 years.
Mandaûshn (Mandaucarda), contemporary of the Turanian adversary Frâtshyâb, the Frâshnavay of the Avesta, who made Mandaûshn the Iranian captives in the Trimillennium, from the month of Fâshdich, the 12th of the Caspian, 1660 years.

Zés Shânâb (Av. Uzasa; Shân-nâmâ Shân), grandson of Mandaûshn, expelled Frâtshyâb from Iran, and reigned 5 years; adopted
Kâl-Kâbî (Av. Kâl Kanda), founder of the most renowned royal race of Iran, the Kavîs, who retained the khesran, the spiritual substance of the kingship of Iran, during several generations, 15 years.
Kâl-Kâm (Av. Kâl Usdâhan), grandson of Kâl-Kâbî, 150 years.
His grandson Kâl-Ḫorthâ (Av. Kâl Hurokna), who was received into heaven without death, 60 years.
Kâl-Ḫorshîd (Av. Kâl Usdâhan), reigned 100 years; and his son Kâl-Vîshshap (Av. Kâl Vîshhtâp), the protector of Zaraštushtra, until the coming of the religion, 30 years.

So far the last chapter of the Bândîahshn. It accordingly gives only a short chronology of the millennium of the Zaraštushtrian faith, ruled by Capricorn,—in which period the present generation is the first. After the coming of religion it reckons (xxxv. 7–9):

For the Achemenians: 1280 years.
For the Alexander: 14 years.
For the Ashkînâs (Arsacidâs): 564 years.
For the Sasanians: 460 years.

Total: 1016 years

Then the sovereignty is said to have fallen to the Arâhs (cf. the somewhat older list of the Iranian kings in the Mandevûshn: Louis H. Gray, 'The Kings of Early Iran according to the Sidrá Bâh', in Z. d. ir. 37, 1920). In this chronological table the successors of Alexander and the Parthian kingdom until Arsakhs, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, occupy only 294 years, instead of at least 647. On the other hand, the Sasanians have too many, 460 years instead of 426 or 437. This double mistake is perhaps unintentional. Although the total of the historical chronology is thus shortened by the writer of Bândîahshn, xxxiv, the millennium of the same name of a year, etc., should have come, as we have seen, sixteen years before the Arab. This millennium, which must contain the whole history since the revelation to Zarathushtra, is the puzzle to the Zaraštushtrians. This Bâhman Yasth (Pahlavi), which, in its present form, a complicated literary history behind it, shows the difficulty caused by the transliteration and translation of the ancient name of the son of the prophet should be born in a supernatural way and saved by the visitation of the Saviour, the son of the thousand, etc. The popular belief awaited rather a valiant warrior, Bahram Varjâvand, the Iranian Messiah. Indeed, we read in the Pahlavi Bâhman Yasth, iii. 44 ('Pahlavi Texts,' tr. by E. W. West, SBE v. p. 231): 'Regarding Hîshûqan it is declared that he will be born in 1650.' This must mean 1650 after Zaraštushtra. That is 600 years too late—but it brings us only to the beginning of the 15th cent. a.d., according to the traditional Zaraštushtrian chronology. (See the introduction of E. W. West to his tr. of Bahman Yasth; and Bousset, 'Beiträge zur Gesch. der Eschatologie' in Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch., x. 1876, p. 417.)

It is evident, as E. W. West has pointed out in his most important work on the Zoroastrian Texts (SBE zivii), that this system of chronology must have been modified over and over that should finish the millennium of the actual history of mankind after Zaraštushtra. The first revelation to the prophet being dated by the Pahlavi tradition 500 years before Alexander, or about 800 b.c., that means about 370 a.d.

Among other statements and calculations to be found in Pahlavi writings about the first thousand years after the last or fourth millennium, beside the short notice at the end of the Bândîahshn, two have an interest for our present purpose.

(1) The period of mankind being fixed at 6000 years, Zaraštushtra, who was born thirty years before the end of the first millennium, and whose period of intercourse with the celestial beings begins the second millennium, makes his appearance in the middle of human history. According to the San Dor, lxxxi. 4–5, it is declared in revelation that the Creator spoke to Zaraštushtra thus (SBE xxiv. 345):

'T can have created the at the present time, the middle period for it is three thousand years from the day of Day which is till now, and from now till the resurrection are the three thousand years that remain.... For whatever in the middle in the land of the middle, the whole is in the middle of the whole body, and as the land of Iran is more valuable than other lands, for the reason that it is in the middle.'

(2) The Dinkart, i. 8, a compilation of the 9th cent., renders the contents of the seventh yogart of the now lost Sûtêk Nask of the Sasanian Avesta (SBE xxxv. 181): The seventh yogart is about the exhibition to Zarathustra of the nature of the four periods in the millennium of Zarathustra. First, the golden, that in which Ahuramazda dispensed the religion to Zarathustra. Second, the silver, in which Zahrast created the religion of Zarathustra. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Ahura, son of Mârampend, was born (or Ardâr, the great champion of orthodoxy in the 4th cent. who offered to undergo the ordeal of pouring molten brass on his chest in order to prove the truth of the Mazdasyan faith). Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which there is much propagation of the religion and many other wars. The period of the destruction of the reign of religion, the decay of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the disappearance of honour and wisdom from the countries of Iran.'

It is not possible to say how much of this account belonged to the text of the Sûtêk Nask and what is taken from its 'Zend' (its translation and Pahlavi paraphrase, used by the compiler). The events described need not concern us later than the time after the death of the great Shâh-pâhîr II. in 379. His grandson Yazdâr 1. (399–420) was called by the priests the 'sinner' because of his tolerance in quarrels about religion. At all events, it is scarcely possible that the long reign of the four [Metal] Ages, known in India, Greece, Rome, etc., should have been wholly introduced by the Pahlavi paraphrase. In the Pahlavi Bahman Yasth, i. 6, it is expressly said that the appearance of the appeared Mazdik (the hero who flourished during the reign of Kâbêd (488–531), and who was put to death by his son Khrashâr Nâshîrşân) during 'this time' (the Iron Age), is mentioned in the lost Zend commentary on three Yasths of the Avesta, although the two of these Yasths still exist (the Avesta Bahman Yasth has long lost) do not contain anything about the matter.

In the same context of the Pahlavi Bahman Yasth the historical standpoint is a later one than in the Dinkart's rendering of the Sûtêk Nask, and in subsequent epochs. That of Gold means the conversation of Ahûra Mazdå in the form of a legible message, perhaps including the reawakening of Xerxes u., Darius i., and Artaxerxes Mâmûn (404–359). That of Steel is the reign of the glorified Kidar, son of Kâbêd (561–670), the greatest of the Sasanians, during whose reign the Pahlavi literature flourished (P. Justi, in Grundriss der iran. Philologie, ii. 383). In ii. 21–22 there is allusion to the great metal of the Steel Age king: 'when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdik that was mixed with iron is the reign of the demons with their revivified hair of the race of the Weth, which it was impossible to contain in a ten-hundredth winter of thy millennium, O Zarathustra, the Spînâm! The speaker is Ormazd.'

In another passage, of the Ahûra Mazdå commentary or paraphrase of the Bahman Yasth (i.16–23) the Metal Ages are increased to seven. Zarathushtra had seen in a dream a tree with seven branches; one golden, one silver, one bronze, one copper, one of tin, one of steel, and one mixed up with iron. The Bahman explains the dream thus: 'The seven branches are the seven periods to come. The Golden one means the reign of King Vîshshap; that of Silver is the reign of Artshīr the Kaykāh (Artaxerxes Longimanus) and the Copper Age represents the seven periods that Christ, the first two Sasanian monarchs, Artshīr (295–341) and his son Šahrûn (341–379), and the restorer of true religion, Artârâb Mârâspand (with the preparation of the pretended Ahriman, Mâshîhshap) (390–397). The Copper Age is evidently out of its order, as it puts it back from the Sasanian dynasty to the days of Ahura, son of the Ashkînân king' (we do not know who) which removes from the world the heterodoxy which existed; while the wicked of this Age (Artshīr and Šahrûn) is the Anachronism that need not surprise us on the part of a Pahlavi writer, who identifies the two great enemies of the Mazda-yasnian faith coming from the West (Alexander the Great and...
the Christian Roman empire) is utterly destroyed by this religion, and passes unknown and unseen from the world. The Tin Age brings us to the powerful Sassanian monarch, Bahram V. (420-438), who, by the spirit of pleasure and joy, at last succeeds in establishing peace and fest, and Ahriman with the wizards (i.e., the heretics) rushes back into the world gloom. The Sixth Age represents the successor of Mazdix, King Khosro, and the one mixed with iron is characterized as in the first chapter.

At the end of Zarathushtra's millennium Uhshyatera (Pahlavi Hoshätar), 'the one who makes pious grow,' shall be born, in a marvellous way, from the prophet's seed. When thirty years old, he enters on his ministry to restore the religion (Bûndahîshn, xxvii. 8; Bahram Yasht, iii. 44; Dinkart, vii. 8, 51-60). The second millennium of the post-Zarathushrian triglomeration begins. In the 5th cent. of that millennium (Dinkart, vii. 9, 3 [SBE xlvii. 108]) the wizard Mahhrklašht, mentioned in an extant fragment (Watkin, p. 2), of the Avesta as Mahrkhsht, will appear for a second time and produce a terrible winter, that will, 'within three winters and in the fourth,' destroy the greater part of mankind and of animals. Böedakhsht, a god of the second fargart of the Vendidad without the name of Mahrkhsht, the demon or the wizard of snow. Yima, the paradise-king, is told by Ormazd to prepare an encloset, a varza, and to live in it himself, with a chosen host of men, animals, plants, and fishes, in order to be preserved during the winters that will invade the earth.

When Hoshätar's millennium the encloset made by Yima is opened, mankind and animals will issue from it and arrange the world again, and the third millennium of the world (Dinkart, vii. 9, 3 f.; Mathny-1 Khurat, xxvii. 27-31). New beings thus come back miraculously for the restoration of the world (Dâštîdâ-1 Dînk, xxvii. 96 [SBE xviii. 109-110]).

A thousand years after Hoshâtar, a second son of Zarathushtra will be born, Uhshyateynemah, 'he who makes the prayer grow' (Pahlavi Hoshätarma). When thirty years old, he will confer with the archangels. That is the beginning of the last millennium of the world (Dinkart, vii. 9, 18-23). After its end the third miraculous son of the prophet shall be born in the same way by a third virgin, pregnant from the water of the lake Kansava, which holds the seed of Zarathushtra (Bûndahîshn, xxvii. 8; Dinkart, vii. 10, 15-18).

The usual translation of his name Astout-reta, 'he who raises the (dead) bodie,' seems very unlikely. The second part of the name, reta, which means in the name of the first son of the prophet 'righteousness,' being the Iranian equivalent of the Sriz rta (which appears otherwise in the Avesta as zaha), would then be a verbal form in the third name. More probable is Bartholomew's rendering (Altiran. Wörterbuch, col. 210), 'he who makes the prayer grow' (Astout Retat-Astout-reta, 'the one who makes righteous'. But the analogy with the former two names: Uhshyateynemah, makes one think that the first half also of the last name is a verbal form of 'praise.' With a preceding d. If, indeed, the initial a were long, the name might be translated, 'he who praises righteousness.' More frequently the third expected restorers of religion is called Svatkhânt 'the saviour,' 'the helper,' originally and generally in the Avesta an appellative applied to the zulœal Mazdyanian and promoters of religion.

Now the last conflict breaks out; resurrection and purification open the way to eternal blissful existence. The time preceding the coming of the three restorers of faith will be marked by misery and suffering. The Pahlavi apocalypic says to Dinkart (vii. 14, 11 ff.). We recall the four Ages that mark a successive deterioration in Zarathushtra's millennium. The Pahlavi apocalypic paints the time before Hoshâtar's coming in dreadful colours borrowed from history. At the end of the last thousand years Ahi Dahâka will break his fetters. But, on the other hand, the end of those three Ages is described as an advance towards the glorious consummation (Dinkart, iv. 41, 4-8). We have seen how the opening of the gate of Yima's encloset will produce a new prosperity before the end of the first half of the Tin Age. Hoshâtar's millennium two-thirds of the population of Iran are righteous and one-third wicked (Dinkart, vii. 9, 13). In the last millennium no one passes away, other than those whom they unite with a scathless weapon away from old age. When fifty-three years of that millennium of his still remain, the sweetness and oiliness of milk and vegetables are so perfect, that, on account of the freedom of mankind from desire for meat, they shall leave off the eating of meat, and their food become milk and vegetables. When three years remain, they shall leave off even the drinking of milk, and their food and drink become water and vegetables (Dinkart, vii. 10, 7 ff.). The milk of one cow shall be sufficient for a seven year span. As hunger and thirst diminish, men shall be satisfied with one meal every third day. Old age shall not be weak; any more and life shall become longer. Humility and patience shall be multiplied.

The Greeks were acquainted with the optimistic Mazdyanian doctrine of the spiritualizing of mankind towards the end. Ptolemy, at the end of the world, will see the Earth on the east no shadow (Thopompous-Plutarch). The eighteenth fargart of the Farshinmaina Nasht of the Sassanian Avesta told, according to Dinkart, ix. 4, 1, 'about the triumph of the sacred beings over the demons at the end of the three last periods of the world.'

These 12,000 years form the long period of creation, divided into four great Ages. It is bounded by eternity on both sides, by 'time without end.' The 'Great,' or 'Iranian,' Bûndahîshn, which appears to be later development of the more commonly known Bûndahîshn, says about Time (Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta, ii. 310-311): 'It was without limits up to the creation, and it was created limited to the end, that is, to the reducing of the evil spirit to impotence. After this, Time resumes its infiniteness for ever and ever.' This latter theological speculation about the personified Time (Zravna) is found in the Avesta itself, which distinguishes between 'Time without limits' (Zravna-daraghrkhvadhâh), and 'Time, self-determined' (Zravna-daraghr-khvadhâh, [SBE xxix. 1]."

In Vendidad, xix. 9, Zarathushtra answers the Evil One: 'The beneficent spirit created in the time without limits.' 'Time without limits' was made later on, in order to weaken the dualism to an eternal Divine Being, from whom the two opposite spirits emanate.

The distribution of Time into the endless Time before and after the 'long, self-determined Time' has its exact local equivalent in the strictly organised Mazdyanian theology. The region of light where Ormazd dwells is called 'endless light.' The region where the Evil Spirit resides is called the 'endless dark.' 'Between them was empty space, that is, what they call 'air,' in which is now their meeting' (Zûnd, 1, 2-4 Dinkart). F. Hirt's words, as De Is. et Os. 46, about 'the region between the two gods.' The air or atmosphere, Vayô (Pahlavi Vay) is described as intermediate, 'the space between the two,' and is designated exactly as Time: daraghr-khvadhâh (Nystiyh, i, 1). 'Long, self-determined.' The Great Bûndahîshn (Darmesteter, loc. cit.) distinguishes between the physical Vayô and the spiritual space as well as time being divided according to the dualistic principle. Already the Avesta knew such a distinction. Yasht, xv. in linking 'that part of thee, O Vayô, which belongs to the Good Spirit.'

2. Date of the Zoroastrian system of Ages of the World.—(a) As we have already seen, most of the names and legends and ideas that belong to the Pahlavi apocalypic go to Dinkart (vi. 14, 11 ff.). We recall the four Ages that mark a successive deterioration in Zarathushtra's millennium. The Pahlavi apocalypic paints the time before Hoshâtar's coming in dreadful colours borrowed from history. At the end of the last
creation,' is derived, are very shortly reproduced in
the following terms in the... the frost-demons' win-
Pliny also mentions another Zarathushtra, who is said t*

An extant Avesta fragment, quoted in the
Pahlavi Vendidad, ii. 20, runs: 'How long time
Pliny also mentions another Zarathushtra, who is said t*

The first part of this quotation * agrees with

The second part of the quotation from Theopompus offers

The mean... many conceptions. The present writer
should mean: 'The god who has brought about these things... the Greek

Such an idea is not necessarily inconsistent with the
opposition of

But we know nothing of a Divine repose after the
Yasna, ii. 6), and the blessed state of mankind keeps still
and reposes himself during a period not very great for the
god, as it would be moderate for a sleeping man.' But the end
of the phrase is not tolerable Greek, and must be corrupted in
some way. The meaning compels us to think of a rest of Ahura
Mazda after the consumption of the destroyers of the world.
Such an idea is not necessarily inconsistent with the
opposition of

The elder Pliny writes (HN xxx. 2. 1): 'En alanı

It is not improbable that the god Ahura Mazda was
referred to in the... the present writer can
see, the introduction of a third god, after the
drea and this is not the case. The Greek author has not
applied to Ahura Mazda some misunderstood statement regard-

1. 'One of those gods and reigning in the heavenly

creation,' is derived, are very shortly reproduced in
the following terms in the Dinkar, vii. 5 (SBE
xxxvii. 13-14).

One of those gods and reigning in the heavenly

Amid the Dâmad are particulars about the maintenance of
action, and the production of the beneficent creatures. First,
... the establishment of the spiritual existence; and the production of the
world's beginning. The Creation and the Sub-creation, descending into the
combat with the destroyer, and accomplishing the associated necessity for the end and
circumstances (West's tr.).

Except for the events at the end of Zarathushtra's
millennium, the Sasanian Avesta must have known
all the principal features of the world-chronology
now described, with its environment of 'the
less time.'

(b) Plutarch brings us further back, to about
300 B.C., but speaks only of two or three of the
four periods (de Is. et Os. 47), expressly quoting
Theopompus, Philip of Macedon's historian:

Thus. The Zarathushtra's

Lagrgröße ('La Religion des Perses' in BE, 1904, p. 35)
understands the first立志 as indicating:

The second part of the quotation from Theopompus offers
some difficulty. The last words after χρόνων have been more or
less freely varied by various conjectures. The present
writer should mean: 'The god who has brought about these things... the
Greek

The means necessary for the reconstruction of its
formation. But certain points may be noted.

(a) The whole Yima legend must drop out.

The blessing paradise-reign of Yima was a very popular legend
in old Iran. Several Avesta documents contain it (Yendd., ii. 4),
yielding by various conjectures. The present

3. Composite character of the Mazdyanian
system of Ages of the World.—This is evident.

The Yima legend in Vendidad, ii., does not know the
12,000 years' system, and excludes it, at least
in its complete form, although the old myths of Yima
have been deeply transmuted into a forerunner of
Zarathushtra.'
AGES OF THE WORLD (Zoroastrian) 209
ters, and the restoring of the living world from
Yima's vara
after the well-known ... millennium, while
the millenniums form together a progress towards
an end, whereas in the Indian conception the four

(5) The heroic lore of Iran knew a list of heroes and old rulers, which is preserved in the extant parts only of the Avesta, especially in the fifth Yasht, consecrated to the goddess Arîv Sûr Anâhita, in the dramatic history of the kshvarenah (the spiritual substance-power of the Iranian kingship), as given in Yasht xiv., and, in the ecclesiastical list of the four ages of the world, in Yasht xii. These legends have been reduced to three thousand years, but in a different way: 3000 for Ahura Mazda's supremacy (= Gâyômârj's trimillennium), and 3000 for the conflict (= until Zarathushtra), the two periods being ended by the final victory and eternal bliss (and the rest of God, which looks like a Jewish-Christian Sabbath of the world; cf. Ep. Barn. 15).

The last trimillennium, from Zarathushtra to the Socehyantr, of the final Zarathushtra, as chronologically still seem to have been understood by Theopompos as the time of fulfillment, rather than as a new period. It is possible that the doctrine had this aspect even in the earlier stages and would better suit the Gâthas, where the final renovation of the world seems, in some texts, at least, to be the time of the end of the world. In any case, Theopompos' record agrees, as far as the central contents, with the last 9000 years of the Bândâshâh. These 9000 years alone are mentioned in the Arôx Vâdâsii, the official text of the Mazdayasnian religion, and in the first of the two great epochs will then have been added in order to get the number four, or the twelve thousand years.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the old Babylonian divisions of the existence of the world. But probably the 12,000 years—seven ages of the world—are to be predicted by Mani (Kessler, Mass, i. 343; the number 12 is fundamental in Mani's doctrine, see Kessler, art. 'Mani' in P.R.F.) and by the Etrurians (according to Suidas), like the 12 parts of the existence of the world in 2 Es 14:106f. and Apoc. Bar 53, are derived from a Babylonian cycle. This probability comes very near demonstration when we consider that both the Etrurian belief, as reported by Suidas, and the Bândâshâh combine the twelve (or twelve) salutary signs. The Mazdayasnian theologians owed their astronomical science to the Babylonians and to the Egyptians (J. Marquart, Philologus, Sup. x. 1. 102 ff.).

(e) The Gâthás represent an epoch in which this doctrine did not belong to the Zoroasthrian faith. If periods were already known in Iran, this must have been outside the Zarathushtrian reform. The long waiting is incompatible with the preaching of the Gâthás. Time, as in both Jewish and Christian prophecy and apocalypses, is rather sharply divided into two Ages: the present era of struggle and difficulty, and the happy reign of theocracy and justice after the longed-for separation by fire.

4. Meaning of the periods.—The beliefs outlined in the foregoing pages represent the original and characteristic feature of the Mazdayasnian system of Ages of the World, and must be derived from the Zoroastrian idea, expressed in the Gâthás, of Ahura Mazda as the ruler of the future destiny of mankind. The division into Ages does not imply merely a distinction between the past and the old time—as e.g. in the alcheringa (w. h. se. of the Australians. Nor does it signify a deterioration, as, for example, in the Ages of Hesiod and Ovid. Something resembling a pessimistic view of the course of time might be gathered from three passages of the Mazdayasnian religion: (1) the monster of the old myth will be unfeathered; (2) the sharp opposition implied in the Zarathushtrian reform, and the earnest appeal to choose the way of Ahâ, sometimes give a dark colouring to the Gâthic view; (3) several thousand years later, when the glorious line of history was already pointed out by Avéstan and Pahlavi theogy, the tragic events under the last Sassanians and after the Arabian conquest taught a sombre lesson of the impossibility of the Zarathushtra's millennium before the advent of the expected helper, who never came. The four Ages of Gold, Silver, Steel, and Iron were adopted, at first probably by an orthodox compiler, during the early controversies with Manicheism and other heresies, and then history filled out the Iron-mingled Age in different ways. The Great Bândâshâh kept open its chapter 'On the calamities which have invaded Iran in different ages' (Blichet, l.c. 45). But the four metamorphic Ages are only episodes in the general history of the world, and give no idea of the destiny of the world. In both cases the general optimistic character of the Zarathushtrian faith prevails: the victory of Ormazd is the surest thing in the world, known and predicted since the beginning. The worldly corporeal existence and human affairs are no enemies of pietà, but pure elements and duties, the diligent fulfilment of which formally constitutes each Mazdayasnian a fellow-worker with Ormazd, a helper, saving (Ormazd), and fârâshâhâr, 'a renewer' of humanity of the world. These functions he discharges in company with the great heroes, from Kâf-Khûrâv—without whose destruction of the idolatrous temples behind the lake of Caucasia the renovation of the world could never have been completed by the work of the last saoeshyant. The world is a realm of conflict, with impunity constantly threatens and demons are ever on the watch. But it is a noteworthy fact that the period of confusion and strife is not the present Age. That period ended with the appearance of Zarathushtra. We already live in the Age of the victory of Ormazd.

The Persian periods do not imply an eternal repetition, as in the developments of Aryan speculation and the idea of the cyclic change of the ages of the world. They sometimes in modern thought (e.g. Nietzsche, and, in a less pedantic way, Sw. Arrhenius)—the same causes combining to produce in eternal cycles the same effect:

7. When this world shall be no more, underground,
Thro' tenebrosity, teared, twisted, cramped, and cold,
Baked, fried, or burnt, turned inside-out, or drounted,
Like all the world before, with its long shrunken hurid
First out of, and then back again to chaos.
The superstratum which will overlap us.

Nothing can be more characteristic than the placing of the Metal Ages and this Iron Age only in one, the present, Mazdayasnian millennium, while the millenniums form together a progress towards an end, whereas in the Indian conception the four
The Aghoriansyugas and the present evil kali Age form the constant feature of periods which emerge and pass away similarly. The system of periods in India did not unite, as in India, with the popular belief in the transmigration of souls—a belief worked out into a fundamental philosophical doctrine in Indian systems of periods. The Mazdyanian scheme expresses, in a somewhat scholastic way, the idea implied in the word history: that is to say, 'something happens in what happens' (E. G. Geiger), so that the intricate mass of events has a meaning and a goal beyond the actual combinations and situations. The real king of the future, not a 'see-saw,' and not a 'backward,' although it may seem so to human eyes. This profound conception has arisen only twice in the history of human thought—in the only two ancient prophetic religions, one Aryan, one Semitic—in Zarathushtrianism and in Islam. Neither seems to have borrowed it from the other.

Christianity inherited it from Moses, and it has become prevalent in the Western civilization in the form of belief in a Divine purport in history, in progressive evolution, or in a redeeming crisis, and it is one of the most powerful and influential factors in the civilization of Europe and America, as distinguished from the great civilizations of India and of the Far East. It is so deeply rooted in the Western mind, that even should it be an admirable and believable in the Indian conception as Schopenhauer unconsciously yields to it (cf. his Sämmtliche Werke, v. 224).

To have originated faith in the significance and purpose of history may fittingly be called Zarathushtra's greatest gift to mankind. To have received a philosophy of religion from the Aghorians, should be considered a great event in the history of the world. The Aghorians were the first to come into the system of periods, and the advancement of the knowledge of the Aghorians in the future may be expected to be considerable, especially in the direction of the study of the periods of the world. The study of the periods of the world is one of the most interesting branches of the science of periods, and it is hoped that this branch of the science of periods may be developed in the future.

The Aghorians are a sect of ascetics in India who have for a long time attracted attention on account of their habit of cannibalism and other abominable practices.

1. Meaning of name.—Their name indicates connexion with the cult of Siva, being derived from Skr. a-ghora, 'not terrifie,' one of the euphemistic titles of the god. Aghoraparni means 'one who follows the path' (Skr. parpathi) or cult of Siva in this form. The worship of Siva as Aghoravara, 'the non-terrified Lord,' is an established practice at Kukkul, Mysore, and in many other places.

2. Distribution.—The present distribution of the sect is a question of some difficulty. According to the Census of 1901, they number within the Empire 546. They are seated mainly in Bihār or W. Bengal, the remainder in Ajmir-Mahrāvāra and Berār, with 2 convicts in the Andaman Islands. This figures widely from the Census figures of 1891, when 630 Aghori and 4317 Aghors were recorded in the United Provinces, 1067 Aghori in Bengal, and 436 Augars in the Panjāb.

The explanation of this discrepancy lies partly in the fact that, like all ascetics of the kind, they are constantly wandering from one part of the country to another to attend bathing fairs and visit places of pilgrimage. Secondly, the unpopular

* Havell, in 1805, found an Aghar at Benares seated in a stone raised high above the burning ghat, 'Annie had no wish to see this; she would raise the hand that contains here its evil reputation, but this black-robed ascetic, who is shown in the photograph studying a sacred book, proved to be quite ineffective. He bestowed his blessing upon the pious tourist, but contemnously refused to accept a present.' (Benares, The Sacred City, 119.)
marvellous tales are told, and from whom some of the yogi Orders trace their origin.*

4. The sect in modern times.—There are numerous accounts of the disgusting practices of these ascetics in modern times. M. Thévenot, whose Travels were republished in London in 1657, alludes to what he saw on a journey through the province of Agorí cannibals, who during his time were established at a place which he calls 'Debeca,' in the Broach district of the Bombay Presidency; but his statements must be received with caution. Ward (View of the Hindoos (1816) it is related, among other ascetics, the 'Ughorí-pathunee.'

*These mendicants, born in the western parts of Hindoostan, wander about from place to place, and from whom some of the yogi Orders trace their origin. (Travels of the Hindoos 1687.)

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regard of the ordinary needs of life shown by these two sects is very different from the abominable practices ... in a state of drunken excitement, which was supposed to proceed from inspiration (Account of the Kingdom of Nepal, iii. 35).

11. India, of purpose eater, a and in the case, which becomes temporarily ceased for relatives, wife, and children; and on being angered by any of them they would not hesitate to commit murder. In parts of Melanesia, according to Cordrington, Micronesia, and Polynesia, in and this way people obtain the power of becoming vampires, the ghost of the corpse which was eaten entering into friendly relations with the corpse and in many cases besides procuring the power of acquiring power (Fawcett, Bulletin of the Madras Museum, ii. 311). Belief of this kind may have been the real origin of the practice, and the explanation which the Aghori give, that drinking in this way procures power and makes all things equal and all immaterial, may be a recent development.

8. Use of human skulls as cups and vessels.—The same motive possibly accounts for the use of the human calcutaria for purposes of eating and drinking. In many places the skull is believed to possess special magical qualities. Thus, among the Wadou of E. Africa, at the appointment of a chief, a stranger is killed, and the skull of the victim is used as a drinking-cup at the inauguration rite (Mas, iii. 61). The new chief of the Baganda drinks out of the skull of his predecessor, whose ghost thus enters into him (JAI xxxii. 45). In the same way the Zulus make the skull of a noted enemy into a bowl for holding the 'charming-medicine' with which the war-doctor sprinkles the soldiers before a campaign (WA, xix. 256).

Similarly, in the Indian Himalayas, the skulls of some women killed in a snowstorm were made into drums for summoning devils (Waddell, Among the Himalayas, 401). In these and in many other instances of the practice described by Balfour (JAI xxvi. 347 ff.), it is clear that the skull has been carefully selected as that of some eminent or notorious person, or of one whose death has occurred under tragic circumstances. The custom of the Aghori, if it originated in this way, appears, therefore, in a debased form, for they do not seem to exercise any special care in selecting the skulls which they use. Several bowls of this kind, procured in India, Assanti, Australia, China, Tibet, and the lower Himalayas, have been figured and described by Balfour (JAI xxvi. 347 ff.), who gives a picture of one used in Tibetan devil-worship, as well as a drawing of a modern Tibetan hermit, an exact representation of the Aghori, drinking out of such a bowl (Lhasa and its Mysteries, 220, 238, 243, 370). In fact, Tibet, with its remarkable colony of immured hermits described by Waddell (op. cit. 237 ff.), appears to exhibit more closely than even modern India the course of austerity practised by the early Hindu ascetics. The fact, comfortable appearance of the modern yogi or sannyasi proves that austerity is not a part of his way of life.

This habit of using skulls as drinking-cups shows itself even in Europe. It was a custom of the old German nobility (24) tells the same tale of the Celts. Paula Diocles (Hist. Langob. ii. 56 in Gunnemers, Germ. Orig. 129) tells how Alboin's predecessor, at the feast which he held for his eminent person, brought forth a cup made of the skull of his father. It is still a common belief that epilepsy may be cured by drinking out of a cup made from the skull of a suicides (Folk-Lore, vii. 376, xiv. 270; Ritchell, The Past in the Present, 154; Rogers, Social Life in Scotland, iii. 256). The powder made from human skulls, and even the moss growing on them, are valued as a styptic in cases of hemorrhage (Black, Folk Medicine, 99).

9. Punishment of Aghori.—There are numerous cases of members of the sects so convicted in modern times by Indian courts of law, on charges of outraging and eating human corpses. In 1860 the Sessions Judge of Gházipur in the United Provinces convicted and sentenced an Aghori to one year's rigorous imprisonment, under sections 270-287 of the Indian Penal Code, on a charge of dragging a corpse along a road. A similar case, in which cannibalism was proved, occurred at Rohtak in the Panjab in 1882, and in Dehri Dún of the United Provinces in 1884. In 1854 two Europeans de- tected an Aghori man in the Ganges. Several skulls, one of which had been recently severed from the trunk, were found
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impealed on bamboo posts round his hermitage (PASB iii. 290 f., 300 ff.).

10. Initiation rite of the Aghori.—Ascentic Orders usually guard as secret the methods of initiation and the formula which is whispered in the ear of the neophyte. Hence the accounts of the initiation rites of the Aghori are, from their general unpopularity, to be received with some degree of caution. According to one, and that perhaps the most authoritative account, the guru, or head of the Order, blows a conch-shell accompanied by rude music, performed by a hired band. He then micturates into a human skull and pours the contents over the head of the candidate, whose hair is then shaved by a barber. The neophyte next drinks some spirits and eats food which has been collected as alms from the lowest castes, and assumes the ochre-coloured, scanty waist-cloth, and the stick of the ascetic. During the rite the guru whispers mystical formulas (mantras) into the ear of his disciple. In some cases it is reported that eating human flesh is part of the rite, and two necklaces, one made of the tusks of the wild boar and the other of the vertebrae of the cobra, are placed round the neck of the disciple (PASB iii. 241 f.). According to another account, five glass beads, suspended in which a bell, necklaces, and flowers are placed upon the altar. A piece of cloth is tied over the eyes of the neophyte; he is then led before two gurus, who light a lamp; the cup of initiation is served to all present. The beads are one of the rite, and a glass of hemp liquor (bhang) and spirits are placed. Those who wish to retain their caste drink only the hemp; those who solicit complete initiation drink both the hemp and spirits. A sacrifice of fruits is then made on the holy fire, which has continued lighted since the days of Kinna Ram, and an animal, usually a goat, is sacrificed. It is believed that the victim often comes to life, and that the cups on the tombstone miraculously raise themselves with the lips of the candidates for admission into the Order. The rite ends with the shaving of the head of the neophyte, the hair being previously moistened with urine, and a feast is given to the assembled brethren. Full admission to the Order is said to be granted only after a probation lasting two years.

11. Dress and appearance.—The Aghori, of whom photographs were collected by Leith for the Anthropological Society of Bombay, is represented as covered with ashes taken from a funeral pyre. He seems to wear frontal marks denoting the unity of the deities Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. He wears the rosary of Rudraksha beads made of the seeds of the tree Elaeocarpus ganitrus, a necklace made of the bones of a snake, and the tasks of a wild boar and a skull that he has procured for admission into the Order. Some members of the Order are said to wear necklaces made of human teeth (PASB iii. 348 ff.).

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities have been quoted in the course of this article. The most complete accounts of the sect are those of H. Balfour, 'The Life History of an Anglo- Indian Fakir,'_J. of the Royal Asiatic Soc._ 300 ff.; H. W. Balfour, _Aghoris and Aghorapanthis_, from the MS collections of E. T. Leith, _PASB_ iii. (1893) 307 ff.; _Crime, Tragedy and Caution of the W. Province_ (1896), 306 ff.

W. CROOKE.

AGITATION.—1. The methods of the agitator are usually considered to be a modern phenomenon, and although this is not an entirely accurate view of the case, it is at least so far true that the conditions of social life have recently become such as to bring his labours into startling prominence. It is possible to trace the rudiments of this device far back into the past, since the ringer of the tocsin bell, the lighter of the beacon-fire, and the bearer of the flaming torch may fairly be regarded as forerunners of a Mazzini or a Shaftesbury. But there is a pregnant distinction. The message of the tocsin bell in medieval Florence was an urgency one, but it was single, definite, and predetermined, announcing a bare fact, but conveying no new idea. A developed agitation, on the contrary, depends almost entirely on popularizing a new thought; it applies fresh moral judgment to problems which may have been familiar enough. The present writer has elsewhere described this instrument of collective action as an attempt to act meditatively on social abuses by acting directly on a social conscience' (History of Eng. Philanthropy, p. 172). Even in this, its developed form, agitation can be discovered in so-called ancient as well as in modern history. Whether judged by its results or by the splendid vigour of its onset, no greater agitation has been witnessed than the reconstructions of Western society by the enthusiastic promulgation of the Christian faith. Nor is any more instructive description of the effect of the agitator's art to be found than 'These that have turned the world upside down are also he.'

Nevertheless, agitation is characteristically modern. There is not much opportunity for its successful use, unless a public opinion exists to which its appeal can be directed. Public opinion itself has itself been shaped for many centuries, but it continually gains in power and effectiveness. In the more definite form of what Professor Dicey calls 'law-making public opinion' it is not yet evolved except in the more progressive nations. The formation of an opinion, of which public sense has been referred to the era of the first printing-presses, and its mature growth to that of the periodical press (Tarde, _L'Opinion et la Foule_, pp. 7-9). This is also the period of democracy, and it is precisely in democratic societies that agitation is found to be a potent and familiar weapon. We have to appraise its ethical value. If we are to do this with any precision, we shall be compelled to limit the range of the discussion, and to treat not as for the whole group. The present article, then, is immediately germane to agitation as an instrument of the humanitarian spirit, and may require some modification in details before being applied to purely political movements, as for the franchise, or class struggles, as of Trade Unions.

2. The most obstinate labour of public life is to make institutions (e.g. laws or customs) match with the ethical ideal. The agitator's function is to facilitate the task. Accordingly, any good agitation should possess the following characteristics. (1) It is the antithesis of quietism, for it is necessarily based on the conviction that objects of social concern are the proper concern of the individual also; it denies the distinction between public and private lives, and the right or wrong of each to share in the life of all. It is directed to the removal of abuses; but, so far from being caused directly by the existence of a wrong, it springs from the perception of the evil. Successful agitation is, therefore, an index of moral sensitivity.

Men treated animals with cruelty long before the Kindness to Animals campaign began (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, A.D. 1824). (2) Agitation is a leading method of popularizing higher moral standards. In the instance just referred to, the matter of judgment was simple enough. Frequently, however, the full significance of the end to be pursued is discovered only in the course of the agitation itself. This was notably the case with Prison Reform and
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Factory Legislation, so that what was at first a good to be reached becomes repeatedly the starting-point for fresh effort. (3) Agitation appeals to the unselfish impulses and strengthens the social imagination. Most of us live largely in a world of personal aims purified and enriched only by community for the aims of a few neighbours. Into this false and narrow (not necessarily poor) sympathies strikes the impetus of a larger claim. It may be a Dreyfus affair, the appeal for justice to one; or Emancipation, the appeal of the enslaved Negro race; or the ideal of Italian unity. In either instance the individuals are drawn into the larger realm of public sympathy. (4) Agitation is a means of social peace. This is in the nature of paradox, because the first result is always controversy and strife. But even in the turmoil something is gained when social imagination is stirred. Through the effort to remove particular wrong there emerges forefeeling of and admiration for the ideal human society in which remediable wrongs will be remedied. Opposition to the bad is one form of loyalty to the good, and therefore the conflict prepares the type of mind fit for the better life of social peace.

3. So far we have rather ignored the foibles, prejudices, and inconsistencies of actual men. No agitation proceeds with much sweet reason, and there is no method in strong zeal which accredits our native quarrelsomeness. In other words, agitation is not a perfect instrument in the hands of imperfect men. Agitators even for worthwhile ends are not immune from bitter envying and strife in their hearts. Of course, there are drawbacks, but the only question which need now detain us is whether they are of such a kind as to discredit the use of a powerful instrument of ethical gain. Two serious criticisms are added, neither of which can be entirely rebutted. (1) Agitation is rooted in exaggeration, and appeals to an unhealthy sensationalism. Thus the higher powers of the intelligence are swamped under orgiastic emotion. This is the danger of all enthusiasm. It would be more serious enough if Le Bon’s indictment of the crowd could be removed by education. Agitation can do no more than cajole, and when it does appeal to half-instructed emotions with indiscernible results. Yet such an appeal may very well lead to right conduct, and even to truer thought. For in respect of the disinterested responsive public it must be noted that (a) it is set to ponder larger issues, and the thinking (or feeling) becomes more inclusive; (c) the thought may not be very clear, but were its sympathies not warmly engaged, it would hardly think at all on great affairs of ethical concern. (2) Popular movements, as it is objected, are liable to be vitiated by the ignorance of those to whom appeal is made. Agitation which is effective as a stimulant is apt for instruction; it is certainly no method for producing philosophers. This fact is serious chiefly as it affects the results of agitation. Something is accomplished, but the whole thought is rarely worked out before the fervour begins to fade. Agitation can achieve more in the field of criticism than in that of construction, or, with a few exceptions, can be the only instrument of reform. But it has its function. A final judgment as to its precise worth will depend on the value attached to ‘correct thinking’ and ‘the good will’ respectively. The difficulty of improving and perfecting this instrument is a part of the general problem of how to maximize the genuine and good will in the same persons at the same time and for a single ideal end.


B. KIRKMAN GRAY.

AGNOSTICISM.—A term coined by Professor J. F. Ferrier in his Institutes of Metaphysic (1854), to denote the Theory of Ignorance in contrast to Epistemology (q.v.), also a term apparently coined by him (p. 49) to denote the Theory of Knowing. The conception of Agnosticism, as well as the word, was originated by Ferrier (pp. 50-51, 406, 435). Agnosticism is intended to meet the plea which Ontology is often balled, that Absolute Being—that which truly is—may be something of which we are ignorant (pp. 50, 406-408). This plea is met by showing that ignorance is an intellectual defect, and must, therefore, admit of a possible remedy. Consequently we cannot be ignorant of anything which cannot possibly be known. We cannot, for example, be ignorant of two straight lines enclosing a right angle, because we may be ignorant of the things which we are supposed to know. For example, it is a true thing that there is, is that, an object which is not related to any conscious intelligence, contradicts the very nature of knowledge. It is something which we cannot possibly know, and therefore cannot be ignorant of. Accordingly the conclusion of Agnosticism is that the only object of which we can be ignorant is, like the real object of all knowledge, not what is commonly spoken of as an object in contradistinction from a subject, but that object in relation to an intelligent subject by whom it is known. Thus matter and mind, some object plus some subject, is the complete object of all ignorance as well as of all knowledge (p. 432). From this the ontological inference is that, as Absolute existence must be either that which we know or that of which we are ignorant, it can never be an object by itself or a subject by itself, but must always be a synthesis of the two (pp. 511-521).

The Agnosticism of Ferrier is thus by anticipation a critique of the system which soon afterwards came to be known as Agnosticism (q.v.). Ferrier’s work appears in the form of a systematic exposition of Agnosticism in his First Principles, and double that period before Huxley gave the system its unclassical name. Yet neither of these writers has attempted to grapple with Ferrier’s critique, and in the vast literature of Agnosticism the critique has failed to receive the recognition which it certainly deserves. There is, therefore, no work to be consulted for Agnosticism besides the Institutes of Metaphysics. The above references are to the pages of the 3rd edition.

J. CLARE MURRAY.

AGNOSTICISM.—1. Meaning.—The origin of the term is described by Huxley as follows:—

* When I reached intellectual maturity, and began to ask myself whether I was an atheist, a theist, or a pantheist; a materialist or an idealist; a Christian or a freethinker, I found that the more I learned and reflected, the less ready was the answer: until at last I came to realize that I was neither art nor part with any of these denominations, except the last. The one thing in which most of these good people were agreed was the one thing in which I differed. They were quite sure they had attained a certain "gnosis"—had arrived at mere or less at a "clear thinking", even while I was quite sure I had not, and had a pretty strong conviction that the problem was insoluble. And, with Hume and Kant always on my side, I could not think of my holding fast by that opinion. This was my situation when I had the good fortune to find a place among the members of that remarkable confraternity of antagonists, long since deceased, of both of which and pious memory, the Metaphysical Society. Every variety of philosophical and theological opinion
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was represented there, and expressed itself with entire open-
ness; most of my colleagues were -ists and expressed itself with entire open-
ness; most of my colleagues were -ists and expressed itself with entire open-
ness; most of my colleagues were ... expression of
external existence, if rested on natural instinct, is
contrary to reason, and, if referred to reason, is

These accounts demand a few brief comments.
The inscription on the altar was 'the unknown', not 'the unknowable God'. The term 'agnostic' is said to be

guisically incorrect. The 'Gnostics of Church History' were so called in contempt because they
opposed their extraneous speculations to the his-
torical testimony of the Church; and in opposing Agnostic
knowledge of God claimed by Christian theism, Huxley suggests that it is an

equally baseless fabric. There was no necessity for the introduction of the new term, as the familiar term 'scepticism' is almost synonymous with it,

although Agnosticism restricts its domain to a nar-
rower sphere; not the possibility of all knowledge is denied, but only the possibility of any
knowledge of ultimate reality. This restriction the term does not, however, indicate; nor has Huxley
proved his right to impose on the term this arbi-
tary restriction. The frequency also of the ac-
count must produce a painful impression.

It is as a refuge from the dread of Materialism that Huxley offers us this doubt of Agnosticism.

For what, after all,' he asks, 'do we know of this terrible
"matter," except as a name for the unknown and hypotheti-
cal cause of states of our own consciousness? And what do we know of that "spirit" over whose Thế
extension its doubt is made to narrow? A great lamentation is arising . . . except that it also is a name for unknown and hypothetical cause of states of consciousness? And what is the dire necessity and
"iron" law under which men groan? Truly, most gratuitously induced ... Fact I know, and Law I know
what is this necessity save an empty shadow of my own mind's throwing—something illegitimately thrust into the perfectly legitimate concept of law?

Refusing to attempt any solution of the problem of ultimate reality, he very confidently declares
the terms in which the immediate reality is to be inter-
preted.

'It is in itself of little moment whether we express the phenomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phenomena of spirit in terms of matter—each statement has a certain relative truth. But with a view to the progress of science, the material-
ist terminology is in every way to be preferred. For it con-

connects with the other phenomena of the universe, whereas the alternative, or spiritualistic, terminology is utterly barren of significance. They are Kantian and confused in
'the idea.' Thus there can be little doubt that the further science advances, the more extensively and consistently will all the phenomena of sense be represented by materialistic formula and symbols' (Collected Essays, i. p. 160 f.).

In the supposed interests of science he is prepared
to sacrifice the real interests of morality and

reflected, although in determining the mode of ex-
plaining the world these supreme interests of the
life of man have surely a prior right to be taken into consideration. Not only so, but he assumes
that from the standpoint of 'spirit', science will not be able to release philosophy from its no
interest in traversing the conclusions of science in

its own sphere—the explanation of phenomena. It is only when science attempts to be a philosophy of ultimate reality as well, that it comes into neces-
sary conflict with a spiritualistic interpretation of

the Universe. If all the phenomena of the Uni-
verse are known only as they exist for thought, it is
not necessary to connect thought with these
phenomena by reducing it to them, for there
must ever be the essential connexion between them
and the subject which knows and the objects which
are known. Thought is not an alien in the Universe to be made at home only by a

proof of its kinship with the material phenomena it
knows. Nay, rather it alone holds the secret of
relationship among all these phenomena; for

Huxley is entirely without waver in his assump-
tion that a complete and adequate and consistent
account of the Universe, even as phenomenal, can
be given in the materialistic terminology. Life and Mind alike cannot be resolved into matter
and force. This line of criticism belongs to the
article on MATERIALISM; but it was necessary to
indicate it so far in order to show on what un-
proved assumptions Huxley's agnosticism rests.
The materialistic explanation, even he recognizes,
cannot be accepted as a solution of the problem of
ultimate reality. It is because he refuses to treat
as seriously as it deserves, on account of its own
sufficiency as well as for the interests it pro-

tects (morality, religion, etc.), the spiritualistic
explanation, which does offer the further claim of
being irrefragable does not.

Whether the demonstration is

irrefragable as Huxley thinks, we may inquire. Hume reduces all the contents of consciousness to

perceptions, and divides perceptions into 'im-
pressions' and 'ideas'. The former include 'all
our sensations, passions, and emotions' which are
given us with a peculiar 'force and liveliness' by

which we distinguish them from the latter, which
are but faint copies. In thinking, we connect our impressions according to the ingenious concep-
tions as causality and substance and sub-
ject. These cannot be derived from our sensa-
tions, the ultimate and exclusive source of know-
ledge. How does Hume account for these con-
ceptions? He derives all such concepts from cus-
tom. 'Because we are accustomed to see that
one thing follows another in time, we conceive the
idea that it must follow, and from it; of a relation
of succession we make a relation of causality' (Schwegler's Hist. of Philos. p. 182). That any

such connexion necessarily exists we have no
right to affirm. 'All events,' Hume says, 'seem
entirely loose and separate. One event follows
another, but we can never observe any tie between
them. They are not connected, but never disconnected.' (Works, etc., i. p. 84). 'Not connected,' he
says elsewhere, 'is something that exists in the
mind, not in objects' (i. p. 212). Without

attempting to offer an ultimate reason for this
custom, he recognizes it as a universal principle of
human nature. Substance is explained in a similar
way. 'The idea of a substance as well as that of

a mode, is nothing but a collection of simple ideas,
that are united by the imagination, and have a

particular name assigned to them, by which we

are able to regard philosophy as distinct from

that collection' (i. 31, 32). A consequence of
this definition of substance is the denial of the

reality of the external world. 'The opinion of

external existence, if rested on natural instinct, is

contrary to reason, and, if referred to reason,
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contrary to natural instinct, and carries no natural evidence with it to convince an impartial inquirer' (iv. 177). The subject fares no better. 'What we call a mind,' he says, 'is nothing but a heap or collection of different perceptions, united together by certain relations, and supposed, though falsely, to be endowed with perfect simplicity and identity (i. 260).

Skepticism could not offer any solid basis for a rational theism. While Hume expressed his satisfaction that 'our most holy religion is founded on Faith, not on Reason,' and personally professed belief in the efficacy of his creation only; 'History and Religion' he sought to trace back the origin of belief in God to ignorance and superstitious fears; and in his Dialogues concerning Natural Religion there can be little doubt he endeavoured to throw discredit on the heathen evidences. This apparent inconsistency may be explained by the fact that his own theistic position, in spite of his philosophical principles and the conclusions which he so frankly and boldly drew from them, was not absolute, but mitigated; for he recognized, in practice, the 'the natural instinct' as lending sanction to common beliefs, for which no rational proof could be given.

Kant.—Although Kant set himself the task of answering Hume, yet his answer was so incompleteness claimed Kant, as well as Hume, on his side. Opposed to Hume's theistic in regard to the forms of sense and the categories of the understanding, Kant himself becomes scepical as regards the ideas of reason.

He conclusively showed that knowledge could not be reduced to sensations, and that reason implied in all its operations necessary conditions as well as contingent impres- sions. He essentially disposes of the scepticism of Hume by proving its dependence on an inadequate and erroneous psychology. But when he proceeded to argue that the categorical principles involved in knowledge have to do only with phenomena or states of conscious experience, but are wholly incapable of placing us face to face with things; that they have a merely subjective and relative value, but give us no information as to external reality; that, while useful in con- structing and unifying our perceptions, they in no degree justify our affirming that there is anything corresponding to these perceptions,—then he virtually vindicated his own work, and become the logical successor of Hume. (Flint, Agnosticism, p. 141).

Into the details of Kant's criticism of Hume's scepticism it is unnecessary to enter (see KANT). Suffice it to say that Kant has shown once and for all that the connective principles, by which the contents of consciousness are united, are necessary and unchangeable, and if not invariable, no movements of thought can be considered as a possible subject of knowledge. The possibility of consciousness depends on them; they are not casual results of, but necessary conditions for, any experience. Nevertheless he distinguishes the 'thing-in-itself' from the thing as it is for our knowledge; and thus the necessary constitution of the mind makes a knowledge of the reality as it is impossible. This appears most prominently in Kant's treatment of the ideas of the reason. 'The mind from the very nature of its intellectual constitution necessarily assumes the unity of the soul, the existence of the universe (the totality of phenomena), and the reality of a First Cause' (ii. p. 163), and nevertheless the ideas are only regulative, and not constitutive. By them we can give the rational unity to our experience which is the aim of all thinking; but we are not at liberty to regard these ideas as clues to reality, or as proofs of the existence of a world outside of, or God. Kant's criticism of the rational theology of the age (the cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments) will be duly taken account of in the treatment of Theism. Here it need not further concern us. It is true that in his Critique of the Practical Reason he restores the ideas of God, freedom and immortality, as postu- lates of the moral consciousness; yet his conception of reason as theoretical is in its final issue sceptical. German idealism laid hold on the anti- sceptical aspect of the Kantian philosophy; but in more recent Neo-Kantian movements the sceptical aspects have again come to the front. Against Kant's position it may be urged that the reason which, by its very constitution, is debarred from knowing reality as it is, and which in its final unifying exercise is necessarily illusionistic, is so grotesque a conception, that so great a thinker can be excused for not accepting it. Yet Kant, as a pioneer in new ways of thinking, he could not himself realize whether he was allowing himself by his tortuous reasoning to be led. The division of the mind into sense, understanding, reason, is an un- real abstraction; the separation of the pure from the practical reason is opposed to more recent developments of psychology, which recognize the control of the cognitive by the conative aspect of personality. If mind be a unity, the illusioneness of the ideas of the pure reason would attach to the theoretical reason, and the categories of understanding and forms of sense must fall under the same condemnation. What the Hegelian Logico does is to develop the most concrete conceptions out of the simplest, and to identify the mental processes with the connection of the Universe—some interpreters would say 'the expectation of God Himself. If here 'vaulting ambition doth o'erleap itself,' yet, with greater modesty, it may be claimed that experience itself warrants the assumption that in the process of thinking the mind does penetrate more deeply into the reality of things; for the system of nature which science builds is not contradicted, but confirmed, by the course of nature itself. That the world is one and the self one is an assumption that is ever finding verification in experience. Not only is the self one as the subject of consciousness, but it is one as a character which is being formed, as a personality which is being developed. If this be so, then the practical as well as the theoretical need of a final unification of the world and life in the conception of God, fully justifies the assumption of God's existence. What makes reality as we know it most intelligible cannot, without an absolute scep- ticism, such as the positive element of Kant's analysis forbid, be denied reality. Kant should have been more in concord with the Hegelian.
and developed the sceptical elements in his system. While the Divine nature cannot be known, the Divine existence may be believed, as our moral nature and the Scriptures testify. We can believe that God is, without knowing what He is. He goes so far as to affirm that to think that God as we can think Him to be is blasphemy. The last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar ἀγαθῶς τεῷ. To the unknown and unknowable God. That there is no warrant for such an application of the inscription on the altar at Athens has already been shown. The endeavours to think what God is is blasphemy, then not only all theology but even all religion must be convicted of it. The recognition in all humility and sincerity that God cannot be perfectly known by the imperfect mind of man is characteristic of all genuine piety; but that does not involve the admission, which is something altogether different, that God cannot be known at all. Hamilton must turn elsewhere than to religion, and theology as its interpreter, for a justification of his sweeping statement. From his own philosophy he draws the following arguments:

(1) As all knowledge is relative in two senses, all objects being related to one another, and also relatively true or false in view of the subject as absolute, out of all relations, cannot be known. But to think God as absolute is not to think of Him as out of all relations, but as Himself constituting all His relations; and His relation as object to the things as subject is necessarily only that in which He, as He really is, is concealed and not revealed; for, as Creator, it is more likely He would make mankind capable of knowing Him. As has already been insisted on in criticising Kant, the reality of a subject true or false is necessarily only a distorting and obscuring element added to it when it is known; but even from the data of sense the thinking mind can construct the object as it is. The phenomenal as perceived is completed in the noumenal as conceived, and in the latter reality is known as it is, which is not the case in the former.

(2) As the only possible object of knowledge and positive thought is the conditioned and the limited, the Infinite as the unconditionally unlimited, and the Absolute as the unrestricted limited cannot by any positive thought. But is there any justification for so defining the Infinite and Absolute, and still more for identifying such verbal abstractions with the conception of God? God has a definite nature, distinct attributes, characteristic of Him, to think of the Infinite and the Absolute at all. His infinitude and absoluteness mean self-limitation and self-conditioning. Since for our knowledge and our thought all existence, save God, is conditioned and limited by other existence, the mind cannot find rest until it conceives such self-limitation and self-determination. It may be said that the mind not only can but must think the Infinite and Absolute, that is, God. (3) As has already been indicated, the Infinite and Absolute next defined as the absolute, or a mere 'negation of thought'; but as the necessity and legitimacy of so defining these terms have been challenged, his conclusion that God as Infinite and Absolute cannot be known or thought fails to the ground. Both are positive conceptions, and both are necessary to complete our positive thinking about the world as conditioned and limited. As correlative conceptions, finite and infinite, relative and absolute, may claim to be equally known and mutually illuminative. (4) He concedes that absurdity by reason we may not know God, yet we believe that God is an authority, which yields us 'the original data of reason.' This faith rests on 'a mental impotency.' To state his amazing argument in his own words: 'The conditioned is the mean between two extremes—two inconditionates exclusive of each other, neither of which can be conceived as possible, but of which, on the principle of contradiction, and excluded middle, one must be admitted as necessary. We are thus warned from recognizing the domain of our knowledge absolutely continuous with the horizon of our faith. And by a wonderful revelation we are thus, in the very consciousness of our inability to conceive anything above the relative and the finite, inspired with a belief in the existence of something above the sphere of all conceivable sensible reality ('Discussions, p. 15). It has already been shown that the Infinite and Absolute are not inconditionates; but if they were, how can positive thought be the mean of notions that are a mere negation of thought? How to these can there be applied any of the laws of thought? If we cannot define these notions, how can we affirm that they contradict or exclude one another? Or, in fact, how can we base any sort of argument on the unknowable and unthinkable? One cannot feel that most of this argument is merely verbal jugglery.

6. Mansel.—Nevertheless, Hamilton found a follower in Mansel, who adopted his philosophy for an avowed Christian purpose. He believed that he could best cut the ground from under the feet of any objectors to the Christian revelation, by showing that in these matters human reason was quite incapable of offering an opinion; and necessarily only negative. He, as He really is, is concealed and not revealed; for, as Creator, it is more likely He would make mankind capable of knowing Him. As has already been insisted on in criticising Kant, the reality of a subject true or false is necessarily only a distorting and obscuring element added to it when it is known; but even from the data of sense the thinking mind can construct the object as it is. The phenomenal as perceived is completed in the noumenal as conceived, and in the latter reality is known as it is, which is not the case in the former.

(1) The first argument Mansel advances is that reason is not entitled to criticise the contents of revealed religion unless it can prove itself capable of conceiving the nature of God, that is, of constructing a philosophy of the Infinite and the Absolute. This is an extravagant demand. The moral insight and spiritual discernment which qualify a man to judge of a doctrine, whether it be of God or not, are very much more general and simple than the speculative capacity, not to say infallibility, which can arise to cut the ground out under the feet of any objectors to the Christian revelation. (2) Having made this demand, he seeks in his second argument to prove that neither psychologically—from a study of the mental faculties of man—or metaphysically—from the knowledge in us of God—all can be met. This second argument loses its validity with the disproof of the first. Both by looking within and by turning without can man get such glimpses of God as make real religion possible; and he need not, therefore, concern himself about the question whether he can or cannot construct a philosophy of the Infinite and Absolute.

(3) Having demanded a philosophy of the Infinite and Absolute, and demonstrated its impossibility, Mansel next defined as to the number and arrangements of the Infinite and Absolute, and seeks to show how contradictory they are. How can human thought distinguish in the Absolute, as one and simple, a plurality of attributes? If the Infinite is free of all possible limitations, how can it coexist with the finite? The conception of God as First Cause, as involving the limitation of its effect, is irreconcilable with the conception of the Infinite. But all this playing with words fails to mislead, if we look steadily at realities and keep our eyes off abstractions. If we define, as we must and should, the Infinite and Absolute as the fullness of being, life, mind, power, which is distinguished from relative and finite existence in that it is self-conditioned and self-limited, not determined either positively
or negatively by that which is not itself, this whole
structure falls to the ground. (4) Having prejudged the
question by this definition of the conceivable, Spencer
proceeds to deal with the capacity of knowing Him is no
limitation of God's Infinitude. As the Absolute, God is
without relations, but only as related to Him do
all things exist, consist, persist. Man's consciousness
of space and time implies the correlative conceptions of
eternity and immensity. This argument, further, is inconsistent with the claim that
man may and should believe that God is, even although he cannot know what God is, as belief
is a state of consciousness, even as knowledge is.
(5) Having denied, to state briefly, the validity of
conclusions, the moral likeness between God and
man, and therefore the possibility of man's judging
by reason or conscience what claimed to be the
revealed mind and will of God; he admitted the
possibility of moral as of physical miracle, that is,
the violation of the laws of nature. (6) In order to
rest the claim of the Scriptures to be accepted entirely
on external evidence; he thus sought to
prove the orthodoxy of his time from attack by
a moral and religious scepticism, which, if taken
seriously, would be fatal alike to goodness and
godliness.

7. Herbert Spencer.—Herbert Spencer attaches
himself in some of his arguments to Hamilton and
Mansel; but his interest is altogether different
from theirs. He is not seeking to protect revealed
religion against attack from philosophy, but to
vindicate the materialistic method of modern science
as the only valid method of interpreting the
Universe. His motive is not, however, irreligious, as
his desire is to reconcile religion and science, and
he is confident that he knows a true to the
age-long conflict. As the most influential of
the exponents of Agnosticism, he claims a fuller treat-
ment and closer criticism than any of the writers
already mentioned. Following step by step his
disciples, we must consider the following questions:

(1) Does he correctly indicate the relation of science
and religion, so as to be warranted in his assump-
tion of the conception which alone can reconcile
them? (2) Does the inconceivability of the ulte-
rate religious and scientific ideas lie in their
very nature, or only in his statement of them? (3)
Is his use of the doctrine of the relativity of
knowledge valid, and does it strengthen his con-
clusion? (4) Does this reconciliation of science and religion do justice to
religion?

(1) In the first chapter Spencer argues that
science and religion are co-ordinate, the sphere of
the former being what is known, and of the latter
that which, though in consciousness, yet transcends
knowledge; that each must 'recognize the claims of
the other as standing for truths that cannot be
ignored'; and that a reconciliation can be effected
only by the discovery that what is the ultimate
factor of the first principle of which, is common to
both. It is in the most abstract truth of religion
and the most abstract truth of science that,
bears, the two coalesce. His claim that science
occupies the whole realm of the knowable, so that
for religion is left only the region of the unknow-
able, must at once be challenged. For the self-
conscious personality the categories of science—
force, matter, law—are not adequate; and within
the realm of the knowable even categories—life,
mind, will—must be employed to which physical
science does not do justice. Religion contrib-
utes a conception, God, to the interpretation of
the knowable, which cannot be got rid of by this
arbitrary division of the province of science and
religion. Not a truth common to science and
religion is what we have to look for, still less the
most abstract truth; but, on the contrary, the
abstract categories of science must be supplemented
by the much more concrete categories of
philosophy, morality, and religion. It is the
same reality which science explains and religion
interprets; but the explanation of science is com-
pleted in the interpretation of religion. Matter,
force, law are less intelligible conceptions than
mind, will, personality, God; for the self-conscious
spirit of man finds itself in the latter as it cannot
in the former. To confine knowledge to objects of
sense and such connexions between them as the
understanding, with its categories of quantity,
quality, relation, and the laws of thought attach
to, and to exclude from knowledge the
larger and loftier conceptions of a teleology of
nature, of a personality in man, and, above all,
of the all-embracing, all-sustaining, all-directing,
and all-illuminating reality, God, is an
arbitrary proceeding. It has already been criticised
in dealing with Kant's scepticism regarding the
ideas of the pure reason. To deny all value to
the knowledge religion claims is necessarily
to challenge the validity of the knowledge allowed
to science.

(2) Spencer's proof in the second chapter, that
science must end in nescience, and religion must be
content with awe of the Unknowable, is as follows:

(a) Conceptions are symbolic, when their whole
content cannot at once be represented to the
mind. These are legitimate, if we can assure
ourselves 'by some cumulative or indirect process
of thought, or by the fulfilment of predictions
based on them,' that there are actualities corre-
sponding to consciousness. Otherwise they have to be
condemned as vicious and illusory, and cannot be
attained from pure fictions. Here, it is
evident, he tries to limit conception to represen-
tation (Forschung), and to exclude the idea or notion
(Deutung). But regarding this restriction, which
is really his first and only principle, all the
great thinkers have not denied because it never
occurred to them that it could be made, there are
some questions which may reasonably be asked.
Is man's thought to be limited to what he can
imagine to himself? Having started from sense-
objects, is that alone knowledge for him which can be
referred to sense-objects? Or, beginning with
these, has he not the right, nay, does it not rest on
him as a necessity of his mind, to bring into
reality all that is implied in this rudimentary knowledge, whether the
attained have corresponding images or not? Does
not his own inner life furnish him with spiritual
conceptions, which, although they have no corre-
sponding sensible actualities, are not only bound
up with his most real and permanent personal
interests, but even make more intelligible to him
the world of sense around him, and help him to
discover its meaning, worth, and aim? As Kant
has surely conclusively shown, the mind has its
own objects, which, unknown from and inexplicable by experience, are yet necessary
to experience. If knowledge were as Spencer re-
stricts it, the conditions of its possibility would
be excluded from it.

(b) Having prejudged the question by this defini-
tion of the conceivable, Spencer proceeds to deal
with the ultimate religions conceptions concerning the origin and the nature of the Universe, and maintains that 'a critical examination will prove not only that no current hypothesis is tenable, but also that no tenable hypothesis can be framed' (p. 30). The Atheistic hypothesis of a self-existent Universe is the only conceivable hypothesis of mystery by another; so is the Pantheistic, for 'really to conceive self-existence is to conceive potential existence passing into actual existence by some inherent necessity, which we cannot do.' And theism, Theistic hypothesis with human art is properly set aside, as this does not produce its own materials. 'The production of matter out of nothing is the mystery.' Granted an 'external agency,' that must be accounted for; and we must assume 'self-existence,' and that is 'rigorously inconceivable.'

This statement calls for several comments. First, it is altogether illegitimate to identify the ultimate religious conceptions with theories of the origin of the Universe; for these theories hold an altogether secondary place in religion, and religion possesses an inward witness of kinship and fellowship with God which is quite independent of them. Secondly, Spencer calls the theistic solution is rather the delict, for without necessity; and the solution of Christ isn't that certain hypothesis combines the thesis of pantheism (immanence) and the antithesis of deism (transcendence) in the synthesis of a conception of unity-in-difference, which certainly does not conform to Spencer's arbitrary rule of conciliation, for which many clear views of the type of theism, is not required to conceive the production of matter out of nothing, as it is not committed to the existence of a personal, absolute dualism of mind and matter, but can conceive the possibility of matter as in God as Spirit. Lastly, that 'self-existence is rigorously inconceivable' is an unwarranted assertion, as dependent existence inevitably leads thought to conceive an existence on which there is dependence, but which is not itself dependent. It is because the existence that is the self, can alone satisfy our thought that we are led, by the application of the category of cause or effect, or existence that does not so explain itself an explanation beyond itself.

(c) After having thus endeavored to show that all theories of the origin of the Universe are untenable, Spencer fixes his attention on the nature of the Universe. We must assume a First Cause, which is Infinite and Absolute; and, nevertheless, these concepts, all equally necessary, are yet mutually contradictory. Here he borrows freely from Mansen, and indulges in the same verbal panegyric, the utility of which is shown. The conclusion, which is supported by such arguments, is put forward as having the support of the religious consciousness itself. 'Not only is the omnipotence of something which passes for omnipotence, but also, the necessity of the power, the common to all religions, which becomes the more distinct in proportion as they develop, and which remains after their discordant elements have been mutually cancelled, but it is that belief which the most unanswerable of each leaves unquestionable, or rather makes it ever clearer' (p. 45). Although it may be admitted that the conception of God has changed, as it necessarily must, since man's thought is dependent on experience, yet it must be maintained that the progress has been not only negative and not necessary, but it does certainly correct the conception of God, bringing it into closer harmony with experience; but this conception of God is not less but more rational, moral, spiritual, because it is not external, the longings of the heart, and the needs of the life more and not less adequately. The religious consciousness will assuredly not sustain the contention that 'this deepest, widest, and most certain of fathomless Power to the Universe manifest is us utterly inscrutable.'

(d) It is not necessary for the present purpose to follow Spencer in his proof, in the third chapter, that the ultimate scientific ideas are also inconceivable; a closer examination would show that all the difficulties are due to an inadequate method of thought, which tries in vain to reduce the concrete complexity of existence to an abstract simplicity of conception. To give but one instance, he tries to prove that the self which knows cannot itself be known, for the relativity of knowledge involves us in the distinction of subject and object. But that subject and object may be discriminated, it is necessary that both be embraced in the unity of consciousness; in self-consciousness that unity is still unity-in-difference, as the self is object to itself, the matter, the object to itself, and it is mere word-play to affirm that the self cannot both be intelligible and intelligent. In fact, self-consciousness is the ideal knowledge, the perfect accord of thinking and being. Assuming for the sake of argument that the ultimate ideas of science are inconceivable, why does Spencer not draw the same conclusion for science and religion? Science with inconceivable ultimate ideas possesses the realm of the knowable; religion with inconceivable ultimate ideas must content itself with the unknowable. How can a system of knowledge be based on inconceivable ideas in one case, and necescebe the necessary result in the other? The proximate ideas of religion—the phenomena of the religious life—have as a conception to be the results of knowledge, as the perceptions of the outer world with which science occupies itself. This scepticism regarding ultimate ideas undermines science as much as religion.

(3) The argument in the fourth chapter, based on the relativity of knowledge, is borrowed from Hamilton and Maunder. 'The inference,' says Spencer, 'which we find forced upon us when we analyse the product of thought as exhibited objectively in scientific generalizations (p. 74).

(a) The analysis of the process of thought leads to this conclusion. 'Of necessity, therefore, our explanation must eventually bring us down to the inexplicable. The deepest truth which we can get at must be unaccountable. Comprehension must become something other than comprehension before the ultimate fact can be comprehended.' This ultimate fact is a highly general fact respecting the constitution of matter of which chemical, electrical, and thermal facts are merely different manifestations. The method of explanation taken for granted is entirely false, and entirely false is to ignore their differences from one another, is not to explain them. The logical universal does not at all account for the particulars it embraces. The abstraction man does not help us to comprehend Caesar, Paul, Luther, Napoleon. It is the most concrete unity—that which combines the most numerous and varied differences in a system within itself—that is the ultimate fact which not only explains all, but is itself explicable. But not in the divorce of existence and intelligence can that be brought to negative; growing knowledge of the self and of the world does necessarily correct the conception of God, bringing it into closer harmony with experience; but this conception of God is not less but more rational, moral, spiritual, because it is not external, the longings of the heart, and the needs of the life more and not less adequately. The religious consciousness will assuredly not sustain the contention that 'this deepest, widest, and most certain of fathomless Power to the Universe manifest is us utterly inscrutable.'

(b) In the analysis of consciousness, the relativity of knowledge is said to imply two kinds of relation—the relation of object to subject and the relation of objects to one another. Because a thing is known only in such relations, Spencer argues that it cannot be known in itself, whatever that may mean. This assumption, that the knowledge of reality adds to reality an element so foreign that
consequently as known it is other than it is as unknown, is an absurdity which has already been sufficiently exposed. Spencer adopts Hamilton's objection, that God as the Absolute must be known either as subject or as object, or as the indifference of both. But what forbids our thinking of God—the object of our knowledge—in so far as God Himself has disinguished Himself as the subject which thinks all things as existent by His will? We as subjects knowing God are, for God, objects which do not limit His infinitude, or determine His absoluteness, because He Himself has disinguished Himself by His own self-determination and self-limitation. Our intelligence which seeks God as its object, and which, on the assumption that the Universe is a manifestation and not a concealment of God, believes that it knows God, must be by God's act delusive, if God does not manifest Himself as He is. It would require much more cogent arguments than these verbal juggleries of Spencer to convince us that God made intelligences in such wise that He Himself could never become intelligible to them. For example, he said also about the second sense in which the relativity of knowledge is used. To conceive God is not to think a Being out of all relations, but a Being whose reality is revealed in His relations, conceived by Himself.

(c) While agreeing with Hamilton in this argument from the relativity of knowledge, Spencer differs from him in asserting that the unrelated, though inconceivable, is yet a constituent element of thought. Our notion of the Limited, he says, 'is composed, firstly, of a consciousness of a kind of being, and, secondly, of the consciousness of the limits under which it is known. In the antithetical notion of the Unlimited, the consciousness of limits is abolished, but not the consciousness of some kind of being. It is quite true that in the absence of conceived limits this consciousness ceases to be a concept properly so called, but it is none the less true that it remains as a mode of consciousness' (p. 90).

He then tells us that this something is constituted by 'combining successive concepts deprived of their limits and conditions' (p. 95). Here a logical abstraction is supposed to be a reality, and even the reality that explains all; but, as has already been shown, God, to explain the Universe, must be conceived as the concrete unity which embraces all differences, and relates them to one another.

(4) Spencer hopes, in the fifth chapter, that 'in the assertion of a Reality utterly inconceivable in nature, science and religion will be reconciled. Science is to admit the existence, religion the inconceivable nature of this reality. He thinks that this will not be a vain appeal, as his understanding of the history of religion is that it is developing in this direction. How mistaken he is needs no proof. The religion does recognize the abyssal depths of the Divine cannot be fathomed by the human mind; but it does not admit that the truth about God it claims to possess is an illusion. Religious knowledge is valid and valuable, though incomplete. Spencer requires religion to give up the conception of God as personal. It is just possible, he says, 'that there is a mode of being as much transcending Intelligence and Will as these transcendent mechanical motions. Nevertheless, he insists on interpreting the Universe which is the manifestation of the ultimate reality as mechanical motion. Rejecting the highest conceivable category as too low for the reality, he insists on applying to its manifestations the lowest conceivable category. He represents the inscrutable mystery as causal energy, while declining to describe it as Intelligent Will. His system is materialistic rather than idealistic. He gets rid of the personality of religion to substitute not a higher but a lower conception in interpreting the Universe. In surrendering the personality of God, religion surrenders everything: in admitting the existence of this reality, science is in no way restrained in its ex- planation of the universe in terms of matter and motion. In this reconciliation religion loses, science gains, everything.'

In the criticism of the authors passed in review the objections to Agnosticism have been stated. We are allowed at the close of the chapter to examine the materialistic explanation for which it seeks to find room is inadequate to account for life, mind, morality, religion. The idealistic explanation which it seeks to shut out not only does justice to the highest interests of life, but makes more intelligible the whole process of the Universe as an evolution of spirit. The theory of knowledge on which it rests is sceptical in its result, and this scepticism must extend to science as well as to philosophy and theology. The trust in the reason and will of man, on which already argued, is as necessary to give validity to the conclusions of science. The arguments from the relativity of knowledge, the conditionateness of thought, the negative character of the conceptions of the Infinite and Absolute, have the futility of scholastic abstractions and verbal subtleties, and are not in direct contact with any intelligible reality. The religious consciousness is altogether misrepresented when it is claimed as confirming the conclusion of the inscrutable nature of the alternate reality. More recent philosophical development does encourage the expectation that Agnosticism will soon be a superseded mode of thought.

LITERATURE.—The works of the authors discussed should be consulted; also Leslie Stephen's An Agnostic's Apology (1890). In all books of Christian Apologetics some attention is given to the subject. Specially to be commended are Flint's Agnosticism (1900), and Ward's Naturalism and Agnosticism? (1905).

ALFRED E. GARYE.

AGNOSTICISM (Buddhist).—One of the most important and, in some ways, most obscure questions in Buddhism is whether the Buddha was an agnostic, in the sense that he refused to express an opinion upon a future life (transmigration) and on the state of the Buddha after death, and preached only the attainment of nirvāṇa upon earth. We propose, in the first instance, to describe the authorities bearing upon this question, then to discuss them, and finally to draw conclusions.

I. Authorities.—1. When Buddha is asked by King Ajātaśatru what are the actual fruits of a religious life (or life of a monk, arthaṁyaga),* he gives an answer in which there is nothing metaphysical. He regards the question, as his interlocutor desires, from the point of view of the present life. In the first place, the monastic state confers a great dignity on the person who assumes it. The slave who has become a bhikṣu is honoured by his former master; in the same way the free man is relieved from private cares. There is, however, something better: good conduct, mastery over oneself, food and clothing in sufficiency but without excess, produce a rich contentment.† And there is something better still: the practice of successive trances (dhāyaṇas), the knowledge which accompanies them, and the annihilation of all passion, the attainment, in a word, of the state of an arhat or of nirvāṇa upon earth—these are the sublime fruits of the monastic life. To say that the Buddha was an agnostic is to say that he refused to assert or deny the existence of the latter.

* See the Suttaṇṇa Mahāpadānasutta, Dīgha, I, p. 47-86, translated by various scholars, and recently by Hysa Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, pp. 58-59, with an Introduction.
† There are many charming descriptions of the happiness of life in the forest among the trees, which are more kindly and compliant than men (see Sīla-pāramitākhyā, ch. l.)
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2. This sketch of the monastic life will perhaps be more correctly understood if compared with the sentiments expressed by the Buddha when he is questioned on metaphysical subjects. The examples are numerous, and at times widely divergent. We shall confine ourselves to a discussion of the best remarkable. Perhaps the most characteristic is that related in the Mahāvagga. The Buddha is addressed as follows: ‘You are said to teach the doctrine of annihilation (that is to say, that there is no life after death, and no future retribution for the deeds done upon earth). Is that true?’ ‘I teach,’ replies the master, ‘the annihilation of desire. . . .’ There is thus a kind of play upon words; and this passage, in which the problem of the future life is curtly dismissed, confirms the impression left by the dialogue as summarized above.

3. In the ‘Net of Brahma’ the Buddha enumerates a series of propositions, of which some at least are of historical and doctrinal worth. They are presented as strange and all-encompassing, with the addition of the series and, while some are more specifically condemned, the series as a whole is rejected. The following is the order:

(1) (c) The universe and the soul are eternal (etavyāvatāvādha) in the sense that they have had no beginning—a belief founded upon the fact that some sainthood have memory of their previous existences.

(2) The universe and the soul are, at one, and the same time, eternal and non-eternal, either because Brahmā, the creator of the universe, has neither beginning nor end, while other beings are perishable, or because the soul is eternal and the body perishable.

(3) The universe is (a) limited in space, (b) unlimited, (c) unlimited at the sides and limited towards the top and the bottom, (d) neither limited nor unlimited (the contradiction is not explained).

(5) It is possible to refuse to choose between four propositions (affirmation, denial, simultaneous affirmation of the affirmative and negative, simultaneous denial of the affirmative and the negative) with reference to (a) the existence of another world, (b) the reality of apparitional beings; (c) the fact that (d) the remainder (i.e. the arhat. This refusal is said to be a sign of stupidity and sophistry. Teachers of such doctrine are ‘slippery as eels.’

(7) The soul has no cause, that is, it appears in the present world without having passed through a previous existence. In the same way the present evolution of the universe has had no antecedents.

(5) The soul has, after death, (a) conscious existence, conceived under sixteen different aspects; (b) unconscious existence, under eight different aspects; (c) existence neither conscious nor unconscious, under eight different aspects; or (d) it is annihilated at death (seven distinct theories, corresponding to seven classes of souls).

(6) Some maintain that nirvāṇa is attained in this life (diṭṭhadhammanibbāna), conceived as the possession either of the pleasures of the senses, or of the first, etc., up to the fourth ecstasy (ābhāsana).†

These opinions regarding the past and the future are theories (āṣṭiga = theopla).† The Buddha knows the consequences which they entail upon those who adopt them; they form the net in which he is caught with Brahmā, who believes himself to be eternal. The Buddha knows far better things, viz., the origin and the end of sensations, and the means of escaping them. He ends by saying that he has destroyed every germ of re-birth in himself; so long as his body lives, it is seen by gods and men; after his death neither gods nor men will see him.

4. Of all the questions raised in the ‘Net of Brahma’ only ten appear in the Majjhima Nikāya, p. 426. These ten, especially important, for with slight modifications they constitute the list of fourteen questions to which no reply is allowed.

(1) Eternity of the universe: Is it eternal? Is it non-eternal?

(2) Infinity of the universe: Is it infinite? Is it finite?

(3) The vital principle (jīva) and the body: Are they identical? Are they non-identical?

(4) The doctrine of the Tathāgata, i.e. the arhat, the saint, ‘he whose thought is emancipated’: Does he survive death? Does he not survive? Must we assert of such an one at the same time survival and non-survival of death? Must we deny both?

5. Maudgalyāyana is sufficiently curious to insist on obtaining an answer to these questions, which he regards as fundamental. The Buddha refuses to reply. He has withheld information on the questions of the eternity or otherwise of the universe.

As a matter of fact, the pseudo-Buddhism of the Tantas identifies supreme bliss or nirvāṇa with sexual enjoyment.

† Strictly speaking, the possession of the fourth trance is not ‘nirvāṇa upon earth,’ because this possession is a momentary one. But we may assume that this definition of ‘nirvāṇa upon earth’ is very like the orthodox conception.

† That is to say, the absence of all calculation; not that there may not be, in a certain sense, a past and a future, a conscious futurity, a ‘nirvāṇa upon earth,’ but this past and this future are not the past and future of an ego permanent. This comment follows the Mahāyānasūtra, ch. xxvii., and the dogmatistic teaching of the Pali Suttas.

‡ Chăka-mudgalyāyana-śivāda, translated by Warren, Buddhism in Translations, p. 117, and by Oldenberg, Buddh., p. 274f. See also ‘Mahāsiddha,’ in Dialogues, 131.

The fourteen ‘unelucidated topics’ (āsākyatattva) of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature are the same as these, with the addition of four concerning the eternity and the infinity of the universe (viz., Is it at one and the same time eternal and non-eternal? or is it neither eternal nor non-eternal?), and the difference that the questions concerning the Tathāgata precede those on the vital principle (see below, p. 224, note 1).

Oldenberg has proved that, in many cases, ‘word’ must be interpreted as the ‘ego’ (Buddha, p. 271, Fr. trans., p. 265). In any case (taka means satvikas, world of the living, dhaśka means rakṣasadas, the beings of the nether world). On the other hand, we have seen that ‘eternal’ is equivalent to ‘without beginning;’ it is not possible that the mortal authorities define ‘eternal’ as ‘having no end in time,’ contrary to the interpretation of the Sutta quoted above. The question, then, regarding infinity will be understood as follows: Will all beings attain nirvāṇa? Will no being attain nirvāṇa? Will some beings attain nirvāṇa, while others will not? Is it false to say that some beings attain nirvāṇa?

As regards the relations of the jīvas and sārvā, it is difficult to determine the original meaning of the words and the bearing of the question. As was thought at the beginning, with the heroes of numerous legends, or the reference is to the first beings, or perhaps the inhabitants of a paradise, etc., or perhaps the Beheading of the Buddha in his last birth, as he takes up his abode of his own free will in the womb of Māyādevi. In the later dogmatism, to deny the other world, apparitional beings, actions (good or bad), or the arhat, is makkhāyādīrē (hierarchy), which destroys the roots of merit.

It is often of importance to Buddhism that it admits the production of being out of not-being (sacca aj jāyate). But this objection is not supported by any Buddhist authorities.
etc., because knowledge on this point does not help in any way towards the annihilation of the passions.

5. In the 'Dialogue of Vaccha,' we observe a slightly different attitude on the part of Buddha. When questioned as to the ten points above specified, he condemns the ten 'theories'; they produce suffering and do not help towards the annihilation of the passions. He himself has no 'theories' (ditthi); his teaching (dittha, his knowledge) embraces the skandhas only (Pali khandhas), the constituent elements of beings, their beginning and end. In fact, as has been pointed out, all the 'theories' connected with the past or future, and the identity or survival after death of the Ego, presuppose the existence of the Ego. But this Ego does not exist in itself; there is only an aggregation, a complex of skandhas.

Vaccha insists, and returning to the four questions concerning the existence after death of the Tathāgata, who is here denoted by a descriptive term, vinuddhata, 'he whose thought is set free,' he receives a formal answer: 'It is wrong to say that the Tathāgata exists after death; wrong to say that he does not exist, wrong to assert survival and the contrary, wrong to deny both.' Vaccha fails to comprehend this, and the Buddha explains: 'Can it be said of an extinct flame that it has gone to the right or to the left? Similarly in the Tathāgata there exists no matter, no skandhas which one could name when speaking of the Tathāgata; and being alien to every conception of matter and skandhas, the Tathāgata is deep, immeasurable, unapproachable, like the great ocean. It is wrong to say that he exists after death, wrong to say that he does not exist. That is to say, if we understand correctly it is impossible either to assert or deny, or to say anything about what does not exist, insomuch as it is not an object of knowledge. But the skandhas are the only objects of knowledge, and the skandhas, which constituted the man 'whose thought is set free,' have no existence after death, the emancipated Buddha teaches. This is the thought that does not constitute the skandhas in a new grouping.

6. This comparison of the Tathāgata with the great ocean is repeated in a passage in which it appears to be interpreted in a mystical sense: 'If the Buddha says, 'Why has the Buddha not revealed whether life exists or not after death?' To this question, asked by King Pasenadi, a learned nun replies: 'Has thou a mathematician who could measure the water of the ocean? . . . The ocean is deep, immeasurable, unapproachable. In the same way there exists no matter in the Tathāgata . . . ' (as above, § 5).

On examining the comparison more closely, however, we see that it does not hold. The water of the ocean evades measurement because it is too vast, while the Tathāgata after death cannot be calculated, measured, or fathomed because there no longer remains in him anything capable of being calculated or measured, or, more exactly, anything capable of being known and described.

But why is it here to maintain the annihilation of the Tathāgata? Because there is no opportunity of distinguishing between the Tathāgata living and the Tathāgata after death. And just as it is wrong to assert that the Tathāgata, during his lifetime, is either distinct from or identical with the skandhas either united or singly, — the Tathāgata, even during his lifetime, is really apprehended, 'there is nothing real in him, Buddha is only a name,—so what is true of the Tathāgata is true of the Ego, of any Ego whatever; the Ego does not exist in itself.

This way of looking at the problem is precisely that adopted by the Nāgārjuna and the Madhyamika schools. The Tathāgata has no further existence, because there is no Tathāgata. It is the same in reality with all the other so-called Egos. The Buddha has nothing to say about them, because it is impossible to speak about what does not exist.

II. Discussion. — We have thus given an account of the chief authorities on which the study of the problem of agnosticism ought to be based. These documents, the agnostic statements of the Buddha revealing upon various points of view, appear in slightly different forms, admit apparently of three different, and even contradictory, interpretations: (1) They furnish us with the ultimate underlying belief in the mind of the Buddha assumed to be an agnostic, and with the official doctrine of the Order, which is 'positivist' in the modern sense of the word. (2) They conceal, for reasons of a practical kind, an implied affirmation touching the future life of ordinary men quite as much as the existence after death of the 'emanipicated.' (3) They constitute a formal denial of the existence of the 'emanipicated' and of the Ego.

It is obvious that in itself the strange system, which consists in distinguishing four hypotheses,—affirmative, negative, affirmative and negative, and whose earliest application appears in the passages quoted, is capable of this threefold interpretation. It is a method either (1) of evading an answer, the policy of the slipperiest est, as Buddha says, or (2) of asserting the existence of the mystery, but forbidden to discuss its, or (3) of denying both, in order that the practicability of the object in question by closing up all loopholes, or by which the true facts of the case might escape being caught in the logical net.'

Let us examine the three interpretations.

1. Agnosticism. — The first constitutes one of the most remarkable amongst the numerous systems that Western analysis has recently disentangled from those precepts of the Buddha that are more or less faithfully preserved in the Pali writings. It is remarkable quite as much for its own sake as for the contrast which it presents to the pre-Buddhist agnostics.

Dialogue between Yamaka and Skiriputta, Sashyuttakanikaka, i. p. 118; Oldenberg, Buddh., p. 261 f.; Warren, p. 118; cf. Sashyuttakanikaka, iv. 260, Anupatibhądana, according to Oldenberg (Buddha, Fr. tr. p. 272, note), means 'not to be conceived,' and Warren renders 'you fail to make out and establish the existence of the saint in the present life,' i.e. 'the non-perception of what ought to be perceived'; there is no preconceived opinion, all the conditions necessary to the perception of a jar being fulfilled (light, proximity, soundness of sight, etc.), I do not perceive a jar.

According to another school, that of the Sammitiyas, the Ego stands in no definite relation to the skandhas, but none the less exists, though 'unnameable' (avdchya).

1. We have seen that all the Buddhist do not deny the reality of the self, and that the Buddhists who believe in the Ego, even if they are categorically opposed to it, yet make use of a term, the Pali dukha— the commonest word in the sacred literature for 'suffering' and synonymous with 'the individual ego'; 'am individual ego, 'am the individual ego' (avdchya). The term is used in the same sense as 'person,' of which the use of the Brahmanical word atman would necessarily involve.

§ Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 278. It is thus that the 'four-branched syllogism' is dexterously employed by the Madhyamikas; the best example of which has reference to the origin of things. An object is not produced from that which produces it, nor is it produced by what produces it, nor by itself together with something else, nor without that which produces it; therefore nothing produces it. The term here, like so many other, is capable of being applied to the object of the same name. It is used precisely in the same sense as 'person.'

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vailing spirit of Hindu religions. Amid the luxuriant mythological, dogmatic, mystic, penitential, and ritualistic growth which the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads, and of Jainism exhibited, the Buddha had established his Order with stern simplicity and as a strictly moral religion. The essence of Buddhism, as a matter of fact, lies in the four famous ecstasies (dhyāna), which were regarded by the early Buddhists as older than Buddhism,† is one of the chief features of this regime. Buddhists, however, do not claim that dhyāna by itself affords any valuable superior knowledge or supernatural virtue or insight into the Divine. Without disparaging the ‘divine eye,’ the memory of former births, the passing through walls, etc., are the natural results of ecstasy, their chief aim is to produce by mental rather than physical means a state of mind full of restfulness and moral insight, to the reality of which experience should testify, and which, in the classical language of the category of the yogis, a ‘positivist’ doctrine, whose only concern is moral happiness, need not be asshamed to own.

The point of view ascribed to the Buddha is exactly that of Ajātaṭaraka: ‘Of what use in the present world is the monastic life, and in general, to teach ethics, virtue, and the excellent practice?’ To this question by itself the reply will be that the importance of the monastic life is essentially in ‘this visible world.’ It is indeed possible, Buddha seems to say, that virtue may be beneficial in itself, even by inexistence has clearly proved that, practised as I teach it, and following a middle course between excess and the sorrowful life of penance which Nigantha (founder of the order of the Jainas) preaches, being possessed of all the virtues, for the attainment of the condition of an arhat is difficult and requires bodily vigour;—then virtue produces perfect happiness upon earth. What more do you wish? If you are not satisfied, go elsewhere; sham physicians are legion.

Such, in broad outline and apart from the theory of ecstasy, is the essence of the Buddhism which our neo-Buddhists preach. These conclusions can be reached only by ‘doctoring’ tradition, and by ignoring in particular all that our authorities say concerning the doctrine of merit. That is entirely different. The tradition consistently claims that the Buddha was omniscient (sarvajñata) not only in the narrow sense of the term, possessing the knowledge of what was necessary for salvation, knowledge of the means which lead to the emancipation of thought—a knowledge which he shared with the Pratyekabuddhas, etc.—but also universal omniscience (sarvacarajñatava), the knowledge of all that was and is and is to come.†

† From the very beginning Buddhism claims to be a ‘middle way,’ avoiding, accordingly, constancy in avoiding the two goals (or extremes) of doctrine—affirmation and denial of a self, existence after death, etc. But the word, in its earlier usage, seems to refer to disciplinary or penitential moderation. The Buddhist monk does not indulge in sensual pleasures, but he keeps himself free from the morbid exaggerations of asceticism. See Rhys Davids, Dialogues, p. 260.

‡ Rhys Davids, Dialogues, p. 61, n. 1.

† Ibid., p. 258.

‡ This remark, the interest of which is evident, was pointed out to the present writer by A. Barth.

The passages within the writer’s knowledge in which a contrary opinion is suggested in the discussion in the Tatravacaras, a work by the same author, the Omniscient, on the omniscience of Buddha, shows that all knowledge is derived from the Veda, and not from the teaching of Buddha. And he has done, in the Buddhist, being given to him in words to this effect: ‘Granted that the Buddha does not know the number of the insects, etc., what does that matter?"

2. The agnostic statements may conceal positive affirmations.—(1) The texts themselves invite to study the reasons, opportunely or otherwise, which justified the Buddha in refusing to answer certain questions of a cosmological or metaphysical nature.

On one occasion the Buddha declares that the world is inconsistent with the Buddhist,† that he assents to all to which the world assents, so far as it is based on sound reasons. And, in fact, he sometimes affirms that, since discord and quarrelling are the worst evils, and the annihilation of discord is the essential characteristic of a monk, one ought to refrain from expressing any opinion. Moreover, moral therapies, directed towards the emancipation of thought, demands the regular purification of the mind, progressive suppression of all the ideas to which the mind can cling, extending even to un-consciousness of the end in view, since this can be attained only in the suppression of thought. ‘To long for nirvāṇa is sheer folly and an invincible obstacle to its attainment.’ Thus, on one hand, the Buddhist should try to win the favour of all, and to choose the more advantageous course or that which involves less evil. ‘Just as it is necessary to speak in each of his own language, and to teach the language of the barbarians, so it is necessary to avoid hurting or offending any one, and to guide each on that path of progress which he is capable of following, to the neglect of the real truth, that is to say, even though it is not authoritative. At the same time, the belief, the ‘view’ (dṛṣṭi), which is in itself perfectly justified, that we have passed through innumerable existences before arriving at the present one, must be abandoned, because it is inconsistent with the doctrine of a rest and peace, the idea of the permanence of the individual. It is, moreover, in reality false, the test of the truth of any proposition being its accord with the end in view.

(2) Two points, moreover, of capital importance rest upon the most definite testimony. It is certain, on the ground of tradition, that Buddha adopted a very distinct attitude towards the question of action (karma [which see]), and consequently to the question of existence after death. To quote the texts would be impossible, and perhaps they recall the remark of the Buddha, a sample of the friendly relations existing between the Order and the sects (Agniṣṭak, Jātillas) who accepted the doctrine of the fruit of works.†

The early Buddhists believed in retribution for actions, in the sense that they have always been exercised upon the present, and in a future life conditioned by the accumulated and imputable effects of previous actions.

There is no less evidence that they believed in the possibility of escaping from the circle or whirlpool of existence to the rest of nirvāṇa. In the language of that time, as a very competent judge affirms, ‘the word nirvāṇa always denoted supreme happiness, apart from any idea of annihilation.’

He knows, and he alone was able to impart to us, saving truth’ (see 1 Thess. 2, 9). His knowledge, according to the primary authorities, consisted in avoiding the two goals (or extremes) of doctrine—affirmation and denial of a self, existence after death, etc. But the word, in its earlier usage, seems to refer to disciplinary or penitential moderation. The Buddhist monk does not indulge in sensual pleasures, but he keeps himself free from the morbid exaggerations of asceticism. See Rhys Davids, Dialogues, p. 260.

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† Burnouf, Introduction, p. 468; Kern, Geschichte, i. p. 276.

‡ Hāfner, i. 29, 11; Vinaya, 372; John, i. 29, 21. Others, e.g. the fire-worshippers and Jātillas come to you, O monks, they are to teach them to revere the Buddha, and the observed and unobserved teachings of the Buddha, and the three, etc., hold the doctrine that actions receive their reward, and that our conduct has its result, corresponding to the action (karma). From this it may be inferred that the chief dogmatic tenet of the primitive Church was the doctrine of karma.
AGNOSTICISM (Buddhist)

It seems, indeed, quite probable that, in the dogmatics of Buddhism, the conception of nirvana had been identified, or almost so, with that of annihilation, certain reservations being always made that such an extreme view, however far, from the very first, had been sometimes expressed; for, as the Brahmans say, 'of emancipation during this life' (Sunnakar). It would be an unjustifiable limitation of Buddhism and departure from the non-utilitarian religions to restrict the word nirvana, or, for the most part, to the attainment of that perfect calm denoted by the name arhatship, or 'nirvana upon earth.'

One text declares: 'The disciple who has put off lust and desire, rich in wisdom, has here on earth attained deliverance from the mundane, has become eternal, has transcended immortality. It is undoubtedly right to say that nirvana is not merely the hereafter which aversions and desires cut off, but the perfection which he enjoys in this life. But if the Buddhist aspires to this release from the passions, in which arhatship consists, it is, above all, because, like the Jainists, this is a glimpse of true and final nirvana.

If the monk 'whose thought is emancipated' is said to have attained deliverance from death, it is really by anticipation, for it is a mere name, or nirvana? In the same way, the text, does not prevent former wicked deeds from receiving their due punishment?

(3) If, then, Buddha at times refuses to answer, it is not in the manner of the evasive sophist who is, as it were, an eloquence. Nor is it that he himself is ignorant or wishes his disciples to remain in ignorance.

But the essential point is that his disciples should learn to distinguish profitable knowledge and thoughts. What is the use of indulging in those idle dreams concerning the universe, past or future, according to the ancient texts, does not prevent former wicked deeds from receiving their due punishment?

* The present writer will not conceal his opinion that the expression 'nirvana upon earth' (dīgha-dhadhammanibandhā) possibly conveys a meaning very different from that littlily pointed out by Carpenter, Rhys Davids, and Oldenberg. It signifies, in contradistinction to the nirvana to be attained during a future life, etc. (upapattasaṅga, etadpinanimittā, etc.), the nirvana to be attained at the end of the present existence. With regard to the state of an arhat, it should be observed (1) that there is no actual cessation of dukkha (suffering and pain) (nibbāna, Sumangalavatadīśani v. 121), and (2) that it is called 'nirvana' in contrast to the real nirvana.

* Cf. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 364 et al. But the world's judgment, according to the present writer, ought to be slightly modified. From the point of view of the ancient Pali text, it is true to think that the Tathāgata and the saints in general were able to prolong their life for an 'age of the world' (see ASSNE or the W khádśa-Buddhist). This is very clear from the very first sentence concerning the immortality of the soul and the gradual formation of the doctrine of anātman (punnaruniva, i.e., transmigration), see A. N. 327, 17 A. N. 328. Another very interesting passage is that in which the author says that ordinary immortality means 'long life after death,' and that everlasting immortality is reserved for the saints (p. 474).

1 At least so far as human powers of understanding are concerned. The intelligent Buddhist sometimes examines certain topics of religion, and sometimes adheres to them without questioning them; 'these matters are understood only by the Tathāgata.'

* As regards the existence of the gods and the universe.

3. The agnostic statements are formal denials.— In the two preceding pages tradition has been treated selectively; the theory of the skandhas has been laid aside. This theory is found in connexion with almost all the ancient and modern texts. It is consistent with the denial of an Ego. It admits the existence of a phenomenon, a fact, which prolongs its existence as long as thought is not 'emancipated.' After emancipation the phenomenal Ego dissolves, the skandhas are no longer associated to form the illusory Ego; there no longer exists anything.

The Tathāgata, therefore, does not exist after death; so that the assertions relating to the Tathāgata after death must be understood in the sense of a radical denial, as has been done by the writers of the various dialogues in the Majjhima and the Samyutta above mentioned.

Moreover, there is no Ego in the emancipated Buddhist. There is none in Tathāgata living, there is no Ego in any being. All speculation concerning the future and the past of the Ego is, therefore, absurd, and what is said about the eternity of the world, etc., must be understood as a formal denial. This is the system of the Mādhyamikas openly preached in the Suttas.

It seems clear, then, that if we admit the primitive character of the theory of the skandhas, and assume the absolute consistency of the early Buddhist speculations, we must ascribe a purely negative value to the Buddha's statements. Thus it is obtained a doctrine entirely coherent, identifying the nirvana with annihilation. All the statements on the one side or the other will find their explanation in practical considerations. On the other hand, the agnostic hypothesis, as far as it concerns the future existence of ordinary men, will be set aside, for the theory of the skandhas implies the teaching with regard to actions and transmigration.

The question is whether, by such an exegesis, we are not building a new Buddhist creed on old principles, as the Mādhyamikas have confessedly done.

III. Conclusion. — Of the three systems explained above, the third is the system of a large number of Suttas, that is to say, the orthodox doctrine of the Pāli canon, and of the Mādhyamikas. The second is very probably that of popular Buddhism and of the 'pudgalavāda'; while the first has nothing to support it save the texts above cited and the sympathy of several European scholars. The writer does not conceal his preference for the second. In order to establish it, or rather to reconcile it with traditional assumptions, a comparative estimate is needed. To this let us finally proceed.

It is generally believed that the earliest Bud- from eternity, all the texts and the best attested dogmas entirely dismiss the idea that the Ego and the universe are uncaused.

(2) As far as the 'infinity of the universe' is concerned, the text quoted (p. 221) understands by infinity (ananta) 'limitless extension in space.' It is very probable that this is the original meaning of the word, and that the writers of the past as well as the present. In fact, Buddhist cosmology was acquainted with a vast number of universes. By the term ananta the Mādhyamikas mean 'endless duration in time' (cf. Saṁhitā N. 1, 22; Oldenberg, p. 285). Ananta is 'end' as contrasted with abide, of which the word signifies, 'beginning.' It implies that the world will continue until the last being has attained emancipation. This moment will probably never come. But in each individual 'the end of the world' is achieved by the emancipation.

(3) As to the relationship between life in the jīva and the sārira, it will be noticed that in the list of the fourteen non-elucidated questions, only the two hypotheses of identity and non-identity are examined. The scholastic doctrine very expressly relates to sattva, pudgala, atman, permanent principle; and denies its existence to the rest. But according to the Madhyamikas, sūjñendriya, vital faculty, which is not destroyed with the body by the sense that existence is 'governed by the vital faculty' of the succeeding life (except where the rebirth has taken place in certain heavens).

* See above, p. 211b, 5, 223b, n. 1.
dhism did not lay any claim to originality of doctrine; it shared with the whole of India the belief in the imputation and the retributive effects of action (karma), the concatenation of causes, and the possibility of attaining nirvāṇa. Nor is there anything to show that by inserting the Buddhists understood something different from what all others understood by it—a state certainly very difficult to define, but quite distinct from nothingness. Moreover, the Buddha was distinguished, as the texts studied lead us to believe, by a certain contempt for speculation; whence we may conclude that the theory of the skandhas, if it existed in germ, had not attained its final form. In the Order there were monks who were opposed, as no doubt the Buddha himself had been, to cosmological or metaphysical speculations; there were also philosophers and 'Abhidharmists,' and it is to these Abhidharmists that we owe the Pali writings as well as the writings of the Sarvāstivādin.

The question of nirvāṇa having been raised, the earliest documents (from Buddha himself?) have given the reply that nothing could be asserted on the subject, either existence or non-existence, etc.—an answer perhaps childish from the Aristotelian point of view, but sufficiently frank to declare at one time the difficulty of that inquiry into its necessarily. Such a rejoinder is, in any case, parallel to that suggested with regard to the eternity of the universe; and the former no more seeks to deny the existence of the Tathāgata than the latter does the non-existence of the universe, or even its eternity. Buddha's only wish, as is said in many words, was to forbid idle or harmful speculations. It was the philosophers who developed the doctrine of the skandhas, the direct result of the denial of the Ego (Suttanta), and the indirect result the denial of all phenomena in themselves, and the 'universal void' (Madhyamikas). It is no wonder that the philosophers put an entirely new meaning into the old answer:—Nothing can be said of the Buddha after his death, because there is no longer any Buddha, because there never has been a Buddha even during his lifetime; the two things go together, as the Suttanta expressly states. It is therefore impossible to construe the sacred writing according to the original Buddhist doctrine. But if it had been, it is most probable that a less ambiguous formula would have been found for its expression.

The Buddhist who accepts the revealed texts as they stand must accept also the answer given to his choice. He must adhere to the third interpretation, the only one which is orthodox and in harmony with accepted teaching. The choice of the historian of religions is more difficult, for it is modified by the manner in which he conceives the orthodox view to have grown up. The present writer confesses to a reluctance to exercise a definite option, but if a choice be required,—which is by no means the case,—he believes that the second interpretation is to be preferred.

AGRA.—AGRAULIDS 225

AGRA, the famous Mughal capital, is situated on the right bank of the R. Jumna, in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Agra does not appear to have been a sacred place to the Hindus, and its religious interest depends on a splendid series of mosques and tombs. On the left bank of the river stood an ancient Hindu town, of which little now remains but traces of the foundations. The Muhammadans first occupied the place in the time of Lodhr, and the founder of the Mughal Empire, died here in 1550, but neither he nor his son Humāyūn left any monument of their reigns. Akbar founded the modern city in 1558, and the splendid buildings which now adorn it are the work of himself, his son Jahāngir, and his grandson Shāhjāhān. Akbar built the Agra Fort about 1566, and four years later commenced the erection of his new capital at Fathpur-Sikri, 23 miles from Agra, which was occupied for only seventeen years and then abandoned. The site was selected because a famous Musulmān ascetic of the place, Shikāl Salim Chishti, resided there, and Akbar believed that it was through his intercession that he obtained an heir in Prince Salim, afterwards known as the Emperor Jahāngir. At Agra no important religious buildings survive which he built. In Akbar; to him we owe the splendid Jāmī Masjid, or 'Cathedral Mosque,' at Fathpur-Sikri, and its magnificent gate, the Buland Darwāza, or 'High Portal,' with a touching inscription, which were completed respectively in 1571 and 1602.

Akbar died at Agra in 1605, and was buried at Sikandra, 5 miles from the capital, in a splendid mausoleum, which he himself had commenced. It differs in plan from every other Moghul monument, and the design, according to Fergusson, being borrowed from a Hindu, or more probably from a Buddhist, model. Akbar's revolt from orthodox Islam is marked by the fact that the head of his tomb is turned towards the rising sun, not towards Mecca. The original design, however, the modified, the building in its present shape gives the impression of incompleteness. It was finished in 1613. The beautiful tomb of Itmād-ud-daula, Mirza Ghiās Beg, on the left bank of the Jumna opposite Agra, was the work of his beloved wife, Arjumand Bānū Begam, better known as Mumtāz-i-Mahal, 'Eminent of the Palace,' who was married to him in 1612, and died in childbirth at Burhānpur in the Deccan in 1631. It was commenced soon after her death, but was not finished till 1648. This splendid structure is too well known to need further description here. Another beautiful religious building erected by Shāhjāhān is the famous Moti Masjid, or 'Pearl Mosque,' which was intended to be the Court Gate of the original Taj Mahal, and daughter, Jahānār Begum, who tended her unhappy father in the troubles of his later years, is due the Jāmī Masjid, or 'Cathedral Mosque' of Agra, built opposite the Delhi Gate of the Fort itself. This was commenced in 1644, and completed in 1648. Aurangzeb, who deposed his father Shāhjāhān in 1658, the architectural history of Agra closed.


AGRAULIDS.—Euripides, in Ion 23 and 496, speaks of the three 'daughters of Agraulids,' who, according to Apollodorus of Corinth and Aglauros, * Herse, and Pandrosus. A rich banquet, the Deipnophoria, was offered to them together (Bekker, Anecdota, i. 239). They danced, Euri- pides tells us (i.e.), on the northern descent of the Athenian Acropolis, on the green meadow before the temple of Athene, beside the Apollo grotto and the seat of Pan, who piped to them. This is the picture which the votive-relics represent, some of which have been found on the spot in question (Athene, Mith., ii. 200). In fact, there lay there many of the votive relics dedicated under the Erechtheum, and the temple of Athene; * Aglauros or Agraulos—both forms have been used throughout the article. It will be observed also that in the spelling of proper names the Greek forms have been employed, except in familiar words like Erechtheum, Cecrops.
and there, too, lay the sanctuary of Agraulos (Pausanias, i. 18. 2; Herodotus, viii. 53; John Michaelis, *Ara Athenarum*, Table vii. and xvi. 3). In it the Attic youth swore allegiance to the standard, calling above all, on Agraulos (Pollux, vii. 106).

Agraulos is thus an ancient and very sacred goddess of Athens as Pandrosus and Herse, the dewy sisters, show that she was a goddess of agriculture. Later she is, in the same way as Pandrosos, so united with Athene that both appear as secondary names of Athene, or that Agraulos is designated the first primitive of those who practised quite an early date their connexion was very close; the diastal feast of atonement and cleansing sacred to Athene, the *Plynteria* in Thargelion (May), stood also in relation to Agraulos (Hesych. *Bekker, Anecdota*, i. 270); the *Aphraxesphia* or *Heresphoria* was associated with Athene and Herse (Latores in scholium to Aristophanes, *Lysistrate*, 642); and the Pandroseion, with the sacred olive tree of Athene, was closely connected with the Erechtheum (Pausanias, i. 27. 2). Athene herself had once been a goddess-agrarian, before she was united with Demeter, and is regarded as a secondary name for her (CIT iii. 379). This proves that Agraulos was originally an independent goddess, who, however, disappeared more and more in consciousness, and was in the connexion of her names with Athene and Diomedes had a common sanctuary, human sacrifice was down to a late date offered to her (*Porphyry, de Abstinenz*, i. 54). In Athens there were secret rites in her worship (Athenergoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 1), which the family of the *Fraxiergidos* seems to have practised (Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 133).

In accordance with the serious nature of the feast of Agraulos, the *Plynteria*, her secret rites, and human sacrifices as well as the worship of her, all developed out of her worship. This we find in a threefold form. (1) Agraulos, along with Herse and Pandrosos, receives from Athene the boy Erichthonios in a chest, with the command not to open it. As Athens opens it, Lysistrata, who practises a primitive agristanding, and in madded frenzy cast themselves down from the Acropolis (Pausanias, i. 18. 2; Apollodoros, iii. 189). This is obviously meant, too, to explain the situation of their sanctuaries below the Acropolis, while that of Pandrosos was on the top. (2) Agraulos casts herself from the Acropolis in order that she may, in accordance with an oracle, secure the victory for her country against Eumolpos; for this reason a sanctuary to her was founded there (*Philochoros*, Fr. 14). (3) Agraulos is changed by her husband into a stone figure before Athene to jealousy, she had refused him access to her sister (Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 708 ff.).

From all this we have as the result that the Agraulids resemble the Horse and the Graves. They nurse the child Erichthonios, the seed-corn, entrusted to them by Athene, just as Demeter does Triptolemos. In the month Thargelion (May), when the dew ceases and the harvest begins, Agraulids die.

Agraulos appears in the tradition twice: (1) as the mother of the Agraulids, daughter of Aeaces; (2) as their oldest sister, and daughter of Cecrops. Connected with Agraulos are Alkippe, her daughter by Ares, who was seduced by Halirrhothis the son of Poseidon, and Keryx, her son by Hermes, the head of the Eleanian family of the Kerykes, who is, however, also called the son of Pandrosos or Herse (Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, 81 ff.).


**AGRICULTURE.**—1. Until recently the theory was held that the human race passed from the life of the hunter to that of the agricultural shepherd, and from that again to the life of the tiller of the ground. As a sweeping generalization it is no longer possible to hold this theory; that it is not altogether untrue is shown by what is happening to the Bashkir *Tekel* in Siberia. In their case agriculture has been forced upon them by the danger of starvation. Russian civilization has encroached upon them from the north and west, and the Ural Cossacks from the east, so that the area of their pasture lands, and, as a consequence, the amount of live stock they are able to maintain, have much diminished. Before resorting to agriculture themselves, they employed Russians to farm for them, and farmed part of their land on the *métayage* system. But when the virgin soil is exhausted, the master, who loves to live richly, looks on the shepherd and disdains the hard toil of agriculture, is no longer able to pay for hired labour, and perforce must himself put his hand to the plough (Wallace, *Russia*, new ed. i. p. 265 ff.).

The same observation was made regarding the Tatars of the Crimea in 1734 (Pallas, *Zögeln*, Eng. ed. 1802-3, ii. p. 983). In those parts of the world, however, which are best known to us, there is evidence of a settled agricultural population from the earliest period. Not only in Neolithic times, but even in the earliest Stone Age, there is evidence, supplied largely by the excavations of Ed. Piette in various cave-shelters in France, that agricultural plants, and animals at least partially domesticated, were well known (see *DOMESTICATION*). In Egypt and in Babylon there is evidence of agriculture going back, at a moderate calculation, to the early part of the third millennium B.C., and possibly to a much earlier period. Mesopotamia is the only area for which there is good evidence that some kinds of common cereals grow wild (I re Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, 1884, p. 358 (common wheat); p. 364 (spelt)). It is in countries with a rich alluvial soil, like Egypt and Mesopotamia, that we should *a priori* expect agriculture to begin. In Egypt a number of kinds of plants as well as animals are known which would be possible merely by casting seed upon the mud left behind by the river when it subsides after flood. Agriculture in the earliest times was probably thus practised before the invention of the plough, the seed being left to sink into the soft mud, or, as represented on Egyptian monuments, being trodden in by cattle.

It is, however, to be remembered that when we consider primitive agriculture, we must discard all generally accepted notions as to its practice. The cultivation of crops at sites, the introduction of new crops into most countries of Europe, may be defined as (1) the regular cultivation by the plough and other well-implemented, and with the addition of manure, of (2) definite areas of (3) arable land, held as (4) freehold or (5) on a legally defined tenancy, (6) such cultivation being for the most part in the hands of males. But if we may deduce primitive methods from the practice of such tribes in modern times as combine some agriculture with hunting, it would appear to be only in the first stages of agricultural development, primarily preceding all implements except those of stone and wood. Thus the Navajos and many tribes of New Mexico, who grow [Indian] corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, and other vegetables, and also some wheat, and make some attempts at irrigation, dibble the
ground: 'with a short sharp-pointed stick small holes are dug in the ground, into which they drop the seeds, and no further care is given to the crop except to keep it partially free from weeds' (Bancroft, Native Races of Pacific States, p. 489; cf. H. Ling Roth, Sarawak, p. 402). In Northern Hindustan, the pastoral practices of the natives, according to Herrings, cleared the ground with stone axes, and turned the sod by main strength with a forked pole or with sharp wooden spades (Bancroft, i. p. 710). Dibbling alone is found sufficient in the Amazon area, the ground never being turned up or manured (Wallace, Travels on the Amazon, p. 335). In Melanesia, where horticulture rather than agriculture is the form of cultivation, and has reached a high degree of excellence, adzes of stone or shell were used before the introduction of metals. In the New Hebrides and in most of the Solomon Islands the natives use stone; the Santa Cruz people, Torres islanders, and Banks' islanders used shell, for adzes the giant clam shell (Cordrington, The Melanesians, p. 331). Stone adzes, which may have been used by the early inhabitants of France, were found by Pictet (L'Anthropologie, vii. p. 1 ff.), and stone sickles have been discovered in many places. Early Egyptian stone adzes are figured by Dr. Monod (Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte, ii. p. 96).

Nor are definite areas of arable land held by individuals. The savage is regularly communistic in his ideas; the land tilled belongs in the first instance to the tribe, though, when a man reclaims a virgin forest, what he reclaims is his own hereditary property (Sarawak, i. p. 419 ff.). Areas that are claimed from the primeval forest by the joint efforts of the community are naturally regarded as joint properties. This is described by Wallace (Travels on the Amazon, p. 217): 'Imagine the trees of a virgin forest cut down so as to fall across each other in every conceivable direction. After lying a few months they are burnt; the fire, however, only consumes the leaves and fine twigs and branches; all the rest remains entire, but blackened and charred. The mandioca is then planted without any further preparation. 'If the ground continues to be cultivated and roughly weeded, the trees soon rot, so that they can be(rotation deleted by machine). When the crop is grazed, remains open (Wallace, p. 334). In other countries, however, it is not so; in Sarawak new land of this nature has to be planted every year, as the tough grass which succeeds a crop of paddy is not good for the Dulok, to break up till the land has once more become jungle (Sarawak, i. p. 397 ff.). The landholding systems of the peoples of antiquity and the Teutonic three-field system are descended from a similar system of communal landholdings (Maine, Village Communities, Lec. iii.).

But even wandering tribes may engage to some extent in agriculture. Waits (Anthropologie der Naturvolker, vol. i. p. 498) observes that in North America the practised the tobaco, wait for it to germinate, and then gather it, and go on again. And, even where they are more settled, tribes must from time to time change their habitations, because, as they do not manure their lands, these gradually become exhausted.

From all this it is clear that five of our conditions of modern cultivation are found for primitive times, as illustrated by the last survivors of uncivilized races. Nor is the sixth point more true. Primitive agriculture is not altogether, nor to any large extent, in the hands of males. As von den Steinen records of the Bakairi of Central Brazil, it is woman that has invented agriculture. Its beginnings, no doubt, arose where hunting and fishing were difficult or unproductive. Just as we have been told that it is with the greatest reluctance that a pastoral people becomes agricultural, so it is with the change from hunting to agriculture. Amongst the most primitive of the native tribes of America it is noticeable that where game is scanty, or the men are ineffective hunters, agriculture is most developed. Dibbling with a pointed stick and hoeing with a stone axe were possible for the women and children in the neighbourhood of their huts, while the men wandered farther away, as a field was a bowl as far as the eye could see, and in reaping the harvest; the hard intermediate till of weeding is left to the women, and the men return to the village. As the earliest cultivated cereal was, without any doubt, the South Sea Islanders' local custom settles the respective shares of the men and women in the garden work (Codrington, p. 800). From the time that a man has another occupation, his place in the division of the agricultural work to the women, as may still be seen in the Polynesians and elsewhere. Eastward of the Red Highlands of Sweden and in more advanced parts of the British Isles it is only the rapid development of agricultural machinery in the last forty years that has transferred the women's work from field-work. But the agricultural duties of primitive woman also brought her important rights. Her labour gave her a right to the soil, which, as the importance of agriculture became more marked, brought her many other privileges in its train, and these privileges had the greatest influence upon the history of family relations (Grosse, Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft, p. 150 ff.). Superannuation also recommended leaving agriculture in the hands of women. 'When the women plant maize,' said an Indian to the Jesuit Guillaum, 'the stalk produces two or three ears. Why? Because women know how to produce children. They only know how to plant corn to ensure its germinating. Then let them plant it; they know more than we know!' (J. H. Hassan, Pesu, p. 727, quoting from Payne, History of the New World, ii. p. 7). This side of agriculture has been worked out more fully in such a treatise as E. Hahn in Der Mensch in Dem Altertum (Strassburg, 1894). (For Africa, see the references in Jovena, Introduction to the History of Religion, p. 226.)

2. The earliest cultivated plants are not easy to define. The carvings on reindeer horns figured by Pictet in his L'Art pendant l'âge du Bronze (plates 17 and 14), and from him by Hoops (Walddauer und Kulturformen, ii. p. 281), as from Mesolithic strata, and undoubtedly represent ears of corn. From a late Paleolithic stratum representations of an ear of winter barley (Securus germ) have been discovered in the Neolithic stratum of the Arise, Pictet in a transitional stratum between Paleolithic and Neolithic a small heap of short oval grains of wheat, the precise character of which could not be determined, as, on being exposed, they turned to dust (Hoops, p. 281). From another transitional stratum at Campigny, in the north of France, the print of a grain of barley has been found on a potsherd. From this period stones for grinding corn have also been discovered. From the Neolithic stratum at the Lake of Constance, 'two varieties of wheat and the two-rowed barley were distinctly recognized both in whole ears and in the separate grain, the latter in quantities that could be measured in grains' (Hesse, Die Versteiner von dem See von Konstanz, p. 497). Before the end of the Stone Age three species of wheat (Triticum vulga, dicoccum, monococcum), probably three species of barley (Hordeum hexastichum, this was the most widely spread—distichum, tetraestichum), and two species of millet (Panicum miliaceum and stalkicum), were grown in Europe—naturally in greater variety in the south than in the north of Central Europe. Not only was this flax cultivated, but weaving was practised (figured by Hoops, p. 283). From the time of Mesopotamia's Prachistorische Vicia (Zürich, 1889), [plates iv. and x.]. Vegetables—lentils, peas, beans, parsnips, and carrots, and poppies were cultivated, as well as vines and fruit trees (Heer, Pfauen der Pfahlbauten; and, more recent and more general, Hoops and Buschan, Der jüngere Vorgeschichtliche Botanik). The precise characters of the grain figured on early Egyptian monuments cannot, it is said, be identified. But both in Egypt and in Chaldea it early became the practice to express the value of land in terms of wheat (Mezopotamia, L' Orient classique, i. p. 761, n. 2), and the already pointed out, botanists regard Mesopotamia and the countries bordering upon it as probably the original home of wheat and barley. As the earliest cultivators...
tion of them in Europe appears in the warmer intervals between successive ages of ice, in the ear-
lier of which ice probably extended as far as the
Alps, in the latter to the latitude of London and
Berlin, they clearly must have been introduced
from the Mediterranean basin. It is hardly to be
expected that evidence of grain cultivation will be
found after the latest of these great ice ages.
Europe in strata corresponding to those in which
Piette has found them in the south of France, for,
as Nehring has shown (Über Tundren und Steppen
der Jetzt- und Vorzeit, 1890), a period when these
cold sheets of ice, moving along the lines as those
of modern Siberia must be postulated as existing
for some considerable time after the end of the Ice
Age. In such an area, where ice still exists below
the surface, agriculture would be impossible.
Impe-
toration, moreover, from Asia through Russia
would have been equally impossible at this period,
the Caspian then extending much farther to the
north and west, while the northern Ægean did not
exist (see Ratzel’s map in SSG W, 1900). From
the earliest literature of the Indo-Germanic peoples—
and there is no task of a very Hellenic kind in
this stock had large flocks and herds, they also
practised agriculture. But the meaning of the word
yava-s which they apply to grain, and which is
stylistically identical with the Greek ἀργία, ‘spelt,’
is hard to define. Its modern representative in
Persian is بیضا, in English wheat.
Agriculture
is, however, is very
likely to vary its meaning according to latitude.
Thus, in English, corn means to an Englishman
wheat, to a Scotman oats, to an American of the
United States maize. The same word applied to
other peoples of the same stock is variously appli-
ied, meaning to a North German rye, and in Scandi-
navia barley. The Greeks knew and cultivated
wheat, barley, and two kinds of millet. In the
classical period the Romans cultivated the same
cereals, though the poets write of far, ‘spelt,’ as
being the grain which formed the food of the early
Romans. The Roman word for wheat, triticum,
is in origin an adjective, and must have originally
meant carded or milled grain, from τριτός, ‘rub,
pound.’ On the other hand, barley was cultivated in
warm countries, and were not cultivated by the
Greeks and Romans. Oats (Σιποκόι) and rye (Σιπίκα)
were both known to the Greeks from Thrace. From
the former, Dionysos, who came into Greece from
Thrace, and hence to Thrace, with the same name
is the northern home a god of beer, not, as in Greece,
of wine (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 416).
Schrader (in Hein’s Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere
, p. 550) quotes Diesches, a doctor of the 4th cent. B.C.,
for oat meal, which was regarded as superior to
barley meal. In both Greece and Rome, probably,
barley played a great part in early times. It is to
be noticed that far is etymologically identical with the
English bere and barley. The most plausible
explanation of the name of the Greek goddess
Persephone or Persephatta (the name of a great
variety of forms in the different Greek di-
acta) was ‘the barley-killer,’ the first element in
the name being from the same root as far and bere.
This harmonizes well with the functions of Per-
sephone, who is queen of the underworld during
the four months which elapse between the planting
of the autumn-sown grain and spring.
3. Implements.—The operations of the farmer
very much according to the season of the year, and
the character of the implements used varies according to the
nature of the operations. For Europe the earliest
description is given by Homer. On the shield of
Achilles four rural scenes are depicted, three of
which represent the seasons when the farmer’s life
is busiest (Iliad, xviii. 54 ff.). On the first is
shown a rich fallow in which many ploughmen
are driving their teams this way and that: because, accord-
ing to Professor Ridgeway’s ex-
planation of the scene (JHS vi. p. 336), the land
that is being ploughed is the common land of the
community, and the ploughing must be begun by
all the holders at the same time—an ancient
practice which is still commemorated in England by
Plough Monday, the last Monday after Twelfth
Night. The field is broad, and is for triple plough-
ing (τριπλος πτωος, 542). When the ploughers reach
the headland (τὴν αὐλὴν), a man comes forward
and offers them a drink. ‘They then turn their
ploughs, and the work is left until the reapers
reach the headland of the deep fallow.’ This eagerness is sometimes
explained, rather naively, as arising from
the prospect of a drink at the other end. More pro-
ably the emphasis rests upon the epithet deep.
A fallow speedily becomes covered with grass and
weeds, which, with the very ineffective plough that
is still used in Greece, makes ploughing a hard
work, even for a strong man. In modern times,
even with the best plough, the breaking up of old
pasture (which with improved implements would
be a task of a very Homeric kind) is never
impossible. The threefold ploughing was required
partly, no doubt, because the ancient plough was
so ineffective. In Egypt, where the ploughing was
done in a much more yielding soil, a man is repre-
sented (not in the earliest art) as preceding the
plough with a mattock, for the plough has his
safety. Homer looked upon falling as very hard work is clear from other
passages, in which we are told that he who has
been holding the plough (πτώος ἐργᾶτος) in a fallow
all day is glad when the sun goes down and he
can hie him home to supper, though his knees
trotter beneath him as he goes’ (Od. xiii. 31-34).
The oxen in the yoke also feel the strain (II. xiii.
705). Hence, with the development of the plough
and of a system of tillage, agriculture of necessity
passed more into the hands of men. Moreover,
when a pastoral people turns to agriculture, it
objects to women having to do with the cattle.
‘Among the Bechuanas the men never allow the
women to touch their cattle. The ploughs cannot
be used except by the help of cattle, and therefore
the men have now to do the heavy work’ (E.
Holub, JAF x. p. 11). In countries where cultiva-
tion is carried on in gardens rather than in fields,
the hoe or mattock remains the regular implement
in the hands of women. These are the Islands
and a great part of China. So also in the world of
the gods, Demeter handed over agriculture,
so far as ploughing was concerned, to Triptolemus,
who, as the Homeric hymn to Demeter tells us,
still then was but a prince (Δημητρία τετελείη
, 473) of Eleusis. Henceforth his name, when
its original meaning, is identified with πτώος,
the word for the triple ploughing. It is, however,
probably only Athenian pride that makes plough-
take its rise in the little plain of Eleusis. In
which little plains occur, the little crooked spade,
is hardly yet extinct. The plough, in all probability, took its origin in larger
areas with deeper soil. Such an area was Boeotia,
from which comes the earliest European poem on
agriculture, Hesiod’s Works and Days. A still
better example of an area suited for the plough
is Thessaly, the bed of an earlier inland sea, drained
when the Peneus cut its way through the vale of
Tempe. Eleusis had traditions of a connexion with
the far north of Greece and Thrace, and it is sig-
nificant that the word πτώος is thus, instead of
which preserved a feature which, in historical
names, is specially characteristic of Northern
Greece.

It is unnecessary to suppose that the plough was invented
only in one place. Its simplest form is a forked stick with our
of the limbs cut off short. The stump with its sharp point forms the sole and the cutting edge of the plough, the long branch forms the handle. In this form, pushed along by the handle, the plough is easily to make the ground smooth. The only stage in its development is either to find a tree with two branches or to cut it in Captain Blanford's plan, or other penetrate the ground, while the trunk forms the pole, or to tie the smaller forked stick another branch at right angles to the first, or to cut it in the form of a harrow, so that some power in pulling force may be applied. This force may either be boys, as in an Egyptian representation of ploughing, or some of the old oxen, buffaloes, or oxen. In Egypt, the art at the age is never represented in the plough; but Varro (I. 10. 40) observes that the plough is seen in the woodcut, and says that the Thoroughbred Horse, p. 488) that the war chariot with spoked wheels is earlier than the ox cart, which are probably added to the later and more elaborated form, the mortised plough (xypneiris spargere). Hesiod (W. and D. 422-434) advises the farmer to have one of each kind in case of accident. The more primitive form is to be of holm-oak, which is fitted into a shoe (xopappos), to the front end of which the stem is tied, and in Homer's time the pole was connected to the rest of the plough by wooden pegs in the Egyptian plough it is simply bound fast by a rope (in Alex.). The Egyptian plough by Dr. Schäfer in the Annals of the British School at Athens, x. 152). The English plough (pippus) is though to be cut in the autumn, but this is then less likely to suffer from dry-rut. A piece of the proper shape may not be easy to find. The pole is to be of bay or ash, and strong and easy to handle. Hesiod gives us the remark that everything to be steady. His yoke of oxen are to be nine years old, and if they are not, he says, a ploughman will attend to his work and not gaze after his comrades (144).

To a similar or even less advanced stage of civilization belong the primitive ploughs which are represented in rock drawings on the borders of France and Italy and in Sweden. In these the plough is represented by a sickle (I. 1) a bent fork (II. 2) the point of which (II. 3) the pole is attached. Near the end of the pole a cross-bar is attached which crosses the foreheads of the oxen, and, as in ancient Greece and Egypt, and largely in the East still, is fixed to the horns (see the figures in Sophocles Muller's Dargestellte Europä, p. 147). There are no reins; as is shown in one of the scenes represented, a second man leads the oxen. By the time of the Romans (I. 4) the form of the plough is much developed considerably. Catu and Varro give no details, but the elder Pliny was acquainted with the cultivator and with several varieties of ploughs. The improvements had been made in Roman Rhelia by adding two wheels. A plough of this kind is figured by Dr. E. B. Taylor (J.A.F. x. p. 79). As he says, the modern English plough 'improves upon this rather in details of construction and material than in essential principle.' But the descendant of this is the plough, 'or the plough of the Norfolk, which arises from the first type by the addition of a mould-board.

Needless to say, this and all other operations of husbandry were performed by women. Certain days were fortunate for certain operations, and others not, as is expounded in the latter part of Hesiod's Works and Days, and is observed in all countries. For, as they say, 'it is better to sow than to reap' (A Voyage to St. Elida, 1752, p. 18). Pliny (xviii. 20) recognizes both a hurdle and a mattock (xylas) for this purpose.

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* In Sir G. Fellows' sketch (Journal written during an Ex- cupean, 1851, p. 71), the stump is the part on which the share is fitted. The same kind of plough is still used in some of the Greek islands.

be required. The only stage in its development is either to find a tree with two branches or to cut it in Captain Blanford's plan, or other branches or to cut it in the form of a harrow, so that some power in pulling force may be applied. This force may either be boys, as in an Egyptian representation of ploughing, or some of the old oxen, buffaloes, or oxen. In Egypt, the art of ploughing at the age is never represented in the ploughs. But Varro (I. 10. 40) observes that the plough is seen in the woodcut, and says that the Thoroughbred Horse, p. 488) that the war chariot with spoked wheels is earlier than the ox cart, which were probably added to the later and more elaborated form, the mortised plough (xypneiris spargere). Hesiod (W. and D. 422-434) advises the farmer to have one of each kind in case of accident. The more primitive form is to be of holm-oak, which is fitted into a shoe (xopappos), to the front end of which the stem is tied, and in Homer's time the pole was connected to the rest of the plough by wooden pegs in the Egyptian plough it is simply bound fast by a rope (in Alex.). The Egyptian plough by Schäfer in the Annals of the British School at Athens, x. 152). The English plough (pippus) is though to be cut in the autumn, but this is then less likely to suffer from dry-rut. A piece of the proper shape may not be easy to find. The pole is to be of bay or ash, and strong and easy to handle. Hesiod gives us the remark that everything to be steady. His yoke of oxen are to be nine years old, and if they are not, he says, a ploughman will attend to his work and not gaze after his comrades (144).

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was modelled upon it. The body of the cart was a
creel of wicker-work, which could be removed at
will. Of farm carts the Romans had two kinds—
two-wheeled (plaustrum) and four-wheeled (plau-
strum maius). Since they are termed stridentina
plaustra (Virgil, Georgics, ii. 536), it is evident that
they moved with much creaking, like the "gal-
gal (Haddon, Study of Man, p. 186 ff.). The
noise is caused by 'the friction of the axle against
the floor of the waggon which keep it
in its place' (Haddon, p. 189). The
carriage moved by the pole being fastened
by a pin near the end of the pole, and
lashed tightly with a thong or cord.
Some kind of strap
was fastened across under the neck of the animals.
The modern forms are figured by Sir C. Fellows
(Journal, p. 71), the ancient Egyptian by Schäfer
in the article already mentioned.

4. Since in the countries round the Eastern Medi-
terranean the corn harvest comes on in May
and June, the industry of autumn is the ingathering
of tree fruit and the making of wine and olive oil,
judging from the numbering of days. The autumn
occupation of England, and on the Saxon
font at Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk (which has
twelve scenes representing the months), is taken
as the typical occupation for October. Hence the
villas for the service of the shield of Achilles. The young men and maidens
carry the fruit in wicker baskets, a lad plays on
the lyre and sings to them, and they join in sing-
ing and dancing (II. xviii. 591 ff.). The wine grows
wild in the Mediterranean, and in Asia as far
as the Himalayas. Grape seeds have been found
in pile-dwellings of the later Stone Age in Italy,
and of at least the Bronze Age in Switzerland,
and vine leaves have been discovered in the tufa
round Montpellier and Meyrargues in Provence.

The use of wine was probably introduced to the Greeks
from Asia Minor or Thrace. Hesiod contemplates
that his farmer may make a voyage after harvest,
but adjures him not to wait for the new wine, in
case of bad weather (op. cit. 663 ff.). Such a
voyage from Bootea would probably be to Lebos,
or the adjacent mainland, which was famous for
its wine. According to all tradition, the use of the
corn and the culture of the grape were later in
Hellenic countries. In the countries north of the
Alps (Schrader, Reallexicon, s.v. 'Wein'),
the last of the crops which had more than a local
importance was that of the olive. According to
d'Andoulle (Origin of Cultivated Plants, p. 293),
1its prehistoric area probably extended from Syria
towards Greece.' At Athens, till the development
of the mines at Laurium, the trade in olive oil was
the only important export industry, the soil being
thin and ill adapted for agriculture. The
olive, indeed, was supposed to be the special gift of
the patron goddess, and the sacred olive trees
were protected from harm by heavy penalties.
No doubt in early times such heavy penalties alone
protected all produce, whether of domesticated
plants or animals, against the instinct of primitive
savage man for immediate use without regard
to future loss (see TAU and TOTEMISM).
The olive, as the Latin form of the word shows, spread
from Greece to Italy, and from Italy again to the
north of Europe. It is clear from Cato and Varro
that their olive trees were largely grown and
the growing of cereals. This was the result of the
second Punic war. Hannibal devastated rural
Italy; the agricultural population had to flee to
the towns for protection, and stay there for half
generation while the war lasted; and the farmers
themselves were drafted into the army. When
the war was over, the rustics had no capital where-
with to restore their farms; the State was unable
to help them, and the wealthy quietly annexed
the derelict farms of the poor. With the develop-
ment of an Empire outside Italy, corn came in
payment of taxes from the subject States. With
curious lack of economic insight, Gaius, who was anxious to increase the rural
population, caused this imported corn to be sold at less than
its market value, with the result of making it
impossible to grow corn in Italy.

It is impossible to enter here into the more
advanced processes of agriculture; the use of
irrigation, which developed early in Egypt and
Mesopotamia, and which is also recognized by
Homer; and the cultivation of fruit trees by prun-
ing and grafting. Wallace observed (Travels, p. 335) that the natives on the Amazon never
pruned or did anything else to their fruit trees.
On the other hand, the labourers imported from
Melanesia into Queensland were much surprised
to find black men who had no garden. In the
Melanesian islands, in Sarawak, and elsewhere,
irrigation has characteristically been
the occupation of women; (see nóng高科技, The
Melanesian, p. 303; Sarawak, i. p. 406).

After the corn harvest was finished, the corn had
to be threshed. This was done by oxen treading
it out on the hard threshing-floor (for the making
of which Varro composed a poem}), which
was used in all countries near the Alps (Schrader, Reallexicon, s.v. 'Wein').

The last task in the preparation of corn for food
prior to cooking it was the making of it into meal or
flour. Piette found rubbing stones in a late
stratum of the Paleolithic Age (Hoops, p. 290),
though these were not necessarily used for corn.

In northern countries, for instance Scythia (op. cit. 553) of the methods
of the aborigines of Yucatán shows
approximately very ancient practice. The grain
was soaked, and then bruised on the rubbing
stone and wetted occasionally till it becomes soft
paste. From the rubbing stone develop the pestle
and mortar of later times, which are mentioned in the life of ancient Athens.

But the handmill, with its heavy under stone and its
lighter upper stone, which turns upon the other,
goes back to the Stone Age (Hoops, p. 301 f.;
Schrader, Reallexicon, s.v. 'Mahlen'). They
are often found in the graves of women.

It is evident that this also was one of the duties of early
women, as indeed is clear from the literature of
every country from the earliest times.

Schafer—Agriculture in Mesopotamia and Egypt, the representations
in art: Perrot-Chipiez, both; the texts of the present
work (the text is out of date) and Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten;
and the books mentioned in the text. Greek Historians: Homer; Hesiod, and incidentally Homer; Theophrastus, Hist. of Plants, etc.,
and De Cassia Plantarum; with many allusions in Aristotle,
Xenophon, and elsewhere (The Genesis of Agriculture, Roman Empire, but contains information from earlier sources).

For Rome: Cato (by present form is not the original form of the text); Varro, who professes to have read and
Latin works on the subject, and was himself competent;
and Cato, who, as a farmer's son, and himself a farmer, writes in the
greek words with knowledge, and in a course, in technical fashion the argument is attributed to him
and gives an excellent abstract and summary. Columnella, elaborate but inexact; Palladius, the greater part
of whose work is arranged as a farmer's year, and had much influence in the Middle Ages. Detailed accounts of Greek
Roman agriculture will be found in Baumeister's Denkmäler der Klassischen Alterthümer, s.v. 'Ackerbau'; Smith's Gr. Rom. Agr.,
and Palay, s.v. 'Ackerbau' (this, though old, still contains much
that is useful). The agriculture of the Semitic nations is
treated in the various Bible Dictionaries; Indian agriculture
AHERIA—AHIQR, THE STORY OF

In the Vedic Age by Zimmer, Altindisches Leben. General accounts, specially for the Indo-germanic peoples, are given, with full references to literature, in Schrader’s Spracherkundigung und Urgeschichte (a new edition is in course of publication) and Reallexicon der indogermaischen Altertumskunde. Der Pfingst und das Pfingstbuch der Römer and in Mittel Europa in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit (Ollenburger, 1894; Meringer, Indogermaische Forschungen, xvi, 1897). The various modes of planting are treated by de Candolle (Origin of Cultivated Plants, 1884), by Hehn (Kulturpflanzen und Hausbaustoffe, ed. by Schrader, 1893), and by Niccolini (Waldframe und Kulturpflanzen der germanischen Altertum, 1905). These works give full references to the origins of agriculture are treated also by Hahn, Die Bauwelt, 1885, Der Baumwolle, 1895, and Das Alter der wirtschaftlichen Kultur der Menschheit, 1893. Miller, Urgeschichte Europas, 1905; and Hirt, Die Indogermaischen, i, 1905. Macke’s book (Urgeschichte des Ahereumus und der Phalku: Eine neue Theorie, 1898) must be used with caution.

P. GILES

AHERIA (Skr. akhetaka, ‘a hunter’).—A Dravidian tribe of hunters, fowlers, and thieves, found in North India to the number of 35,447, of whom the majority inhabit the United Provinces and the Panjab. Their religion is of the animistic type, and they worship a host of minor gods or godlings, and spirits not included in the orthodox Hindu pantheon, who are more influenced by Hinduism, follow Devi, the Mother-goddess; and in the United Provinces their tribal god is Mekhāsura (Skr. māsāsura, ‘the ram spirit’), of which they can give no account, but which probably represents the form of theriologic. Gāgā and Zāhir Pir, the famous saint round whom has been collected a curious cycle of legend, is worshipped by the agency of a Mussalmān officiant (Crooke, Popular Religion, i, 211 f.). Another Muhammadan saint whom they revere is the Miyān or Murād Sābī of Amroha in the Morādābād district, of whom also strange legends are told (Shea-Troyer, Dabistān, ii, 235; Crooke, op. cit. I, 217). In a lower stage of animism is Jakia, who is apparently a defiled sweeper, a member of which caste attends his shrine. To him a pig is sacrificed, and the sweeper officiant rubs a little of the blood upon the foreheads of children to repel evil spirits. Barāi and Chāmar, two of the common village godlings, are also worshipped. To the latter the offering is a cake of wheat, but in serious cases a ram is offered, the flesh of which is then and there consumed in the presence of the god. It is a curious fact that the Aherias have appropriated as their patron saint W. CROOKE. the ethiologic count of the epic of Rāmāyana. The sacrifices to the tribal godlings are generally performed by a member of the family which makes the offering, not by a regular priest. In some cases where the victim is not actually slain, it is released after blood has been drawn from it. The Aherias stand in great fear of the ghosts of the dead; and when they cremate a corpse, they fling pebbles in the direction of the pyre as they return home, in order to prevent the spirit from accompanying them.

LITERATURE.—Crooke, Tribes and Caste of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896, i, 45 ff.; Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, new ed. 1896, ii, 57.

AHIQR, THE STORY OF.—In several versions of the Thousand and One Nights, the story of the sage Ahiqr (Saïkar, Hikâ, etc., cf. n. 1) is the original form of the Arabian Nights. (ib. p. 280, col. 608) is to be found. The tale is derived from a compilation which was circulated especially among the Christians of Syria (cf. Lidzb. in ZDB, i, 1886, p. 192). The contents of the story are as follows:—Ahiqr is minister of Semacherch, king of Assyria. He is already sixty years old, and has sixty wives in sixty palaces, but no son. He has recourse to the gods (in the Armenian version, to Belahim, Shupil and Shamim; cf. on this Lidzbg. in Epherm. i, p. 280) and prays for children, but receives the reply that they have been decreed to him, and is advised to adopt his nephew Nadan, and to bring him up instead of a son. Ahiqr does so, devoting the greatest care to the physical and intellectual culture of his nephew, but the young man

Jain ascetics (ib. p. xxii.) and they carried it to great extremities, not driving away vermin from their clothes or bodies, and carrying a filter and a broom to save minute insects in the water they drank or on the ground where they sat (ib. p. xxvii).

The doctrine has been common ground in all Indian sects from the time to the present. But each school of thought looks at it in a different way, and carries it out in practice in different degrees. The early Buddhists adopted it fully, but drew the line at what we should now call ordinary, reasonable humanity. It occurs twice in the eightfold path,—no doubt the very essence of Buddhism,—first under right aspiration, and again under right conduct (Majjhimī i, 251 = Sānyuttav. v, 9). It is the first in the Ten Precepts for the order (sikkhā-yadānā), and therefore of the five rules of conduct for laymen (pañcika silānā), which correspond to the first five of the Precepts (Vinaya i, 83, Aṅguttarā iii, 203). It is the subject of the first paragraph of the old tract on conduct, the Silas, which is certainly one of the very oldest of extant Buddhist documents, and is incorporated bodily into so many of the Suttantas (Ithys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddhā, i, 3, 4). Aoka made it the subject of the first and second of the Rock Edicts in which the Buddha recommended his religion to the world, and refers again to it in the fourth. But he had long been a Buddhist before, in the first Edict, he proclaimed himself a vegetarian. The rule of the Buddhist Order was to accept any food offered to them on their rounds for alms, when Devadatta demanded a more stringent rule, the Buddha expressly refused to make any change (Vinaya Texts, ii, 117, iii, 283); and a much-quoted hymn, the Amagandha Sutta (translated by Faubâs, SBE, ii, 40), put into the mouth of the Buddha, lays down that it is not the eating of flesh that delites a man, but the doing of evil deeds. The Buddhist application of the principle differs, therefore, from the Jain.

It would be a long, and not very useful task, to trace the different degrees in which the theory has been subsequently held. It is sufficient to note that the less stringent view has prevailed. At the end of the long Buddhist domination the practice of animal sacrifice had ceased, and the revival of Brāhmā influence an attempt was made to restore them, it failed. The use of meat as food had been given up, and has never revived. But the Indians have not become strict vegetarians. Dried fish is still widely eaten, and a taboo on meat is a deep-rooted aversion to taking animal life of any other kind, the treatment of living animals, draught oxen and camels for instance, is not always thoughtful. Nowhere else, however, has the doctrine of ahīśa had so great a and long-continued an influence on national character.

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turns out a failure. He squanders the property of Ahiqar and commits all kinds of crime. When he is at this point called in question by Ahiqar, Nabad seeks to devise means to remove his uncle. He contrives an intrigue to represent him as a traitor to the king. The king is deceived, and condemns Ahiqar to death. However, Ahiqar and his wife Ashleigh succeed in influencing the emperor's counselor to spare his life, and to execute in his stead a slave who had been condemned to death. Ahiqar is kept concealed by his wife, and is generally supposed to be dead. The news, too, reaches the ears of the Sennachersib's rival, Pharaoh of Egypt, and he intends to impose on Sennachersib the task of building him a palace between heaven and earth. If Sennachersib should be able to carry out this demand, he would pay to him the income of his empire for three years; but if not, Sennachersib must do the same to him. Of all the advisers of the king, no one is able to comply with the demand of Pharaoh—least of all, Nabad. The king is in the greatest extremity, and bitterly repents the removal of Ahiqar. Then the executioner discloses the fact that he, at the time of the conviction, did not carry out Ahiqar's execution, and that he is still alive. On hearing this, the king is highly delighted, releases Ahiqar, and sends him to Egypt. He easily solves all problems proposed by Pharaoh, and the latter has to pay him tribute and still other sums to Sennachersib. After his return home, Ahiqar is again installed in his old position, and his nephew is unconditionally handed over to him. Ahiqar reproaches him for his actions, and the effect on Naban is so strong that he 'swelled up like a skin' and burst sunder.

The importance of this narrative, from the side of the history of religion, consists in the fact that, in all likelihood, it belongs to the lost literature of the Arameans of the pre-Christian era (cf. Lidzbarski in ThLaZ and Ephem. i.c.). That the story had arisen in ancient times can be concluded from the consideration that the contents of the tale, with the names of both the principal heroes, are alluded to in the Book of Tobit (14:21). The connexion of the passage in the Book of Tobit with the story of Ahiqar is recognized by G. Hoffmann (Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyrer, p. 182), but he adopted the view that the story took its rise first in the Middle Ages under the influence of the passage in Tobit. However, the whole story discovered since 1840 make this supposition untenable, and the priority of the story of Ahiqar is now generally recognized. The heathen character of the tale, too, cannot be mistaken, and this is especially prominent in the Armenian version. Among the gods mentioned in the text, the 'God of heaven' takes the first place. He is Belisamin, whose worship was widely diffused among the Semitic peoples in the last centuries B.C. and the first A.D. Especially instructive is the passage in which Ahiqar emphasizes the association of Belisamin with the 'God of heaven' over Bel, sun and moon (cf. Ephem. i. p. 259).


AHIR.—An important tribe of agriculturists and breeders of cattle, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 9,806,475, of whom the vast majority are found in Bengal (where it is by far the largest caste), the United and Central Provinces, and in smaller numbers throughout N. India. Their name connects them with the Abhirs, a people occupying the Indus valley; and Lassen's view, that the Súdras, or servile caste of the Hindu polity, with the Abhirs and Nishásas, were a black, long-haired Indian race, occupying what is now the valley of Sind, is perhaps correct. In the absence of any intelligible question, which is the Abir and which the Abira, the Abars, who are believed to have entered India in the 1st or 2nd cent. B. C., is less probable. In N. India their traditions connect them with Mathura, the holy land of Krishna; and the Jadháuls, one of their subdivisions, claim descent from the Ydváda tribe to which Krishna is said to have belonged; while another, the Nandabáns of the United Provinces, the Nanda Ghoosh of Bengal, claims as its ancestor Nanda, the foster-father of the divine child.

1. Bengal.—In Bengal the caste is known as Golá (Skr. guḍála, 'a cowherd'), and in accordance with the legend of their descent they are generally worshippers of Krishna, and therefore members of the Vašnuvaka sect. But their belief in the pietistic form of Vašnavism associated in Bengal with the teaching of Chaitanya. Thus, they have a special feast, known as the Govardhán-pūjá, which takes its name from the holy Mathura hill associated with the cult of Krishna, at which they pray to a heap of boiled rice which is supposed to represent the hill, and make an offering of food, red-lead, turmeric, and flowers to every cow which they possess. In other parts the worship is paid to a cow, which makes a sacred cow and is sacramentally slain to promote the fertility of the fields (Frazer, Golden Bough ii. 1067, 1172).

It is a curious proof of the sympathy which even Hindus of high caste and social position exhibit towards the cowherds of N. India, that when, in 1889, the last of the fanatical laws of the Santal country prohibited this brutal rite, a protest was immediately made in the Legislative Council of Bengal by one of its members. It is satisfactory to find that the Lieutenant-Governor supported the action of his subordinate (North Indian Notes and Queries, v. 292).

In W. Bengal they have special reverence for the hero Lorik, round whom a cycle of curious legendary centres, and for Káši Bábá or Kášináth, the ghost of a murdered Bráhmin, which is greatly feared. If he be not propitiated, he brings disease upon the cattle; and Risley describes how, when the plague appears, 'the village cattle are massed together, and cotton seed sprinkled over them. The fattest and sleekest animal being singled out, it is severely beaten with rods. The herd, scared by the noise, scatter off to the nearest shelter, followed by the scape-bull; and by this means it is thought the murrain is stayed.'

2. United Provinces. — In the United Provinces, those members of the caste who are initiated into any of the orthodox sects are called Abar Jat; and in the United Provinces, the former preferring the cult of Krishna, the latter that of Siva or his consort Devi in one of some her many forms, in preference the goddess known as the Vindhyabáns Devi, who has her temple at Vindhyachal in the Mirzapur district, and is supposed to be the guardian goddess
of the Vindhyan Hills. In Saharanpur they have two deities who preside over marriage—Brahm Devata and Bar Devata, the former representing the great Hindu god Brahmā, who has an image of gold in human form; the latter the banyan tree (Hindi, Shri Kesu). On the night of the wedding the image of Brahmm Devata is brought by the goldsmith and placed upon the marriage-platform. When the binding portion of the rite has been performed, the bride and bridgroom offer to the image of gold, rice, flowers, incense, sweetsmeats, and cakes, and light lamps before it. The women of the household then bury the image in the kitchen, and raise an earthen platform over it. The members of the family worship this daily by pouring water over it, and on feast days offerings of milk and rich cakes are made to it. This is done until a second marriage takes place in the family, when it is dug up and removed, and its place is taken by a new image. This is a very curious survival of Brahman worship among a people where we were unlikely to suspect its existence. Except in a few temples specially dedicated to this, the head of the Hindu triad, his cult has now largely fallen into disuse. The worship of the banyan tree is closely connected with the custom of tree-marriage (Crooke, Popular Religion, i., 116). Among the Ahir the bridegroom marks the trunk of the tree with vermilion at the same time as he marks the parting of the bride's hair with the same substance—a rite which is an obvious survival of the belief in a round of spirits, male and female, who live in a newly made marriage. They also worship the Pāmchopīr (see PANCHPRITA) and various minor local gods, the most popular of which is Kāmdev, a deified ghost, whose festival pots of milk are set to boil for the refreshment of the goddess; and one man, becoming possessed by the deity, pours the contents over his shoulder, and is said never to be scolded. Their special cattle-god in the eastern parts of these Provinces is Bīrnath (Sk. vīrānātha, 'hero-lord'), who is represented by a collection of five wooden images rudely carved into human form.

3. Central Provinces.—A similar quintette of gods is worshiped in the Central Provinces. Here their principal deities are Dūlapping, said to be a deified bridgroom who died on his wedding-day (see DAVIDIAN), and Bādh Deo, the chief god of the Gonds. As in Bengal, their chief worship is of the Divālī, which the Gonds count as their New Year. They decked with strings of cowry shells, singing and dancing. They also pay much respect to a deified man, Haridas Bābā. He is said to have been a yogī ascetic, and to have possessed the power of separating his soul from his body at pleasure. One day he went in spirit to Benares, and left his body in the house of one of his disciples, an Ahir. As he did not return, and the people ascertained that a dead body was lying in this house, they insisted that it should be brought. The gonds had it carried away, and when he found that his body had been burned, he entered into another man, and through him informed the people what a terrible mistake had been made. In atonement for their error, they worship him to this day. We have here an excellent example of the world-wide belief in the separable soul. The beliefs of the Ahir in this Province are of a very primitive type, and Russell points to obvious survivals of totemism in the titles of some of the sub-castes.

4. Maharashtra.—In the Deccan the Ahir are known as Gāvīl, which is the equivalent of Gōdāḷa, explained above. Here they are worshippers of the ordinary Hindu gods,—in particular of Śiva—and their priests are jagiṁgas, or officiants of the Lingkāyati (wh. see sect. Those known as Marāṭhā Gōpālīs worship the Mother-goddess, the Devī of Tuljapur in the Nizām's dominions, Kānhūl, Khandola of Jejuri in the Poona district, and Mahāsobha, with offerings of sandal paste, flowers, and food. Each family dedicates a she-buffalo to Kānhūl, or Śrīka, bears her with care, and does not load her or sell her milk and butter, but presents these to a Brāhmaṇ. Further south in Kānara, the GOLLAR, a kindred tribe, worship Śrīka, Siva under the form of the terrible Kālā Bhairava, and his consort Pārvatī. The rites in honour of these deities are performed after the Lingkāyati rule.

5. Gaddi, Choli.—In N. India, when Ahir are converted to Islam, they are known as Ghost ('a shouter'), Skr. gūsh, 'to shout after cattle' or Gaddi, and follow the Muhammadan rule, with some admixture of Dravidian animism. In Bombay they use many Hindu rites at marriage and birth, worship an image of the goddess Devī at the Dasahāra festival, and of Lakshmi, the goddess of good luck, at the Divālī, when they also adores the Tulasi or holy basil plant, as at the Holī they worship the castor-oil plant.

Quite distinct from these are the Gaddi of the Panjab Hills, of whose beliefs Rose has given a full account. They are nominally Hindu by religion, pious worshippers of Śrīka, and deified ascetics, Birs or heroes, and Devis or Mother-goddesses. The Birs, probably as representing the earth in serpent form, receive an offering of fatted beasts, male and female, and small cakes. The Siddhas, as benefactors of mankind, are presented with a sack, stick, crane, and amulets. The Gaddi are divided into two, the Nāgas or serpent gods, Siddhas or deified ascetics, Birs or heroes, and Devis or Mother-goddesses. The Nāgas, probably as representing the earth in serpent form, receive an offering of fatted beasts, male and female, and small cakes. The Siddhas and the Gaddi are divided into two, the Nāgas or serpent gods, Siddhas or deified ascetics, Birs or heroes, and Devis or Mother-goddesses. Like Siva, he is adored under the form of a sickle, which the god always carries when traversing his flock. Besides these, there are the autārās (Skr. avatāras, 'an incarnation of one of the greater gods'), a term here applied to the ghost of a person who has died childless, and who therefore is malignant and causes sickness. To propitiate them the dead man's clothes which are specially made for him, and wears an image of the spirit round his neck. Thus clad, he worships the autārā, an image of which is always kept near a stream. The clothes and image are worn as a memorial of the dead man, to keep him in mind and conciliate him. Besides these, they worship a host of malignant spirits—būtal, the sprites of rivers and streams; yoginis, or rock spirits; rākahās (Skr. rakahās) and bānaças (Skr. bānaça), who are here regarded as akin to the yogīs when not in a demoniacal form; and the female demons (Skr. rakahās); and spirits of the wood (Skr. vānapatī, 'king of the wood'). This would be quite in accordance with the belief of forest tribes, who naturally worship the spirits of trees, rocks, or rivers by which they are surrounded. Chungei is another demon who inhabits trees. He sucks the milk of cattle, and is propitiated with an offering of a coco-nut—a frequent form of commutation of the original human victim, the coco-nut representing the skull—a pungent vegetable, almonds, and grapes. The coco-nut is cut in halves, and the tap is dipped in flour, and to this incense is offered. Gungā, the demon who causes cattle disease, is propitiated by setting aside a griddle cake of bread until the final offerings can be made. Then a piece of iron, something like a hockey stick, is made, and the deity
embodied in this is taken into the cattle shed, where he is worshipped by the sacred fire on a Thursday. A he-goat is killed, and a few drops of the blood sprinkled on the iron. At the same time cakes are offered, and some are eaten by one member of the household, but not by more than one, or the scourge will not abate, and the rest will starve in the early morning. Every fourth year the deity is worshipped in the same fashion. Kailū is a demon worshipped by women after childbirth, by putting up a stone under a tree, which is sanctified by magic formulae (mantra) and then worshipped. A white goat, which may have a black head, is then seized by the demon by making an incision in the right ear and letting the blood fall on a white cloth—a good example of the commutation of the blood sacrifice. The woman eats some coarse sugar and dons the cloth, which she must wear until it is worn out, thus maintaining a sacramental communion between the demon and herself. If any other woman should happen to wear the cloth, it would cause her divers bodily ills. These facts regarding Gaddi religion are specially interesting, as being one of the best exponents of Indian animism as shown in the Panjab Hills.

LITERATURE. — For Bengal: Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology, 314 ff.; Risley, Tribes and Customs, i. 389; Buchanan Hamilton, in Bengal, in 1861, 4, 194 ff. In Sylhet, and Bābā: Gait, Bengal Census, 1901, i. 197; Crooke, Provinces of India, v. 168; Risley, Ethnol. ci. i., 206; North Indian Notes and Queries, v. 77. For the United Provinces: Crookes, Tribes and Customs, i. 68, ii. 370, 419. For Bājārā; Census Report, 1903, i. 399. For the Central Provinces: Census Report, 1901, i. 80, 259; FASB pril. ii. p. 297. For the Deccan and Concan: Bombay Gazetteer, xxv, pt. 197, xxvi, pt. 184; Pro, i. 42. For the Panjab, Census Report, 1901, i. 119 ff.

AHMADĀBĀD, AHMEDĀBĀD.—Chief city of the district of that name in the province of Gujarāt; founded in A.D. 1413 by Ahjam Shāh, from whom it takes its name, and during the 16th and 17th centuries, one of the most splendid cities of India. These religious buildings illustrate the conflict of the Muhammadan style with that of the Jains to which it succeeded.

The truth of the matter," writes Ferguson, "is, the Mahomedans had forced themselves upon the most civilized and most essentially building race that is in India, and the Chalukyas conquered their conquerors, and forced them to adopt the Brahministic superstitions. To any invaders known or could have introduced. The result is a style which combines all the elegance and finish of Jaina and Chalukya, and the massiveness of the Hindu, never quite attained, but which is characteristic of the people who at that time were subjecting all India to their sway.

Crooke," writes the J. W. Masjidi, or Cathedral Mosque, though not remarkable for size, is one of the most beautiful mosques in the East. This and other buildings of the same class, following the most elegant and instructive Indo-Saracen styles, were built during the century, and a half of independent rule (A.D. 1412-1573). Their tombs are equally remarkable, that of the King Mahmod Begada being one of the most splendid sepulchres in India.

Introduction to Chushing's Shân Grammar (Bangoon, 1871), and from Bangkok to the interior of Yün-nan." The Ahoms used to call themselves not 'Ahom,' but, like the Northern Shâns, 'Tai.' Regarding the etymology of the word 'Ahom' there has been some discussion, and various views have been expressed. Dr. Grierson seems to incline to the opinion that the word is a corruption of 'Ashom,' a Burmese corruption of Shâm, which is the true spelling and pronunciation of the name of the well-known tribe. We have not, however, been able to ascertain what is the force of the initial A. The Muhammadan historians called the Ahoms 'Assâm.' However, people, who say, wherever they go, to him this and that.' If this suggestion is correct, 'Ahom' must be a, comparatively speaking, modern corruption.† It is very probable that this tribe gave the modern name to our Province of Assam, the old name for the country being Saumarphś.

AHOMS.—The Ahoms are Shâns belonging to the great Tai family of the human race. This family extends from the Gulf of Siam northwards into Yün-nan and thence westward to Assam. It comprises several divisions, viz., the Siamese, Laos, Shâns, Tai Mau or Tai Khî (Chinese Shâns), Kâtn, Mîng-Rî, and Ahom. According to Dr. Grierson, the Tai race, in its different branches, is beyond all question the most widely spread of any in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and even in parts beyond the Peninsula, and it is certainly the most numerous. Its members are to be found from Assam to far into the Chinese province of Kwang-kiang.

† For derivation of 'Pong' see Burma Census Report, 1891, p. 203.
‡ For derivation of 'ONG' see Burma Census Report, 1891, p. 203.
¶ General Introduction to 'Tai Group' in Linguistic Survey of India (Calcutta, 1904), vol. ii. p. 59.
" For Introduction to Chushing's Shan Grammar (Bangoon, 1871).
ordinary Kachari * woman of the plains, whose skin is frequently dusky in hue, and whose features are hard and ill favoured. Though more muscular, and certainly more capable of great labor than the Assamese Hindus of Aryan or Aryan extraction, the Ahom, by long residence in the steamy place, is without coordinate use of opium, has physique deteriorated, and has become as inscrupulously lazy as the ordinary Assamese rustick. Ahoms are heavy drinkers, consuming large quantities of rice beer or toddy, and smoking. But they have their own village. The Bihus, or harvest and sowing festivals, are celebrated by more than usually heavy potations. The devotees, dressed in white, distort a spirit from rice in out of the way localities, often in defiance of the Excise laws. The evils of the drinking habit, which affect the other races of Indo-Chinese origin, do not so far, appear to have spread among them. In educational matters the Ahoms are more backward than even the ordinary Assamese Hindus, which is saying a good deal. Therefore, the condition of the old Ahom aristocracy becomes worse and worse every year, owing chiefly to the failure of its members to realise the new conditions of life. Families in Sibisagar which a generation or two back held positions of power and comparative wealth as the Ahom Raja's court are now practically destitute.

Dress.—The dress of the Ahom tribesman at the present time possesses nothing to distinguish it from that worn by the ordinary Ahom cultivator. It was the Ahoms, however, who probably introduced into Assam the large broad-brimmed hat or jajeo (giri) of early description of the Shan head covering. The dress of an Ahom nobleman used to consist of a turban of silk or a cap called jenna, a short coat, mirji, made of Assamese cotton or silk, reaching to the waist, a long coat, and silk, worn over the mirji reaching down to the ankles, and a cloth round the head, which is worn in a similar manner to ordinary Assamese women, wearing either silk or cotton, according to the circumstances of the wearer. Some of the old Ahoms are very fond of flowers. Women as well as men nowadays wear the jhdpi, a specially large and richly decorated hat being reserved for the bridgegroom and bride. The jhdpi was an emblem of authority, and none but the great were allowed to wear it in the past. Jewellery is much the same as in the ordinary world, and is worn in the valley, although the different articles are sometimes called by different names. The girls of the Deodhai, or priestly caste, tattoo star-shaped devices on their hands and arms, the dye used being prepared in the Ahom or Nogor villages. Tattoos were common in all ages. The Norais, another Shia tribe of Assom, who possess a few settlements in the valley, observe a similar custom.

Houses and Villages.—Ahom villages do not differ from those of the ordinary cultivator of the valley, but the houses of the priests (Deodhai), who are in all matters more conservative than the rest of the tribe, are built on piles about 5 to 6 ft. from the ground, the dwelling of the ordinary cultivator being either set up on an earthen plinth or drifted with the ground. The Deodhai houses are divided into three compartments, namely the living-room or sleeping-room, and chamber for dining-room. The spaces immediately below these three chambers are used for the loom, cowshed, and pigsty respectively.

Food and Drink.—Figs and fowls abound in the Deodhai villages. Ahoms have not been Hinduised, sometimes even those who have become the disciples of Vaishnavite gosains, eat pork and fowls, and drink rice beer and rice spirit, much to the disgust of the Achomnicising missionaries who regard them with horror. The Ahoms cultivate rice in the same fashion, using the same primitive plough, as the ordinary cultivator, but, owing to their extremely lethargic habits, fail to reap anything like full benefits from the magnificently rich soil. A large quantity of grain is used up by them in the manufacture of tnu (rice beer), and they spend probably quite as much money in buying opium as in paying the Government land revenue.

Exogamous groups.—The Ahoms are divided into a number of exogamous groups called phoids or khetts, the principal ones being seven in number, hence the term sithgaria (*belonging to seven*) which is nowadays applied to them. This composition of these seven principal divisions has varied from time to time, but they are said to have originally consisted of the following: the Royal Family, the Buragohain, Golahs, Chiring, Deodhai, Mohan, and Ballong phoids. The whole exogamous groups are divided further, into two main divisions, called Golains and Gogois, but there are some decidedly inferior phoids, such as the Chaodangs, who were the public executioners in the old days, as well as Likhans, Gharfiales and others, with whom the Ahoms of the upper classes will not intermarry.

For a description of the Ahom system of government, State and social organization, and particularly the pdik system, the reader is referred to Ch. ix. of Gait's History of Assam.

Marriage.—Those who have become Hindus observe a modified Hindu marriage ceremony, but the real Ahom rite is the saklang. The ritual is contained in a holy book called the saklang puthi (unfortunately no longer available). As the actual ceremony is conducted with some secrecy, and as it is said to be forbidden to divulge its details to anyone but an Ahom, the writer had considerable difficulty in finding out what actually occurs on the occasion; but two reliable authorities, Srijuts Kanakeshwar Borrpata Gobain and Radha Kanta Sandikai, E.A.C., were good enough to give him the following description. The bridegroom sits in the courtyard; the bride is brought in, and she walks seven times round the bridgegroom. She then sits down by his side. After this both go to and proceed to a room screened off from the guests. Here one end of a cloth is tied round the neck of the bride, the other being fastened to the bridegroom's waist. They walk to a corner, where nine vessels full of water, rice, and fruits, are set out. Certain leaves, the Chiring Phukan (or master of the ceremonies) reads from the saklang puthi, and three cups containing milk, honey and ghee, and rice frumenty, are produced, which the bride and bridegroom have to take. The rice uncooked rice is then brought in a basket into which, after the bride and bridegroom have exchanged knives, rings are plunged by bride and bridegroom respectively, unknown to one another, it being the intention that both will try to take out the ring and wear it on the finger. The exchange of the knives and the rings is the binding part of the ceremony. Bride and bridegroom are then taken outside and do soma (homage) to the bride's parents and to the people assembled, and the marriage is complete.

Ahoms used to be polygamous, but one wife is said to be more correct now. Ahom girls are not married till they reach a nubile age—sometimes much later. The marriage ceremony is quite out of proportion to the means of the people; for instance, a Deodhai marriage in Sibisagar was reported to the writer to have cost more than Rs. 200 (bridegroom's expenses).

Death.—Ahoms literally bury their dead; formerly they invariably did so, but now those who have accepted the Hindu religion resort to cremation. The following is a brief description of the old Ahom rites. The corpses of the poor are buried in the ground without coffins. Those of the rich are reverently laid in boxes; a water-pot, cup, dā (stick), jhdpi (or large hat), and a pārī (wooden stool) are put inside the box with the corpse. These articles are intended for the use of the deceased's spirit in the nether world. The body is then lowered into the grave, which is filled in, a large earthen tumulus (mōdīm) being thrown up over it. The Ahom kings were buried at Choraiode in the Sibisagar district, their funeral obsequies being of a much more elaborate nature. A buranny, (Ahom chronicle) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gadadhur Singh, who died in a.d. 1696,* a number of living persons, who had been the deceased's attendants, were interred with the corpse, together with many articles of food and drink, and clothes of the deceased. It is stated that some times horses and even elephants were interred alive with a dead king.

Religion.—As the Ahoms are now almost entirely Hinduised, and there are very few of the old

* Gait, History of Assam, p. 163.
Deodhais (the only persons who possess any knowledge of the ancient ritual) who remember the ancient religious customs, it is well-nigh impossible to give an accurate and connected account of the Ahom religion.

The writer has been unable to trace Buddhist influences. Possibly Buddhism had not penetrated so far as the Manipur, or the Ahoms left Mung-Ri-Mung-Rang, their ancient site; or Buddhism had become so inextricably mixed with the worship of the gods of earth and sky as to become indiscernible. Apart from the god Chum-sonde, the bamboo was worshiped by the Ahom king, assisted by the Chiring Phukan, as will afterwards be described, the Ahoms possessed various gods, amongst whom the following seem to have been the more important: Along or Phu-Ra-Ta-Re (god the creator), Lengdon (god of heaven, the Hindu Indra), Kaokham (god of water, the old Vedic deity Varuna), Lengbin and Lengdin (god and goddess of the earth), and Phai (god of fire, Hindu Agni). Chumseng, who was daily worshipped at the king's house, was not regarded by himself. According to Ahom tradition, Chumseng was given to the Ahom progenitors, Khunlai and Khuntai, by Lengdon, god of heaven. Chumseng was worshipped more as a fetish—something supernatural, possessing the power to deliver the king and his people. Chumseng was perhaps the successor, something of the nature of the Hindu sâdgrân, or even a precious stone (which the etymology of the name, i.e. chum = 'precious' and seng = 'stone,' would certainly suggest). The stone or image, whatever it was, could not have been large, as at the coronation ceremony it was hung round the king's neck. The worship was conducted with secrecy, none but the king being allowed to view Chumseng. The king could see him only twice a year. The mysticism attached to the Chumseng worship accounts for the doubt as to what Chumseng actually is. Old people say that Chumseng lies concealed somewhere in Assam at the present day.

The Ahoms performed ceremonies called saïfa aša (before the god of the earth and the State, the latter being on a grander scale than the former) and conducted by the king himself. A ceremony called sarkai, the object of which was the preventing of evil spirits from the country, was also performed, the peculiarity of this observance being that a man who had lost several of his children by death was offered up as a sacrifice. The jiklike, or expiation ceremony (lit. rik = 'call,' and khwan = 'life'), was generally performed at the installation of a new king, in times of danger, or after a victory. The procedure was as follows. The king sat in full dress on a platform, and the priests and astrologers poured holy water over his head, whence it ran down his body through a hole in the platform on to the chief billong or astrologer, who was standing below. The king then changed his clothes, giving those which he had been wearing and all his ornaments to the chief billong. Gait says that the same ceremony, on a smaller scale, was also frequently performed by the common people, especially if, on certain occasions, e.g. when a child is drowned. Much the same ceremony seems to have been celebrated in Manipur State.

Priesthood.—The priests, as has already been stated, were called deodhais. Probably this name was applied to them after the conversion of the king and his court to Hinduism, for in the Ahom language the priests were called sângmun. The Deodhais claim descent from Laoikhri, who is said to have been the companion of the two princes Khunlai and Khuntai when they descended from heaven to earth, and to have acted in the dual capacity of priest and councillor. Although in the old days of Ahom rule the Deodhais composed the king's Privy Council, they were afterwards restricted to priestly duties and to divining events, the latter being thought by the Ahoms a matter of very great importance. Tradition runs that the heavenly princes brought from above the holy triad, and hence the sanctity which is attached to these birds. Some Deodhais near Luckwa (in Sibsagar district) once performed the divination ceremony for the writer's benefit. It was as follows. An altar of plantain trees and a bamboo was set up (hence the bamboo) by the Ahom king, assisted by the Chiring Phukan, as will afterwards be described, the Ahoms possessed various gods, amongst whom the following seem to have been the more important:

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Coronation.—The Royal Coronation ceremony was celebrated with great pomp at Choraida hill in the Sibsagar district, the Swargadeo and his principal queen riding on elephants. On such occasions the sacred Chumseng was brought out from the Royal arcana and hung round the neck of the king, who was girt about with the sword hengsdang (the Ahom 'excalibur'), three feathers of the sacred birds (kni-chan-miung) being placed on his turban. After planting two banana trees on Choraida hill, the king returned and took his seat on a bamboo stage (holong ghar), under which had been placed a specimen of every living creature, including man. The king was bathed with holy water, which he sprinkled on the head of the king, taking the sacred sword, killed a man, a criminal being selected for the purpose. A great feast was afterwards given to the people, all of whom assembled to do homage to the new king.

As Gait says, 'The Ahoms were endowed with the historical faculty in a very high degree; and their priests and leading families possessed burumus or histories, which were periodically brought up to date. They were written on oblong strips of bark, and were very carefully preserved and handed down from father to son.'

A detailed description of the Ahom system of chronology will be found on p. 361 of Gait's History of Assam. It is interesting to note that it is of like character with that employed by the Chinese, Japanese, and other Mongols. This fact is another link in the chain of evidence in favour of China having been the cradle of the Shina race.

It is beyond the province of this article to give a sketch of the Ahom language, nor, indeed, is this necessary, since the treasures of the 'Linguistic Survey' of India have been made available to the student. Not only in vol. ii. of this series, but also in a separate monograph, Dr. Grierson has treated the Ahom language. According to Dr. Grierson, Ahom is one of the oldest forms, if not the oldest, of the Shina languages. It is more akin to Siamese than any of the modern Shina.
What is extraordinary, considering the power which the Ahoms wielded, and that they were for centuries the ruling race in Assam, is the completeness with which their language has been preserved. In the present Assamese language, we have only the authority of Dr. Grierson, there are, barely fifty words which can be traced to an Ahom origin. From the time when the Ahom kings accepted Hinduism and imported Hindu priests from Nadiya in Bengal and elsewhere, the language began to change, slowly at first, but in the end very rapidly, until at the present day there are probably not more than a few dozen men all topos who possess even a smattering of the ancient tongue. It is perhaps due to the irony of fate that Assamese, the language which displaced Ahom to the extent that it shares the same destiny; for, since in addition to Assam of Eastern Bengal with its meaning millions of Bengali-speaking inhabitants, it seems impossible that a weak vassal will be able to withstand a powerful Bengal onslaught, unless special measures are taken to protect it from being crushed out.

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AHIRMAN.—The later Persian designation by which the devil, or principle of evil, is known in the religion of Zoroaster. The ancient form of this name is Angra Mainyu in Gathic Avesta (Bndahå, i. 10). In Younger Persian (Yasht, i. 10; Dåt-Sparam, i. 9), and Younger Avesta (Vendidåd, xxvii. 28; Sad Dar, lxx. 3), he is not a fallen angel, like his counterpart in Christianity. His standing epithet is ‘the demon of demons’ (Venddåd, xii. 1) and he is the destroyer of the world (Artá-Vîqé Yãma, ch. e.) and full of malice (Båndå, i. 10). As a pernicious power, Ahirman is represented, especially in the Younger Avesta and the Pahlavi books, as thwarting the beneficent influence of Ormuzd by means of antagonistic creations (e.g. Vendidåd, i. 1 ff.; Yasht, xii. 77; Yasna, ix. 8; Bndahå, i. 12), and in constant struggle with the spirit of light (e.g. Yasht, x. 97, xii. 13, xviii. 2, xii. 46, 96; Yasna, x. 15). He strives to persuade men to be hostile to Ormuzd and win them over to his own side (Båndå, i. 14; Zåt-Sparam, i. 8), and his greatest victory consists in inciting a human soul to rebel against Ormuzd. His complete satisfaction is found in securing a human soul on his side (Dåt-Mandag-kârit, xli. 4, 5). So mighty is his work, moreover, that even the Yasna, or ‘the Song’, did not succeed in overpowering him, and it was only Zarathushtra who confounded him (Yasht, xii. 19, 20; Vendidåd, xix.; Dinkart, vii. 4, 94 sq.). From Ahirman proceeds all disorder, and it is the source of all diseases (e.g. Yasht, xxi. 1, xxx. 5; Vendidåd, xx. 3, xxii. 2, ii. 29; Yasht, xiii. 14–13). He attacks the creations of Ormuzd, and introduces imperfections, disease, and death. He killed Gydåmart, the primeval man, and Såxihårvan, the first man (e.g. Yasht, xxvii. 10, 11, 17–19, xxviii. 1–17). Así Dakhå for the destruction of the world of righteousness (Yasht, xiv. 34). Ahirman is the head of a rabble crew of demons, fiends, and arch-fiends, who are mentioned hundreds of times as dakhås (Mod. Pârs. ‘dixås’) and drehås in the Avesta and later literature, and conceived of as abiding in hell, in ‘endless darkness’, ‘the worst life, the abode of Deceit and of the Worst Thought’ (Yasna, xxxii. 29, xxxii. 23; Vendidåd, iii. 35).

The final defeat of Ahirman is to be brought about by man. At the resurrection, Ahirman, being impotent and helpless, will bow down before the good spirits (Yasht, xii. 96), and his doom, according to the later books, is to be transported to Dât-Sparam (e.g. Yasht, xii. 97, 127), he is ingress Azí Dakhå for the destruction of the world (Dåt-Sparam, xxxiv. vii. 28–30). At that time Ahirman will be driven from mankind (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 448), and, rushing to darkness and gloom in his impotence (Båndå, xxxii. 30), will be forced to seek refuge in the earth (Westergaard Fragments, iv. 3), where he will be imprisoned (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 151) or destroyed (Venddåd, xii. 151, 157–170).

Attempts have been made to trace the beliefs between Ahirman and Ahi, the sky-serpent of ancient India, as also with the Máraka of Buddhism, but these are too few and too remote to deserve much consideration. The nearest resemblance is that between Ahirman and Satan.

Owing to the emphasis which the Avesta and later books lay upon recognizing the principle of evil as an active agent in the life of the world, Zoroastrianism is frequently spoken of as Dualism. In the Parsis, on the other hand, the term is almost without active meaning, even vigorously rejecting the application of the term to their religion, and their most advanced teachers deny attributing any personality to Ahirman except as a principle or force. Further discussion of this problem, and the attitude in ancient as well as
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modern times with regard to the subject, is reserved for the article on Dualism. See also Ormazd, Zoroastrianism.

LITERATURE.—For detailed bibliographical references on the subject, consult Jackson, The Iraniische Religion in Dieger and Kubin Grundriss der Iran., Philol., ii. 694-698, and also Spiegel, Eranische Alterthumskunde, i. 119-126, Leiden, 1885. Orbann, Ormazd, Paris, 1897, Casartelli, The Mazdaanisches Religion under den Sassaniden (in German), 1901; Steuer, Der Persische Gott Gdthds, 1898; Barani, Das Steinrelief von Ahunaver to the History of Religion.
The allusions to this formula which occur in the commentary upon it in Yasna xix, should be taken as apokryphal, or, being correct, modernized, and consequently slightly altered in the course of transmission. Though its occurrence is not very frequent, it is so unmistakable as to be almost equal in importance to the prayer In the original Avesta, however, as well as in the religious ideas which are more inclusive than those of the Gathas and the rest of the genuine Avesta. They (the Gathas) constitute a principal focus of light for the history of religious experience. But we must be content with their high claims at one point, and with searching investigation at every step. They do indeed prove to be what at first glance they seem to be; and they stand almost isolated in this respect, as being in their day among the most serious records of religious convictions and sentiments. But they imperatively demand all possible corroboration as to their value in regard to the vital consideration in question. Now the Ahunaver is one of their most important supports. Hence the high scientific value of its interpretation, although this is of a naturalistic inclination. The fact that one formula refers to the Gathas, certainly prove that the moral idea prevailed extensively in Iran as well as in India. This is extremely interesting simply as a matter of psychological experience; but it implies beyond all question a widely felt and practical religious influence of the moral idea upon the sentiments and lives of the populations amidst which this lore prevailed. Here we have a point of momentous consequence, which possibly explains also why Cyrus was so ready to further the religious as well as the political prosperity of the Jews, with all that this entailed in the return of the people and in the restoration of their sacred Temple with their established faith.

It is apparent from the translation given above that all ideas save the moral one are actually and instinctively excluded from the lines. Neither Asa, nor Vohuman, nor Khathra is here used even in its high secondary sense as the name of one of the archangels themselves, each a personification of the supreme ideas of Truth, Benevolence, and Lawful Order,—while the corresponding word of the Gathas is retained in the Arabic and Persian religious ideas, and gives the entire idea a new value.

3. Later sanctity.—The Ahunaver, having acquired a singular sanctity for the reasons given, was freely used by the religious fancy of a somewhat later age. Like the ‘sword of the Spirit,’ it becomes a weapon in the hand of saints and angels. Zarathustra himself, in his later traditional role, and in his Temptation, repels Angra Mainyu with it, while Srauta wields it as his emaithia, i.e. Asa, ‘halber.’ It would, however, be precarious simply to assert that the above-noted characteristic of the formula was the effective and immediate cause of the somewhat excessive importance afterwards attributed to it. Its sacrosanct character, if one might so express it, was probably owing to its brevity plus its allusions to the Gathas, or even to some purely accidental intellectual circumstances. It is often used perfunctorily like the Pater Noster, if not indeed almost as a potent instrument of magic.

4. Relation of the Ahunaver to the History of Religion.—The allusions to this formula which occur in the commentary upon it in Yasna xix.
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have been widely exploited in critical and semi-critical studies upon the subject of the Philonian-Johannine Logos; and it certainly constitutes a secondary factor to be reckoned with in our decision as to the history of exegesis at the places indicated. Such expressions as the Ahunavater being 'the word uttered before the heaven, the earth,' etc., do indeed recall the terms in the Prologue of St. John: 'In the beginning was the Word.' It has been supposed that these expressions in Yama xix. gave the idea to this 'Word' of St. John. Oppert, we believe, first suggested the connexion. But possible as such an initiative might be, the present writer does not regard it as at all probable, in view of the Greek Logos with which Philo was so familiar. Besides, there is no saying what the date of Yama xix. may be; it may even have been Sassanian. Commentary of course appeared almost as soon as a text was issued; and our Pahlavi commentary texts, however late they received their present forms, as 'edited with all the manuscripts collated,' cannot fail to have preserved hints from the very earliest ages. Naturally, these were sometimes much covered up by over-growths; and this Yama xix. must certainly have had predecessors. Philo may and indeed has some of the latter doctrine from the semi-Persian books of the Bible, from the Apocrypha, and from the exilic Talmud, so far as they were then current, and from the many related documents of which we have never known the daxis of Yama xix. may be; such religious doctrines must have reached both Jerusalem and Greek Egypt; but to suppose that Yama xix. influenced this Philonian-Johannine Logos of the Prologue seems to us utterly impossible to the question, in view of the history of Philo's development. See artt. Logos and Philo.


AHURA MAZDA.—See ORMAMZ.

Ainus. [J. Batchelor.]

1. The Ainu habitat.—The few Ainus now living—and at the present time there are less than 20,000 of them left—may be looked upon as the very last remnant of a great pre-historic race, which was, without doubt, once spread over an area extending from the North to the southern limits of old Japan. An indisputable proof of this lies in the fact that very many geographical names in Siberia and throughout the whole of the Japanese empire, Formosan islands, are discovered to be of Ainus origin. Moreover, Japanese mythology, as collected in the Japanese work known as the Kojiki, or Records of Ancient Matters,1; and Japanese history as found in their Nihon-gi, or 'Chronicles of Japan;' both of which works date back to the 8th cent. A.D., bear unmistakable evidence to the fact of the Ainus being an aboriginal race of Japan.

2. The Ainus religion pre-historic.—There is no great difficulty in determining the descent, nature, and relationship of such religions as have arisen during historic times; such as, for example, Islam, Judaism, Muh-mudanism, Buddhism, Taoism, and others of less importance. But a vast majority of ancient religions, of which there are still to be found some living examples left among scattered tribes and races, had their origin in historic times, concerning which neither specific documents nor trustworthy traditions are to be had. The Ainus religion is one of these. Indeed, like indigenous Japanese Shintòism, it is a religion without any known historic beginning, and has no recognized founder.

3. The native religion still unchanged.—That the Ainus religion is the same to-day in all essentials as it was in pre-historic times, may be inferred from the inherited genius of the language, as well as gathered by way of auxiliary from the customs of the people and their present-day practices of rites and ceremonies. It is on record that in the year 1620 the Jesuit Father Hieronymus de Angelis laid a foundation as to Ave and the religious times, concerning which neither specific documents nor trustworthy traditions are to be had. The Ainus religion is one of these. Indeed, like indigenous Japanese Shintoism, it is a religion without any known historic beginning, and has no recognized founder.

4. The Ainus religion originally monotheistic.—The term for 'God' defined.—Although the Ainus religion, as now developed, is found to be extremely polytheistic, yet the very word in the Ainu language, 'God,' being of the singular number, seems to indicate that in its beginning it was monotheistic in nature. This word is Kamui. This is a compound of three distinct roots, the chief of which is in kó, whose meaning is 'above,' 'above,' 'top,' and so forth. It is like super and κόσμος. It occurs in kando, 'heaven,' 'sky'; and is found in many words where the sense of super is to be conveyed. The fundamental meaning of με is 'spreading,' 'creeping'; and kamui, which is the oldest Japanese word for 'God,' means, in Ainu, 'covering,' 'Aton in his shrine, London, 1895, p. 7, gives practically the same derivation for the Japanese word as that which is probably connected with kōmii, 'to cover,' and has the general meaning of 'above,' 'superior.'
"creeping over." I is a particle which has the power of changing some parts of speech into nouns, as well as being a personal pronoun meaning ‘he, she, or ‘it.’ Thus by derivation Kamui means ‘that which’ or ‘he who covers’ or ‘overshadows.’ And so our thoughts are made to revert to the origins of the Aryans and to the Ten, ‘heaven,’ of the Chinese.

The term Kamui is of wide application, and may be used as a noun or adjective at will. But, however employed, it never loses this quality of chief in station, quality, or power. Thus, used as an adjective, it has the following shades of meaning. Kamui nupuri, ‘a great or high mountain’; Kamui reki, ‘mighty wind’; or a ‘terrific storm’; Kamui nonno, ‘a pretty flower’; Kamui chookiki, ‘a large animal,’ and so forth. When used as a suffix, Kamui is always a noun, e.g. Nupuri-kamui, ‘things of the mountains;’ Chokreen-kamui, ‘the gods of trees.’ Also Ya-ru-kamui, ‘gods upon the land’; Rep-un-kamui, ‘gods in the sea.’ It is not the mountain or tree or flower or land or sea that is called ‘God and worshipped, but the spirit or spirits supposed to dwell in these objects. Otherwise the construction of the term would have to be changed; as, for example, Nupuri-kamui should be changed into Nupuri-ne-kamui, and Chokki-kamui into Chekki-ne-kamui.

5. The Supreme God distinguished.—After monothelionism had given place to polytheism, it became necessary for the Ainu to distinguish between the deities. Making gods many rendered it imperative to have some term by which to denote the Supreme God. Hence, when speaking of the ‘God of Gods,’ the Ainu gave Him the name of Pass-kamui, ‘Creator and Possessor of heaven.’ All the rest are termed Yaityan kamui or ‘common deities,’ also ‘near’ and ‘distant deities’; Pass is an adjective, points to rank and authority, its first meaning being ‘weighty,’ ‘true,’ and ‘superior in rank.’ And so Pass kamui may well be translated by the word ‘chief’ or ‘true God;’ or, as the Hebrews would have said, ‘God of all.’ Thus far, then, we have reached a real basis for two articles of Ainu belief, viz. (a) ‘I believe in one supreme God, the Creator of all worlds and places, who is the Possessor of heaven, whom we call Pass-kamui, ‘The true God,’ and whom we speak of as Kodan kara kamui, Mossiri kara kamui, Kando kara kamui; (b) ‘I believe also in the existence of a multitude of inferior deities (Kamui), all subject to this one Creator, who are His servants, who receive their life and power from Him, and who act and govern the earth for Him.’

6. Special names given to the Creator.—In asking for proof of the existence of a Creator, the Ainu point to the flash of lightning and call it the shining forth of God’s glory, and to the thunder, as if it is the sound of His voice. The Milky Way is called His river. Two specially favourite names one sometimes hears applied to Him are Tuntu and Shinda. The first of these, Tuntu, may be translated by ‘brace,’ ‘support,’ ‘pillar,’ ‘sustainer,’ ‘upholder.’ God is addressed by it often in prayer when the thought uppermost in the mind of the worshipper is that of God as the upholder and sustainer of all things. The second word, Shinda, means ‘cradle.’ The Creator is so named because He is looked upon as the God in whose hands rest all the things of the universe. He is also called upon ‘our nourisher’ (Batchelor, The Ainu and their Folklore, London, 1901, p. 582 ff.).

7. Evil spirits called Kamui.—Hearing the meaning it does, it is not surprising to find that the term Kamui is applied to demons. Satan and all his angels are called Nitne kamui. Nitne means ‘stiff,’ ‘oppressive,’ ‘heavy’ as dough. Evil spirits are thus naturally looked upon as the oppressors and enemies of mankind. Indeed, as often put it, ‘they are very difficult to get along with.’ They are extremely numerous and quite ubiquitous. And they even are expressly said to inhabit the very same objects, in many instances, as the better deities themselves. Hence the good and evil genii of trees are brought to notice. Tree-blight and all accidents from trees, for example, are caused by the evil genii; while the buds, leaves, flowers, and useful fruits grow, it is supposed, through the favour of the good genii.

8. Special meanings of the term Kamui.—A careful analysis of the word Kamui, taken in connexion with the various objects to which it is applied, makes the following facts clear: (a) When applied to spirits supposed to be good, it expresses the quality of beneficence and benefaction. (b) When referred to supposed evil spirits, it indicates that which is bad and most to be dreaded. (c) When applied to reptiles, devils, and evil diseases, it signifies the most hateful, abominable, repulsive, and harmful. (d) When applied especially as a prefix to animals, fishes, or birds, it represents the greatest or most fierce, or the most useful for food or clothing, as the case may be. (e) When applied to persons, it is a more title of respect expressive of honour, dignity, and rank. Thus we should think that, because an object has the term Kamui applied to it, this in no way implies that it is looked upon as divine or as necessarily worshipped. Demons are called by this term, but many of them are not even revered, though, out of fear, they may be propitiated with offerings. Men are called Kamui, but they never have divine worship paid them.

9. God and Creation.—It has been seen (§ 5) that the supreme God is sometimes spoken of as Creator. But, to save confusion of thought, the method of creation should be explained. The ideas, matter of all kinds is considered to have existed from all eternity, and other things to have been evolved out of it. Ex nikho nikhi ft is the motto of this people, so that one is prepared to find certain ideas connected with the metamorphotic cult lurking in their theories about the origin of things. But with the Ainu metaphysicia is by no means a natural change, for upon examination it is found to partake in some instances of the nature of special creative acts performed for the specific purpose of stock. In the earth, while in others it is made to take place as a predetermined punishment by a stronger power for some evil done. Thus, for example, deer and fishes of some kinds are said to have been made to develop into their present form by of similar creatures cast out of heaven after a celestial feast (427, 289). Some snakes, so theory asserts, came out of a pole, and others out of a log of wood (360); men were changed into frogs as a punishment for some misdemeanour (340), another into a flower (360), and a child into a goat-sucker (160); the hazel-rod came from a piece of deer skin (447), and a Japanese who had lost his way in the mountains was metamorphosed into a green pigeon (444); some bears, demons, foxes, and cats were developed, so we are informed, from sparks of fire and ashes (467, 501), while hares were evolved from hair cast out of heaven (614); in some instances, eagles, we learn, came out of twisted grass (605), and in others from a piece of wood (365); squirrels, the Ainu would have us believe, were made to come out of a pair of old cast-away sandals (609); goats, mosquitoes, and eagles are said to have been evolved from the ashes of a goblin (74), and so on.

God and the production of dry land.—The legend concerning the first appearance of dry land is peculiar. A bird is supposed to have assisted in bringing it forth by hovering over the original substance, it is said, for three weeks, and then by evoking the world was a great dusty quagmire. The water was hopelessly mixed up with the earth, and nothing was to be seen but a mighty ocean of bare swampy swamp. All the land was mixed up with, and aimlessly floating about in, the endless seas. All around was death and stillness. Nothing existed in this chaotic maze, for it was altogether without another trace of animal life; nor were there any living fowls flying in the airy spaces above. All was as gloomy as the depth of the clouds had their demons, and the Creator lived in the highest heavens, with a host of subordinate deities. At last, the true God determined to make the earth habitable, and made a water-wagglet, and sent him down from heaven to produce the earth. When this bird saw the dreadful condition the world was in, he was almost at his wits’ end to perform his allotted task. He fluttered over the water with his wings, trampled upon the muddy matter with his feet, and beat
It down with his tail. After a very long time of hovering, trampling, and tail-wagging, dry places began to appear, and the waters gradually became the ocean. And so the worlds were in the raised out of waters, and caused to float upon them. Therefore the Ainu call the earth by the name Mossiri, i.e. "floating land," and hold the wagtail in great esteem.

In Ainu objects are visible or invisible in principle, and each spirit agency being necessarily conceived of as having the form (corresponding to it) an outer, visible, and substantial, though not necessarily material, form—a form by which it reveals itself, through which it acts, and by which it makes itself felt. These two naturally go together, though they may be separated for a while at times (as in dreams, for example, when the soul is supposed to leave the body for a time), owing to special causes or for particular purposes. But the normal condition is for them to act together, the inner essence through the outer form. Further, the inner spirit may, if necessary to carry out some extraordinary purpose, even assume the outer form of an object not belonging to its class, and make itself seen and heard through it. In this we discover the basis for the thought of demoniacal or other possession.

10. Ainu ideas about anthropomorphism.—Nuttall, in his Standard Dictionary, defines anthropomorphism as being the ascription (c) of a human form to deities, (b) of human affections to deities, and (c) of human faculties to the lower animals. This definition is quite Occidental. An Ainu would not think of putting it in that way. He would certainly change the order by making it clear that man is the one and only God the giver. He does not say, for example, that the deities are anthropomorphic, but that man is theomorphic in so far as his higher nature is concerned, and demon-like in everything that is evil about him. To an Ainu, whether in good or evil, are ascribed the most beautiful and the most hideous attributes of mankind. But it must not be supposed that because the people think of an object as being endowed with a personal, conscious life which can think and will and act for good or ill as it pleases, it is therefore in every instance anthropomorphic in structure. The inward and outer forms differ, and both will, it is thought, differ for ever. The outward form will always remain the same, whatever change be made of the spirit form. It will be the same with all animals and trees, or with a blade of grass or a stone. As they are here, so will they be for ever in the next world. There is to be no change in them. The only change that can take place will be in the qualities of good and evil, for then evil will become more evil and goodness better.

11. The word for ‘spirit’ defined.—In discussing Ainu religion, it is always necessary to keep in mind the meaning of the word in use for ‘spirit’ or ‘soul.’ The term is peculiarly interesting, and deserves careful consideration. Its root has nothing whatever to do with such expressions as चो, चुक, चुकुरा, ‘shade,’ ‘breath,’ and so forth. It suggests quite a different set of ideas. It is rama or ramachali, to which the Japanese term tamashii or tama is in all probability allied. But the root of rama is ram, which is a noun meaning ‘mind,’ ‘understanding,’ ‘intellect,’ and then ‘spirit,’ ‘soul,’ ‘essence,’ the ‘meaning of a word.’ The final at, which at times is heard as chi, signifies existence, the root being a, ‘to be.’ Hence it is that gods and devils, elves, fairies, gnomes, goblins, and all spirits, of whatever race or order they be, are looked at from the point of intelligence rather than that of life alone (cf. § 10).

12. The sun a nature-god.—The Ainu religion, then, being thus animistic (see § 10) and anthropomorphic (see § 12) in principle, and each spirit agency being necessarily conceived of as endowed
with mind or understanding (§ 13), the process of religious development becomes natural and easy, and nature-gods may be created both ad libitum and ad infinitum. The sun above us, for example, is seen to move; there is nothing haphazard about him; he rises and sets with the utmost regularity, and casts his light and splendour with the evident good purpose of dispensing his warming light and genial heat to the world. There is, therefore, it is thought, a living light-giving spirit (ramat) within the body or num, i.e. ‘ball,’ of the sun, by whose influence he shines and by whose power he moves. This is one, indeed, who rules us much of the Egyptian Ra, for he too was supposed to be directed by a divine agency and personal will. In his own sphere among the lesser lights of heaven this stupendous and mysterious orb is chief and king, and the region of the east, whence he rises, is held sacred. Inferior to the Creator (see § 5) yet superior to the sun in power is another spirit, malignant in nature. It is he who is supposed to be the cause of solar eclipses, and he is thought to be the very incarnate manifestation of the bodily evil. When the sun is eclipsed, this orb is supposed to be dying. That is to say, his intelligent life—i.e. his ramat— is departing from the outer visible substance and leaving the num black, cold, and dead. Yet he is never allowed quite to die, for a good superior spirit, who is either the Creator himself or His deputy, always, out of a kindly regard for mankind, graciously brings him back to his normal condition.†

15. The moon.—The moon, who is said to be the wife of the sun, is not worshipped. There is a legend about her which runs as follows:

The sun and moon are husband and wife. They are divine beings whose province it is to rule the heavens and the earth. The male is appointed to do his work in the daytime only, and the female at night. Sometimes, however, they may be seen travelling across the heavens in company. The divine sun is the larger of the two, has the brightness and best clothing to wear, and shines the most clearly. The moon is round like a cake of millet, and is clothed in dark and white garments which are worn one over the other. Now, the moon is sometimes invisible. When this is the case, it is because she has gone to visit her husband.

16. Dualism.—In mentioning the supposed cause of solar eclipses (see § 14) we were brought face to face with the fact that dualistic ideas are rampant in the Ainu religion. Indeed, they are as much in evidence among the Ainu as they are among the Avestae, where the struggle between Ormazd and Ahriman is so clearly depicted; or as they are in the Rig Veda, where Indra and Vrtra form so constant a burden. The basis of dualistic ideas may be found (in so far as the Ainu are concerned) in their conception of spirit as defined in § 13, and of anthropomorphism, as explained in § 12, taken in connexion with the antitheses of nature. The Ainu sees so many contrary things ever present both within and outside of themselves, lighting, as they suppose, so much and so often against one another. Thus, light gives place to darkness, and bad weather to fine; rejoicing may be with us to-day, but to-morrow men must weep; this morning a child is born, and in the evening it dies; disease follows health, and good is succeeded by evil. Why, the Ainu asks, is this so? The explanation is simple. He who is the origin of light and life, of health and all good, is Himself the good true God (Pase Kamui, see § 8); while the source of disease, death, and all harm and evil in this degree and kind is naturally thought to be the Nitre Kamui, and all his agents the demons (see § 7).

The Samoyedes believe in a supreme God of heaven called by this very name. The Tibetan name for God is Nuna. Is it possible that these are all connected?†

† Hardwick, Christ and other Masters, London, 1893, p. 443.

† For an account of an eclipse of the sun and the Ainu method of curing it, see TASJ, vol. xvi. part i. 1897.

No clearer illustration of the doctrine of dualism can be found than that exhibited by Ainu notions of the Kamui or superior spirits of the sea. The chief of these are two in number, named Mo-aka and Shi-aka. They are of equal rank and power, but are very different in character, and together with all the spirits of the ocean are called Rep-un-Kamui, i.e. ‘deities in the sea.’ Shi-aka, i.e. ‘wild,’ ‘rough,’ ‘strong,’ ‘uncanny,’ is continually pursuing his brother Mo-aka, i.e. ‘Uncle of peace,’ or ‘calm.’ Mo-aka is good, and is beloved, and is always, and Shi-aka is dreaded and disliked as being evil. Though he is not thankfully worshipped, he is often propitiated by means of adulatory speeches and offerings, because of the cause of all harm done by and upon the sea, while his brother rules the calm. Another good illustration of this subject is afforded by the account the Ainu give of the devil’s attempt to swallow the sun. (See AF 69.)

17. Fire-worship.—It has already been pointed out in § 14 that the greatest visible nature deity of the heights is the sun. Of like nature is the chief deity of the terrestrial globe, fire. The personal essence of fire, that is to say, its supposed spirit, when upon the hearth, is said to be of the feminine gender, and, besides being called Fuji, Unji, or Huchi as the case may be (see § 3), is also named Inou, Kamui, i.e. the divine being who rears us,” and Inou-Hu, i.e. ‘the ancestress who rears us’—Fuji or Huchi among the Ainu being, or ‘ancestress,’ and Inou to ‘sustain’ or ‘to bring up.’ She is the chief in her sphere and class, and is sometimes spoken of as a disease-destroying and body-purifying spirit. As she is of so great importance, and is held in such a position, it is not surprising to find that fire is in comparison most often worshipped. Indeed, so high is she supposed to be, that she is sometimes spoken of as the ‘Guardian of the world.’ With respect to her, there are several tabued things which go to show how she is reverenced. Thus, for example, a burning log must not be struck with anything; the ashes must not be knocked out of a pipe into it; nothing must be taken out of it with a knife; a pair of scissors must not be placed near it; nail parings, saliva, and refuse of any kind must not be suffered to fall into it. That this goddess is looked upon as superintending matters connected with the house in which she dwells and is burning, may be gathered from such a prayer as the following: ‘O thou god of fire, have mercy upon us and take care of this house. And that she is thought to attend to the wants of the family is proved by the following address and prayer made to her at the time of a marriage: ‘We have now settled to marry our son and daughter; therefore, O thou goddess of fire, hear thou my prayer. Keep this couple from sickness, and watch over them till they grow old.’ And that she is feared is proved by the fact that she is supposed to be the chief witness for or against a person in the day of judgment (see § 40). When that takes place, it is said that she will present the great judge of all with a perfect picture of every word spoken and action done by each individual being, and from her there can be no appeal. But not only are prayers said to the goddess of fire, offerings also are sent to her by means of fetishes, and libations are poured out for her acceptance. A certain beer is brewed, which is mostly done at the end of the millet harvest, and immediately before the seed-sowing time, the Ainu always make a kind of inou or fetish out of wood, which they call inumba.

INUMBA - SHUUTU - INAO OR REFUSING-CLUB FETISH.
shutu-inao, i.e. 'refining-club fetish.' This instrument is used as a messenger to the spirit of fire, and is sent to her with some leaves at the time of refining. It will be seen in the illustration here given that a hollow place is left at the top of the club. The club is called the 'seat' or 'nest,' and is made so as to hold the leaves presented. When these have been put on the 'seat,' drops of beer are offered to the various deities, and the fire is worshipped as follows: 'O divine grandmother, we drink beer to thee; we offer thee inao. Bless this household and drive away all evil. O keep us from all harm.' After this, prayer is offered to the spirit of the fetish itself thus: 'O refining-club fetish, take the leaves now placed upon thee to the goddess of fire, and thank her on our behalf for all the blessings she has bestowed upon us. Tell her of our estate and welfare, and solicit her continual help and favour.' After having been thus offered and addressed, the fetishes are sometimes reverently burnt upon the hearth while prayer is being said, and so in a way, the leaves are sent to the spirit world. Sometimes, however, they are not burnt, but set up by the doorway as offerings to the deities of doors. The husband of the goddess of fire, that is to say, 'the household inao' mentioned here, is regarded as representing that class of deities whose province it is to attend to the well-being of vegetation. They are said to be of a good nature and disposition, and are consequently worshipped. This couple seems to represent the male and female principles of nature. The natural law by which rain descends and clears away is represented by one called Pe-konchi-koro-guru, or 'He who wears the water-cap.' The Ainus say that this deity appears as a cloud. After it has appeared, they are not thought to be worshipped. There is a legend concerning him which runs as follows: 'Once upon a time the Ainus were at war. The enemy had pressed them very hard, and had set fire to their villages. Up to that time they had worshipped all the deities they could think of for deliverance. Soon a large cloud arose from the mountains, and, floating directly to the burning village, rained heavily upon it and extinguished the flames. They then learned for the first time that this cloud was a god. He has been worshipped ever since this event, and the name 'He who wears the water-cap' was then given him.' Another class is represented by one called Ikoro-koro-guru, or 'He who possesses great treasure.' Another name given him is Nupuri-koro-Kamui, or 'The divine possessor of the mountains.' He has yet a third name by which he is known, and that is San-ru-i-toro-Kamui, or 'The divinity with the large footprints.' This deity is the representative of such animals as are worshipped. When he makes himself visible, he is said to come always in the bodily form of a bear, and it is supposed to be his special business to attend to the wants and general welfare of the forests and mountains. In § 14 the god of the air is spoken of as being the god of the winds. Like the god of fire, the deities of the air are found to be very numerous. And they too may in some cases be regarded as personifications of the laws of nature. After the god of the sun mentioned in § 14 comes one called Shi-nish-e-ran-guru, or 'The person who comes down to the highest clouds.' He has a consort whose name is Shi-nish-e-ran-mat, or 'She who comes down to the highest clouds.' These are both worshipped, and they are supposed to move the clouds which they inhabit. Then follow Nochiu-e-ran-guru and his consort Nochiu-e-ran-mat, i.e. 'He' or 'She who comes down to the constellations.' It is their joint duty to attend to the shining and well-being of the stars. These also are worshipped. The last class to be mentioned is supposed to attend to the lower clouds, and are called Urara-e-ran-guru and Urara-e-ran-mat, i.e. 'He' or 'She who descends in fogs.' They are said to be worshipped by some.

20. The demons of land and air.—In all things the Ainus are firm believers in an almost co-ordinated array of hostile deities who manifest their malignant nature by creating disease, death, and every kind of evil. Speaking of these matters, an Ainu once said to the present writer: 'As the demons of fire, the air are so near this earth, it is possible for them to pay us frequent visits, and even to dwell among us. This accounts for so much that is evil in the world.' Referring to the dryads of the forests, he said: 'There are a great number of them. The men who work evil to mankind, and though dwelling in the forests and mountains, they have their real home in the air around us. They are the servants of the prince of devils.' Whirlwinds also, however small they may be, are looked upon as evil, for they are seen to arise from the fire, the outlet of which is represented by the name Nituniarase, or 'Aunt of swamps or marshes.' And she, as her name implies, is supposed to have her home in fens, moors, and other damp places. Very many of these are tied up with demons, and ghouls are thought to be her offspring, and those which owe their origin to her by the name of Toi-kekunra. The following legend gives a fair idea as to what the people consider them to be like:

All ghosts are closely related to the demon of swamps. They are very large and have extraordinarily big heads, while their hair is always rough. When seen, it is nearly always found to be standing upright. However, they do not appear after night, and are but dimly seen, one cannot tell exactly what they are like. In order to see them, they are supposed to be divided in order to bewitch people, and to do them harm. They are dreadful creatures, and, as they are true demons, are much to be feared. They come by their origin in this world. If a man has finished making the world, he throws his mattocks away among the mountains, and left them there to rot. But as they grew decayed, they changed into demons, and the people or upon the ghosts they could think of for deliverance. Soon a large cloud arose from the mountains, and, floating directly to the burning village, rained heavily upon it and extinguished the flames. They then learned for the first time that this cloud was a god. He has been worshipped ever since this event, and the name 'He who wears the water-cap' was then given him.' Another class is represented by one called Ikoro-koro-guru, or 'He who possesses great treasure.' Another name given him is Nupuri-koro-Kamui, or 'The divine possessor of the mountains.' He has yet a third name by which he is known, and that is San-ru-i-toro-Kamui, or 'The divinity with the large footprints.' This deity is the representative of such animals as are worshipped. When he makes himself visible, he is said to come always in the bodily form of a bear, and it is supposed to be his special business to attend to the wants and general welfare of the forests and mountains. In § 14 the god of the air is spoken of as being the god of the winds. Like the god of fire, the deities of the air are found to be very numerous. And they too may in some cases be regarded as personifications of the laws of nature. After the god of the sun mentioned in § 14 comes one called Shi-nish-e-ran-guru, or 'The person who comes down to the highest clouds.' He has a consort whose name is Shi-nish-e-ran-mat, or 'She who comes down to the highest clouds.' These are both worshipped, and they are supposed to move the clouds which they inhabit. Then follow Nochiu-e-ran-guru and his consort Nochiu-e-ran-mat, i.e. 'He' or 'She who comes down to the constellations.' It is their joint duty to attend to the shining and well-being of the stars. These also are worshipped. The last class to be mentioned is supposed to attend to the lower clouds, and are called Urara-e-ran-guru and Urara-e-ran-mat, i.e. 'He' or 'She who descends in fogs.' They are said to be worshipped by some.
and are very numerous. Toi-pok-un-chiri, i.e. 'The underground bird,' is especially called upon for help by hunters in times of danger; but whom he represents, no one appears to know. Akin to this one is Toikunruri-kuru, with whom is associated his wife Toikunruri-mat. These names mean (or She) close upon the surface of the earth. They are often invoked upon sea-fish by friends of hunters, and are called upon in times of danger. Hopokite-teh, who stands next in order, is said to be the demon who causes stones to roll down the cliffs and mountain sides. These are but classes of demons, for there are many kinds of demons, as the names Shu-, Tone, or Toikunruri, are very numerous indeed. They inhabit all kinds of places, such as the tops and bottoms of mountains, the flat surfaces of rocks, all kinds of flora, stony places, and localities where dust or sand prevails. The winds also have their demons, good and bad, and so have rain, mist, snow, hail, sleet, frost, ice, etc. (see AF, ch. 61).

21. Gods and demons of the sea and rivers.—All the larger kinds of fishes and sea animals have divine honours paid them, as, for example, whales, sea-leopards, sword-fish, salmon, turtles, and sea-tortoises, and so forth. These are all worshipped. So far as one can learn, the principal deities of the sea are as follows:—Rep-un-niri-kata iano uk Kamut, 'The god upon the waves of the seas.' "Whenever he allows himself to be seen, it is said to be in the form of a whale. He is looked upon as the head of all sea-deities, and has many servants, of whom the tortoise and the albatross are his favourites. Prayers are said to this god quite frequently, and the two servants just mentioned are said to act as go-betweens. Messages are conveyed through them and offerings of fetishes and beer are sent by them to him. The heads of these creatures are often to be seen kept as charms, and worshipped by the fishermen. The deity who is supposed to be next in order is called K'ai-pe-chupka-un-kuru, i.e. 'The person who resides in the eastern surf.' As the name implies, he is said to have his home somewhere near the shore towards the east. We are informed that in bodily form he is like a large fish of some kind; but what kind of fish is not now known. He is supposed to be very good, and is therefore often worshipped, and given presents of fetishes and beer. The spirits next in order are the Shi-acha and the Tui-uchi families.

There is an Ainu controversy about this couple, for some the two names are said to represent one object only, and to object the whole. So, meaning 'peace' or 'calm,' is made to apply to the sea side of him, and 'storm,' to his very large, a legend regarding him is as follows. 'Once upon a time two Ainu were out at sea fishing, when they were suddenly overcome by a severe storm. As their boat was in great danger of being swamped, they gave themselves to earnest prayer. Every known god of the sea was called upon for help, but all to no purpose. At length a very large whale, as big as a mountain, was seen to rise out of the water, and gradually came to the side of the boat. It remained there till the distress of the fishers was relieved by the wind and waves. This was no other than Mo-acha or Shi-acha. He was not known before that time, but has ever since been honoured with the prayers of the Ainu fishers.' Other names of this deity are Mo-acha-chun-rupe, 'The bringer in of the uncle of peace,' and Shi-acha-chun-rupe, 'The bringer in of the uncle of roughness' or 'storm.'

The next deity of the sea is a goddess who is known by the name of Chiwush-kot-mat. This name means 'The female possessor of the places where there is salt and fresh water.' It is said to be her duty to watch at the mouths of rivers and allow the fish, particularly the spring and autumn salmon, to go in and out. The specially evil demons of the sea are numerous. The name of the chief is Ko-noru-ru-mat, or 'He who descends upon the calm sea.' He, it is said, causes storms. Any abnormal fish, whether it be abnormal in form or colour, is supposed to be unlucky, and to belong to this demon. When caught, such fish are immediately tossed back into the sea. They are called Ikonnup, or 'things of misfortune.' This demon is married, and his wife's name is the same as his own, except that it has a feminine suffix. All mermaids are supposed to be of the idolizing this matter. He said that he and his father while fishing once caught a kind of tortoise which the Ainu call Amnup. On examination it was much whiter than the others, and this the father considered ought not to have been. On making the discovery, the old man declared it to be 'a misfortune-giving thing.' He therefore cut the foot off, and, letting the tortoise drop into the sea, said, 'Mati Eko-noru-ru-guru alure no, pivitka ne epam yun; O Ko-noru-ru-guru, i give this directly to you, take good care of it.' Next follows the demon called Koi-pok-un-guru. He is married, and together with his consort is said to 'reside under the surf' upon the seashore. Ota-pateh-guru and his wife come next, and they are supposed to be the spirits who 'make the sand fly.'

The river demons are also very numerous, and their names indicate their work. They are: Konumpikot-guru, or 'dwellers in muddy places.' They are said to reside specially near the river banks. Chikuta-pinne Kamuy-ara-kuru, 'Young deity (or feminine principal) presenter of good, and divine male current') comes next. Then there are Chiw-rak-shins and his wife ('they who send the current'), and Koshivunath guru with his wife, i.e. 'persons of the swift current,' and others too numerous to mention. The river deities are called Wakko-ush-Kamui, 'Water gods.' All rivulets and tributaries are said to be their off-spring. They are named Kamui poto, i.e. 'the little hands of the deities,' and Kamui matnepo, i.e. 'daughters of God.' Then there is Petru-shmat, 'the female of the waterways,' and Pet-otok-mat, 'the female source of rivers.' Mermaids are called Pe-boso-ko-shinpuk, i.e., 'mermaids who pass through the water.' They are also called Mihitachi and humunuchi, i.e. 'fat' and 'fleshy devils.'

22. The demons of diseases.—Although, as was shown in § 20, many demons are supposed to have their origin and homes in marshes, yet the Ainus believe that demons of disease come in great measure from the sea, as the following localities are associated with them.

Various diseases from time to time attack the body. Such, for example, are ague, fever, heavy colds, stomach-ache, and scrofula, and consumption. Now, when the Ainu have a complaint, they are supposed to meet together and go to the villages up and down the rivers, and take from each a small quantity of millet, fish, tobacco, stink-cabbage, and cow-peas. These are brought to an appointed place, where the men should also come together and pray. After prayer they carry them to the seashore, and, having made fetishes, reverently place them by their side. When this has been done, they should pray, saying, 'O ye demons of sea harbours, have mercy upon us. O ye demons of disease, ye are fearful beings: we have, therefore, with one accord met together and decided to enrich you with fetishes and various kinds of food. Do ye wait upon those of your kind who have afflicted us, and on our behalf you must, to the best of your power, treat them to take their departure. We present these articles of food for you to eat, and the fetishes are paid as fines. O all ye demons who watch over the harbours, cause the demons of disease to be taken from us.'

23. Fetishism.—The specific doctrines of Ainu religion as relating to the nature of their supposed superior spirits being such as that now stated (see especially §§ 10-13, 16, 17), the way to fetishism is short, direct, and logical. But fetishism is a term which has its difficulties, and must, to avoid confusion of thought, be defined before going further. The name is a Portuguese term derived from fetigos, and has long been in use in Portugal to designate the relics of saints, amulets, and charms in general use by Portuguese sailors. It was applied by Portuguese merchants to objects of many varieties to which the natives of the West Coast of Africa paid religious honour.* In

24. Fetishism in Ancestor-worship.—One of the most important and relatively highest fetishes the Ainus possess—and every family must have this one—is called Chisei koro inoa (the fetish who possesses the house), also called Chisei cungpine ekoaki (‘ancestral caretaker of the house’). It is the province of the spirit of this fetish to assist the goddess of the fire (see § 17) in looking after the general well-being of the family. His special abiding-place is in the sacred north-east corner of the hut, at the back of the family hearth. He is not only worshipped where he stands, but is also sometimes brought out from his abiding-place and stuck in a corner of the hearth, where prayers are actually addressed to him. In the abiding-place of the fire, which in its turn is called the ‘ancestress’, i.e. *fuji* or *hucki*. The way this fetish is made is as follows: A piece of hard wood, such as lisa, say an inch or two in diameter, is taken. This is to form the stem, and is usually about two feet in length. One part is shaved with a sharp knife from top to bottom to represent the front. Near the top a gash is cut across in imitation of a mouth, and a little below this the so-called heart is carefully bound in. This heart, when first given to it, consists of a warm black cinder freshly taken from the hearth and firmly tied with a string made of twisted willow shavings to the stem, which is called the *netoba*, i.e. ‘body’. After the heart has been bound in, a number of willow shavings are packed in to fill up all round so that the stem with its mouth and heart is quite hidden from view. After it has been respectfully made, it is reverently stuck in the ground by the fireside, and the following dedicatory prayer is devoutly said to it: ‘O fetish, you are none other than this house. The gods of the Ainus are more clearly defined by their names. At the present day the Ainus do not seem to look upon this as ancestor-worship; they do not, indeed, know what it is. But the names given them go to show that in its origin it was such.

A curious thing about the fetish is the fact that it is thought to be connected in some psychological way with the present living head of the family in which it has been dedicated. The following piece of lore explains this:

The chief fetish should be made, in so far as its stem is concerned, of lisa, because this is found to be a hard kind of wood and does not quickly decay, even if stuck in the damp ground outside of doors. It is not considered wise to use any other wood than lisa for this purpose, for in olden times a certain man made one of *cerdiphyllum*, the end of which rotted after a short time, so that it fell over. Not many months after, the hearer himself became weak and died. This was owing to the influence of the fetish having been withdrawn. For this reason it is now known that the stem should be made of lisa only, that being the most durable wood of all. However, should a person happen to be in a place where he cannot obtain lisa, he may use either willow or *cerdiphyllum*, but these must not be kept long for fear they should rot away. When they become a little old, they should either be cast away into the forest or reverently burnt upon the hearth before they have the chance of decaying. Others should then be made in their place.

25. Ancestor-worship in general.—Prayers to the dead form a fairly strong feature in Ainu religion. The necessity for them is taught the people thus:

‘If a person cultivates a spirit of selfishness, and offers nothing by way of food and drink to his deceased ancestors, the spirits of the people should warn him, saying, “Foul and wicked person, thou art a fool, and thou dost not understand; thou shalt die a hard death.” If this be said, all the people, young and old alike, will be careful to worship the dead.’ Another short counsel runs thus: ‘Should a person leave his home and go away and die in a strange land, some of his relatives must surely go to his grave and there worship and offer libations. The dead observe all deeds, good and bad; those who do what is right are blessed, and those who do what is evil are cursed by them.

Women are not allowed to take part in religious exercises in so far as the deities are concerned, but they are commanded to make offerings to their deceased husbands and ancestors. The words they are usually taught to say on such occasions are as follows: ‘O ye honourable ancestors, I am sent to present this beer and food to you.’ On being asked why this ceremony should take place, an Ainu gave this piece of lore:

‘The divine -fontina-said, “If the people do good while upon the earth and not evil, though they die young they go to heaven. When there, they have good hunting.” It is good for people on this earth to offer those who have gone before to Paradise food, beer, and libations. Not to do so shows lack of filial respect. Those who have departed still live and take an interest in those left behind. They should, therefore, be revered; unless respect is paid to them they will curse you. Those who have departed will not accept offerings from selfish people. Those who have departed still live and take an interest in those left behind. They should, therefore, be revered; unless respect is paid to them they will curse you. Those who have departed will not accept offerings from selfish people. Those who have departed still live and take an interest in those left behind. They should, therefore, be revered; unless respect is paid to them they will curse you.

The ceremony of ancestor-worship is called *shinnsurappa*, i.e. ‘libation-dropping’, and takes place outside the huts by the east-end window and a little towards the west. Fetishes and beer are offered, and a prayer such as this said: “O ye ancestors now dwelling in the underworld, we offer you beer and lees; receive them and rejoice.'
Your grandchildren have met together specially to offer these things. Rejoice. Watch over us, and keep us from sickness. Give us a long life so that we may continue to offer such gifts.

26. Private or tutelary fetish.—The fetish mentioned in § 24 was shown to belong to the family as a whole, but there is another very important one which is quite personal. It is always made of willow. Why it is regarded as of so high importance as the following legend will show: "When God made man, He formed his body of earth, his hair of chickweed, and his spine of a stick of willow. And so, the backbone being regarded as the principal part of the human body, it is looked upon as the seat of life. It is said that no warrior of old could be killed unless his spine was injured.

When a child has been born, some very near blood relative of the male sex gets a nice clean stick of willow and shapes it into a fetish. When it is made, he proceeds to worship it, after which he reverently carries it to the bedside, and there

... sent to the Creator and other superior deities with messages. And, when all is done, they are taken outside to the sacred place at the eastern end of the hut. Here they are carefully stuck in the ground, and libations of beer made; it is therefore, not surprising to find that the Ainu formerly used to reverence the willow almost as much as the Papuans did the warring tree; who, we are told, had such an affection for it that the wild tribes of Ceram used to lodge, and almost live, among its branches (East, Papuans, 110, 190).

27. Demon — worship. — The worship of demons is one of fear among this people, and is as a rule performed by way of propitiation. This becomes very clear when a certain kind of fetish called nitne-inao or nitne-hash-inao, i.e. 'evil fetish' or 'evil bush fetish,' is made and used. The purpose of it may be gathered from the prayer which follows. This kind of fetish is used especially in times of sickness, for on such occasions an afflicted person is supposed to be possessed by a demon of disease. It is called an evil fetish, not because it is itself regarded as being of an evil nature, but rather because the occasion on which it is used is a bad one. It is sent to the wicked demon of disease, this is why it is called evil. When it is made, a kind of stew called nitne-horu, i.e. 'evil stew,' is prepared and offered with it. This consists of bones of fish, some vegetables, and the remnants of any kind of food, mixed together and well boiled. When all has been prepared, the fetish is stuck in the ground upon the hearth, and the stew, which has by no means an inviting smell, is placed before it. Then a so-called prayer is said as follows:

'0 evil fetish, take this evil food, together with the disease of this sick person, and also the demon who has possessed him, and go with them to hell. When you arrive there, please make it so that the demon will not return to this earth again.

...
haste and heal this sick person.' The man who officiates at this ceremony then returns to the hut, where he again exorcizes the demon by brushing the patient down with the takusa mentioned above.

Fetishes of the following shape are also sometimes used for this purpose. The present writer has several times seen them set up in the huts of sick people, and very earnestly worshipped. After having been prayed to, the spirit of the fetish is supposed to wander about in the earth and visit the various demons of evil on behalf of the sick man, and, after having found them, is said to consult with them as to what is best to be done for the patient.

28. Special fetishes for epidemic disease.—In the event of any village being attacked by an epidemic disease, but more especially if the disease be of a severe and dangerous nature, as, for example, smallpox, the Ainus of the villages immediately surrounding the infected one get sticks of elder or cladrastis, about four feet in length, and make them into fetishes or charms. These instruments are called chikappo-chiko-mesup, i.e. 'little carved birds,' by some, and rai-shuku-inao, i.e. 'thick club fetish,' by others. They are also named kotan-bikora-inao, i.e. 'fetishes for village defence.' As soon as set up they are devoutly worshipped, when the people call upon them to drive the dread disease away. They are supposed to represent the eagle-owl, which is thought to have power over this particular evil. The slit in the top of the fetish given in the illustration is said to represent the mouth, and the shavings left on the sides are intended for feathers. Food is sometimes placed in the mouth as an offering to the demons to whom the fetish is sent. That which the writer has seen consisted in one case of putrefied fish mixed with brimstone, and in another of cynanchum Caudatum. It is said that the demons, being unable to withstand the smell of these things, will flee from them.

29. Fetishes for the sea-gods.—The fishermen have one kind of fetish which is a special favourite with them. It is called tabi-an, i.e. 'brush fetish.' This kind is made by cutting a short stick, and either splitting it at one end and inserting a shaving in the opening so made, or else by cutting a few gashes in it in an upward direction, as shown in the illustration. The gashes cut across the top are said to represent the mouth. Though willow is the favourite wood used, yet they may be made of dogwood, lilac, cerocephyllym, ash, magnolia, or oak—indeed, of almost any wood which happens to be nearest to hand. When being set up, a good representative prayer said to them runs thus: 'O ye gods who govern the waters, O ye water deities, we are now about to go fishing. Please accept these fetishes and watch over us. Grant that we may catch many fish to-day.'

30. Religious charms.—In so far as their purpose is concerned, the dividing line between the fetishes mentioned in the preceding sections and the various kinds of charms in use among this people is not very clearly defined, so that it is often most difficult to distinguish between them; that is to say, he would be a bold person who should venture to put his finger first on one and say, 'This is a fetish,' and then on another and say, 'This is a charm;' for either may be both, and both either, according to the time and purpose for which they are used. The charms are very numerous, and are used for many purposes. Among other objects, rocks in situ and also stones of various shapes and sizes may be found employed both for purposes of personal protection against evil, and as a means for working harm to others (AF 398); the skins, bones, feathers, and beaks of birds are sometimes kept as love-charms (75, 76); snake skin is thought to be a special talisman, energetic, if properly treated, in working good in the storehouses and garden seeds (209); birds' eggs and nests are special cerebral charms, while the heads of some kinds of birds are kept and used for driving away disease (219); the heart of the 'dipper' is a charm supposed to bestow eloquence and quick sight (336); bears' eyes swallowed whole are said to produce long and clear sight in hunters. The skulls of bears, foxes, bats, falcons, owls, kites, and the fore-feet of hares are also all worshipped at times and used as charms (AF, ch. 34). The horns of deer, and the stones sometimes found in the bladders of animals, are also thought much of as charms supposed to bring good luck to the happy finder and possessor (401).

31. Magic.—Following close upon the subject of fetishes and charms, and very nearly related to these objects in principle and nature, comes magic, sometimes called sympathetic magic. This has been defined by Zimmern as 'the attempt on man's part to influence, persuade, or compel spiritual beings to comply with certain requests or demands' (see Aston's Sāinto, London, 1905, p. 327). Bearing in mind the meaning of the word for 'spirit' (ramat; § 13), and that all things are supposed to have spirit in them, and remembering the definition of Kamui (God) and the various objects to which this term is applied (§ 4), and not forgetting the fact that the Ainus do not so much worship the visible objects to which their prayers are addressed, as pray to the spirits, good and evil, supposed to animate them, we find this
definition very apt in so far as this people is concerned.

The Ainu terms for magic are ichashkara, i.e. ‘a shutting up,’ or ‘enclosing in a fence,’ and ishirishuna, i.e. ‘binding up tightly,’ and it usually implies the binding together with a curse of two objects, a person and some selected fetish supposed to be powerful. Amongst are some common methods in vogue among the Ainus of practising this art. The effigy of an enemy may be made of mugwort or straw, then cursed and either buried head downwards in a hole in the ground or placed under a fallen tree. A kind of effigy is called snoka, i.e. ‘the image.’ When it is buried, the devil should be called upon to lay hold of the soul (ramat) of the person it is supposed to represent and take it to hell. By this act it is supposed that the person will sicken so that his body will gradually die as the image decomposes (AF, chs. 30, 31). Sometimes the effigy is found to be not buried but fastened to a tree with nails or wooden pegs driven into its head and other parts of the body. Again, another plan is to make two effigies and ask it to depart at once with the soul to the region inhabited by the demons. Sometimes a little boat is made of rotten wood, and the effigy of an enemy is placed in it together with an idol supposed to be a demon. When made, the demon is worshipped and asked to row the soul of the cursed one to hell. Sometimes, again, the head-dress of a person is taken, wrapped up in a bag in the shape of a corpse prepared for burial, and placed in a hole in the ground to rot. It is supposed that as this decomposes, the enemy to whom it belonged will sicken and die. The demons of some kinds of trees are also at times asked to curse one's enemies by seizing their souls and turning them into devils. But magic, as one would naturally expect, may also be used for good purposes. Thus, for example, upon returning one very cold night from a journey with the Ainu head of a family, we found some convolvolus roots set up in a warm place before the fire upon the hearth. Upon making inquiry as to the meaning of this, we were informed that it was intended as a charm to prevent our feet from being frozen during the journey. Of the frequent use of trees in magic, a full account may be found in AF, ch. 30; cf. also § 33 below.

32. Bewitching, divination, and exorcism.—That bewitching people, exorcising demons, and finding out things by divination are integral parts of Ainu religious superstitions cannot be doubted. A case of bewitching, by cutting holes in the garments of another person with a pair of scissors, which came under the writer's own observation, will be found in AF, p. 341 ff. Similarly a case of divination, by means of a fox's skull, is recorded in (ib. pp. 390, 391 ff.). A case of exorcism by means of a tree, together with cutting clothes and as to the tungwort, will be found described on p. 315 of AF; while an account of a curious method of exorcising the demon in madness, by cutting their bodies with a sharp stone, shell, knife, or razor, and then thoroughly dipping them in a river, will be found set forth on p. 312. Cats are supposed to bewitch people in some instances (294, 507); dogs in some (507); and birds, such as the cuckoo, woodpecker, night-hawk, goat-sucker, and owl, in others (409); while such animals as hare (216), rabbit (500), otters (512), and various kinds of fish (522) are also supposed to possess this power. Indeed, there is no reason to suppose that there is any living creature in the earth which cannot bewitch, should it desire to do so.

33. Tree-worship. — The Ainus suppose not only that every tree has its own personal spirit (ramat), but that the roots also, the stem, bark, wood, heart, forks, knots, buds, leaves, twigs, crown, and every other part as well, are themselves each people with innumerable spirits, some of a good, and others of an evil, disposition. That the willow is regarded as a deity, and as such worshipped, has already been shown in § 26. Other kinds of trees also, such as the actinidia and grape vines, which are supposed to have had their origin in Paradise (156–158), dogwood, oak, spruce, spindle-wood, prunus, hornbeam, black alder, magnolia, yew tree, ash, chestnut and mulberry, and others, are all worshipped on occasion (580). Some of these, as has already been shown in §§ 31, 32, are also used in curing people and for the purpose of witchcraft, being at such times treated to bring misfortune to one's enemies. For this purpose the guelder-rose, alder, poplar, elm, birch, hydrangea, and walnut are particularly employed (331, 532, 521). There are, however, other purposes, and those good religious ones, to which the Ainus put trees to moral and religious uses, as when the hearth applied to this cult is Kim-o-chispokuma, i.e. 'the doctrine of the mountains,' and this particular part of it is named Chikunai-akoshiratiki orushpe, i.e. 'news about preservation by trees.' Regarding this the Ainus say: 'When those Ainus who are acquainted with the cult of this mountain are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the nusa * cluster, go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying: O thou great possessor of the soil, we are about to go and kill animals, pray help us; O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper us.' After this has been done, they set out fully expecting to come across much game.' This is tree-worship in its baldest form (cf. also § 26), and we see by it that the hunters regard the tree genii, for the time being, as their tutelary deities and guardians. In times of sickness, also, trees are worshipped. On such occasions the tree genii are called upon under various names, as, for instance, Topochi, 'the wise one,' and Shirmamps, 'the one upon the earth.' Or, in the case of an aged person, they may be worshipped under the name Niasrangew guru, 'the person of the standing tree,' and Kisura-range shinupuru Ramui, 'the precious demon of the rough bark' (AF, ch. 38).

34. Cereal worship. — Like trees and other vegetable life, cereals also are supposed to contain living spirits (ramat), some of which are thought to be of the masculine and others of the feminine gender (AF 204), and the worship of them often takes place. Never are the garden sown with seed without prayer being first made to the Creator (see § 5), then to the sun, and lastly to the very seed itself. Many years ago, Cicero asked, in his de Natura Deorum, whether any one was mad enough to believe that the food we eat is actually a god. 'Bearing with me,' he says, 'and What else, indeed, can it be?' The prayer used at the ceremony of eating new millet at the harvest thanksgiving is very interesting, and shows clearly that it is the spirit of the food partaken of that is worshipped, and not God, the Giver of all good gifts. The prayer runs thus:

'O thou cereal deity, we worship thee. Thou hast grown very well this year, and thy favour will be sweet. Thou art our bread. The goddess of fire will give us another rejoice greatly. O thou God! O thou divine cereal! do thou nourish the people. Turels (336) continous, 'I now partake of thee. I worship thee and give thee thanks.' After having thus prayed, the persons present take a cake and eat it amid them, and from this time forward eat the food. Commenting on this, Aston says (Shinra, p. 160): 'Gratitude in the first place to, and then for, our daily bread, is an important factor in the early growth of religion. Without it

* See illustration under § 27.
we should have had no Roman Ceres, no Mexican Maize-god, Oentliotl, and no Ukemochi (cf. also p. 277, Nibi-name).

But eating the god is by no means limited to cereals among the Ainus, for the bear sacrifice partakes of quite the same nature, to which subject we shall now proceed.

35. The bear festival. — Although animals of many kinds, and birds also (see A. F., chs. 36-39), even down to a tiny sparrow, are at times first worshipped and then killed in sacrifice, it is (when considering this phase of the subject) to the bear festival that we must look for the highest expression of Ainu religion. The general name given for 'sacrifice' is iyomande, which means 'to send away,' so we must expect that when a living object is sacrificed, the spirit is supposed to be 'sent' somewhere, and for some purpose. And here it may be well to ask, To whom is the bear sent, and why? To this question it must be replied in the first place that, so far as can be ascertained, there is now (whatever there may have been in old times) no idea of substitution underlying the practice; nor, secondly, is it peculiar, for the people knew nothing of the 'shedding of blood for the remission of sins.' All thoughts, therefore, connected with the old Jewish notion of sacrifice must be left out of the question when considering Ainu ideas concerning it. The very essence of Ainu religion consists in communion with the greater powers, and the people imagine that the most complete communion they can possibly hold with some of their gods—animals and birds, to wit—is by a visible and carnal partaking of their very flesh and substance in sacrifice. At the time of offering, the living victim is said to be sent to his ancestors in another place. Still, at the same time, the bear festival is a kind of mutual feast—a feast of friendship and kinship—in which Bruno himself also participates. Indeed, the bear is offered to himself and his worshippers in common, and they are supposed to have a good happy time of communion together. But as this is a very difficult and, in some ways, a very important subject, it has been thought best to give a simple dictionary of the festival as now practised, and let it speak for itself.

That the Ainus rear bear cubs in cages and often pay them divine honours is a well-known fact. The present writer once visited a village where as many as ten cubs were caged. After they have come to the age of two, or rarely three, years, and it has been decided that a sacrifice is to take place, the father sends out an invitation to the people, which runs thus: 'T', so and so, am about to sacrifice the dear little divine thing from among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast; we will then unite in the great pleasure of iyomande, 'sending the god away.'

Come.' This is certain to be heartily responded to. When the guests have all arrived, the men make many fetishes (inao), stick them in the hearth, and perform worship. When this has been properly done, most of the inao are reverently taken up and carried by the oldest men outside the hut and there stuck up. Next, two long, thickish poles are carefully laid at their base. The men now come reverently out of the hut, ornamented with their crowns, and solemnly approach the cage containing the bear. The women also come following and clapping their hands, for all are in anticipation of having a jolly time. Having reached their appointed place, all sit in a circle, the old men in front and the women and children behind. After all this has been arranged, an ancestor is chosen, who, having approached the bear, sits down before it and tells it that they are about to send it forth to its ancestors. He prays pardon for what they are about to do, hopes it will not be angry, tells it what an honour is about to be conferred upon it, and comforts it with the consolation that a large number of inao and plenty of wine, cakes, and other good things will be offered. After this a cage is selected for the bear, and to one side of it is placed a bed of some soft material. Two cages of similar size are placed in front of the bear, one with a large dog, the other with a large cat. The bear is now killed, and after it is cut up by the men and women, the sacred shavings are taken up and sprinkled over the head, with the words 'They that have been killed do not eat.' The bear lies down and seems to be completely at ease, and remains in this condition for about an hour. It is then killed, and the various parts are to be cut up and cooked, and the flesh is distributed amongst the guests. As a rule, the bear is but little sought after, and to one side of the cage is placed a wicker basket, in which are kept the parts which are not to be eaten. This is then carried away and thrown into the sea. The bear is then taken up and carried about on the shoulders of the people, and the bearer, with the head of the bear, makes his way to the head-quarters of the village, to which place the bear is carried by the whole village; and it is then placed in a cage, and its blood is taken on the willow sticks, as if to fall upon the earth. Should any be spilled, it must be quickly wiped up with some of the sacred willow shavings.

* The same principle holds good with regard to cereals; see § 34.
Why the shedding of blood should be thus tabued no one seems to know.* In some instances, however, the men (particularly those who are hunters) catch the blood in their cups and drink it while reeking warm. This is said to be done with the object of thereby obtaining the courage and other virtues possessed by the victim. On one or two occasions some of the blood taken at a feast has been sent, sprinkled on paper, to sick Ainus staying in our house! It has been smelled and licked with great eagerness, the recipient expecting to receive great bodily and spiritual good from it. Indeed, even the writer himself has, to his great astonishment, had some reserved and sent him.

As soon as dead, the victim is skinned and its head cut off, the skin, however, being left attached to the head. This is taken to the east window and placed upon a mat called hao-so, and ornamented with shavings, ear-rings, beads, and other things. On one occasion the present writer even saw a Japanese mirror placed before it, and some old sword hilts and guards! After all this has been performed, a piece of the animal’s flesh is cut off and placed upon the victim’s own snout. This is called Nat-yok-omago, i.e. ‘that under the jaw.’ Then a piece of dried fish called Sat-chep-shiko, i.e. ‘the bundle of dried fish,’ and a moustache lifter, with some millet dumplings, some strong drink, beast’s snout, and he is then said to be partaking of the marapto-tangi, ‘the cup of the feast,’ and ipumi-tangi, ‘the cup of offering.’ After a little time has elapsed, the man who presides at the feast says: ‘The little divinity has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us worship.’ He then takes the cup, salutes it, and divides the contents—to every one a very small portion—for it seems to be absolutely essential that each person should take a little. Other parts of the beast are stewed and eaten, while the entrails are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw. This, like the drinking of the blood, is said to be for the purpose of obtaining the prowess and other virtues of the bear. For the same reason also some of the men besmear themselves and their clothes with blood. This latter custom is called yai-zho-ashi, i.e. ‘besmearing oneself with good sport.’

The head of the brute is at length detached from the skin and taken to the nuse heap, where it is set up upon a pole called Ke-omande-mi, i.e. ‘the pole for sending away.’ All the skulls of animals set up along with it, and there are many of them, are called Akoshiiratki Kamui, i.e. ‘Divine preservers,’ and are at times worshipped. The feast lasts several days as a rule; indeed, it is not quite over till the whole of the cub has been devoured and all the strong drink swallowed.

36. Totemism. — The word ‘totem’ is said to be derived from the Ojibwa (Chippewa) word totam (see EDr, art. ‘Totemism’). ‘As distinguished from a fetish, the totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or plants, more rarely a class of inanimate natural objects, very rarely a class of artificial objects.’ Judging from the very few survivals of totemism still in existence among this people, and from their language, one is led to the conclusion that this cult never attained the proportions among them that it did among Africans, or South Australians, or the North American Indians. The Ainus are very seldom heard to speak of themselves or others as belonging to a bear, a wolf, a turtle, a snipe, a hawk, or an eagle clan, and never of any vegetable clan. Still, there are some grounds for believing that their faith was, in the distant past, somewhat tinged with the totemistic superstition. But it was a totemism which differed from that of the Indians and many others, inasmuch as the Ainus in some instances think it a praiseworthy act to kill and eat their totem if it be an animal (see § 35), and cook and eat it if it be a plant (see Chippewa, Totemism). According to the general ideas of totemism as practised elsewhere, this ought not so to be. For among the Indians it was thought that, the connexion between the man and his totem being mutually beneficent, the totem protecting the man and the man respecting the totem, it should not be killed if it was an animal, or cut if it was a plant. But the Ainus consider it a very great mutual benefit to kill and eat their totem where possible. Indeed, by feeding upon it they imagine they can get the closest communion with it,—their totem and their god,—sometimes, for example, the bear.

The clearest instance of a genuine belief in totemistic descent the present writer has ever come across among the Ainus was that of a young man who held that his forbears were, one or

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* The same tabu is found in other religious systems, and seems based on the belief that the ground is rendered tabu by the sacred blood falling upon it (Jevons, History of Religion, pp. 172–74; Frazer, Gt B., 176 ff.).
both, descended from an eagle. (The account of this will be
found on p. 10 of AF. Just as the bear may very possibly
have represented the national totem of the Ainus, so the present
illustration may be an example showing the eagle to have been
the totem of a family. An example of the individual totem
is found in the willow tree, with which it is shown the Ainus con-
sider themselves to be very closely connected (AF 63 ff.). The
vines, grape and acanthus, used for ear-rings (165), also seem to
have been looked upon as totem; while the images of foxes,
wolves, birds, and fish sometimes found carved on the moustache
lifters used by the men when drinking, and upon the crowns
worn by them at their feasts (168-169), may point to clan
totemism.

37. Ophomancy.—Although snake-worship is still
practised to some extent among the Ainus, there is
not sufficient evidence to go upon to justify us in
saying that this cult ever attained such elaborate
proportions of worship as that among the Danhgldws
in the serpents' house at Dahomey,* or among the
Indians, or even among the ancient Japanese.†
Nevertheless, that which is now seen is probably
the last remnant of what was once a somewhat
complete system.

According to Ainu ideas, the first snake that ever was, be-
headed not to this earth but came down from heaven, though
the Ahorin tribe had their origin otherwise.
In this we are reminded of St. John in Rev 12:2; and also of
Zeus-amari mythology, in which Ahorin descended earthwards
in the form of a serpent;† But among the Ainus the original
serpent is supposed to have been a good being, and in this
respect differs from that of both St. John and the Persians
(AFH, ch. 25).

Snake-possession is called okokka-parnt, i.e.
'snake punishment,' and the women especially
are very much afraid of it. There is no par-
ticularly specified manner in which it shows itself,
for almost any disease may, so they think, be
ingowed to possession by one or more of these
reptiles. Ophomancy also appears to have their
ancestors behind. The writer of this article once knew of a woman who professed to fore-
tell future events by means of the image of a snake she kept
stowed away in a box near by. She called it her guardian, and
used to pray to it frequently. By its inspiration she pur-
posed to be able to tell the reasons for any sickness people
were afflicted with, and to discover the proper remedies for them.
But, so far as real ophomancy is concerned, we have never yet
heard of any Ainu man or woman professed to fore-
tell future events by means of a genuine serpent, dead or alive,
whether by its manner of eating or by its coils.

38. Tabu.—Besides the various small matters
forbidden in relation to one's attitude towards fire
(see § 17), the Ainus have other tabus of a religious
and semi-religious nature which should be men-
tioned. Thus the blood of a bear must not be spilt
at a bear-feast (see § 35); a woman must not pro-
nounce the name of her husband lest she thereby
cause him harm in some way (AF, 252); the cry
of certain birds, as, for instance, the cuckoo, wood-
pecker, night-hawk, goat-sucker, and owl, should
not be repeated for fear of being thrown by
them (409, 427); at childbirth also cowards is prac-
tised, during part of which time the father of
the child is forbidden to eat and drink except very
sparingly; nor must he worship the gods, hunt,
fish, or work till after the purification of the
wife, which takes place on the seventh day after partur-
tion (235-241).

39. The future life.—There is no idea more firmly
fixed in the Ainu mind than the notion that the spirit
is appointed to live for ever in another world
—a world which, for the good, is the counter-
part of this, only much better, and free from
pain, and, for the evil, is dark, wet, cold, and
dreary. The very word in use for the spirit
(ramat) demands that such a place as heaven
should exist, for a living being can neither, it is
thought, lose his life nor get rid of his own proper
personality for ever (see § 13). But the spirit is
there supposed to be clothed with a spiritualized
body resembling the present, and to live under
like conditions to those of the present life.
In the other world the spirit will require a house
to live in, tools to work with, as well as boats and
hunting and fishing implements. That the Ainus
really think this is proved not merely from their
words, but also from some of their customs prac-
tised at the time of death. The most common
word for 'to die' is ra-i oman, i.e. 'a going to the
lower place.' This does not necessarily mean that
the spirit is in every case supposed to descend into
the bowels of the earth (pokka moa-kirt, the lower
world') when it leaves the body, though some-
times it may do so;* and, to hear the people talk,
one might be tempted to believe that the Ainus
think heaven itself to be in Hades. But, accord-
ing to their expressed convictions, we may really suppose there are six (AF 60) heavens
above and six hells (gda) below us, and that the
best place is in heaven above and the worst in
Gehenna below. Ra-i oman, 'a going to the
lower place,' is not the only term for death. There
are others, such as 'to pierce the skies'; 'to
make a clearance'; 'to have space for thought'; 'to
sleep the other sleep,' and so on (548).

When a person is about to be buried, whether it
be a man, woman, or child, the spirit is still spoken
to as if it were present in the corpse, and is sup-
posed to partake of the burial feast together with

* Stories of supposed journeys to Hades may be seen recorded
both in AF (370, 572) and in 'The Language, Mythology, and
Geographical Nomenclature of Japan, viewed in the light of
Ainu studies,' Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial
University of Japan, No. 1.

* From a word meaning 'a worried one' of unknown origin.
† An ophomantic ritual is said to have been practised in the
house of a woman living near the mouth of the Kuma. A snake
was supposed to have lived in a rock on the banks of the
river, and the woman entertained the thought that it might be
what she called 'the snake of her house.' As a result, all sorts
of misfortunes befell her, so that she had recourse to the
ophomantic ritual. It consisted in the act of placing the
snake image in a box near her, and praying to it, when she
had reason to hope that it would be affected and mention the
name of its supposed mother. A similar ophomantic ceremony
is said to have been practised by another Ainu woman in
the house of her brother, who had been cast out by his
mother. But here I am digressing, so I must conclude.

** Ino-ka ramui, or Image of Snake Used for Worship.

Sermons are worshipped most frequently at the
time of childbirth, but especially when there is
any difficulty in the matter. On such occasions the
image of a snake, which is called Ino-ka ramui, i.e.
'the divine image,' is made out of sedge
(Carex rhynchosphyza), worshipped, and then sud-
denly placed upon the shoulders of the patient.
The reason given for this is said to be that, ac-
cording to Ainu belief, all such difficulties are
brought about by the king of the evil offspring of
serpents himself; and they say that rather than
propitiate the evil one, they should go directly to
the chief serpent and ask him to keep his wicked
subordinates in check and remove the evil they
have done.

In cases of ague also snake-worship has taken
place, as well as in instances of snake-bite. These
reptiles are also sometimes worshipped as a means
for curing people, being asked to bite one's
enemies. The prayer said to them on such an
occasion takes some such form as the following:

'Oh, you thing I have a word to say to you: pray listen. I have
an enemy So-and-so by name. Remember the name. If you
ever hear of it coming along here, please bite him, possess
him, poison him, and kill him. I will then make those out of
walnut wood, and also offer you many libations. Pay at-
tention to what I say.'

I. Routley, Religions of the Africans, p. 46.
2 Griffiths, The Religions of Japan, New York, 1896, pp. 80, 83,
74.
3 Hardwick, Christ and other Matters, p. 553.
the mourners. Many of the possessions belonging to the deceased, such as bows and arrows, clothing, means for obtaining fire, pipes, tobacco boxes, knives, cups, ornaments, and so forth, are killed (!) by being cut or broken, and so sent to the nether world for future use (AF 554–568). Huts too, which, as has already been pointed out, are supposed to possess a certain creativeness, are burned off to the other world by being burned; they are to be for the use of those who occupied them in this life.

40. The future judgment. — After death the Ainus ascend for a look about. All matters, as they say, before the tribunal where God the Creator is said to be the judge of all men, and the goddess of fire the chief witness for or against them (see § 37). Those who are accounted worthy go to the happy land, called Kamusi-kotan or Kamusi-moshi, i.e., ‘the land or country of the gods’; while the wicked must be sent to Tei-nei-pokua-moshi, i.e. ‘the wet underground place,’ where they will be for ever unhappy and perhaps frozen up in a block of ice. Whether the punishment in the Ainu hell is real or fancy, the Ainus are not certain and do not pretend to know; but that their Gehenna is not the same as the hell of the Buddhist is very clear, for there are no purgatorial fires thought of among them.

Lettre’s book has been by no means so devoted to Ainu religion, though notices of the subject occur in almost all works which touch upon the Ainus. In the year 1868, A. H. Savay published his Atone with the hairy Ainu. This book is sometimes quoted as authoritative on the matter, and, as in all his remarks true to fact, it would be the utmost importance to point out, that Landor says that the Ainus regard the Wind-gods as ‘supreme God and no intelligent creator.’ . . . The Ainu is a monotheistic people, i.e., ‘the land or country of no religion.’ . . . They are decidedly not moral, for nothing is immoral with them, and much more to the same effect. On p. 282, again, he says: ‘The Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by ‘religion,’ by ‘divinities,’ and by ‘worship.’ . . .’ But the Ainu language is by no means so deficient in words as Landor imagined. Dobrovolsky gives as many as 10,890 words and phrases in his Ainu-Russsian dictionary (Kasan, 1873), while nearly 14,000 words alone are to be found in Hatchelor’s Ainu Eng. Jap. Dictionary (Tokio, 1906). Landor’s idea of the Ainu as a non-religious people will not bear looking into.

A much less pretentious, but far more reliable, work on the subject is that written by B. Howard, in the second edition of his Life with the Tran-Siberian Savages. This is a pleasant book of 209 pages, and treats mostly of the Saghaliun Ainu. The account therein contained shows the religion of these people to be the same as that of the Yeofo Ainu; and subsequent personal contact with them has shown Mr. Howard to be correct in his description and generally reliable in his deductions. Indeed, so much alike did he find the spirit of religion and religious practice of the Ainu to be, and accustomed to their kind of sectaries, that he was, by reading the present writer’s work, The Ainus of Japan, to recognize the ‘books and usages of what he saw and heard on that island’ (Howard, p. 17).

Miss Bird also, in her very pleasant written Unbeaten Tracks (1888, abridged, Letter 57, pp. 279, 377), speaks of Ainu religion. She says, ‘There can be nothing more vague and disjointed of cohesion than Ainu religious notions.’ . . . ‘They have no definite ideas concerning a future state and the subject is evidently not a pleasing one to them.’ . . . ‘Such notions as these are few and confused.’ All this is not quite correct; and it would be unreasonable to suppose that Miss Bird could, even had she claimed to do so—in the short three weeks she was in Japanese waters—find every dark corner and corner in the mind of the people. She laboured under the great disadvantage also of being obliged to obtain all her information through a Japanese interpreter, and if there is any one thing the Ainus are naturally reticent and secretive about strangers, it is their religion.

AIR and GODS OF THE AIR. — Here it is proposed to deal only with those invisible beings who are supposed to hover between heaven and earth—that is, whose proper abode is the circum-ambient atmosphere, which we call Air—rather than Sky-gods, the better to distinguish them from the true celestial deities who dwell aloft in the ethereal regions, either in or above the blue vault of heaven, and have no direct contact with its enveloping waters. But the air is the least stable of the elements, ever fluctuating to and fro, with upward and downward contacts, and restlessly filling all the intermediate spaces, so that the world itself was by our imaginative forefathers called the mid międzyard—the middle region floating in the boundless ether. Hence there are necessarily continuous overlappings and interminglings everywhere, and it often becomes difficult or impossible to draw a clear line between the aerial and celestial deities on the one hand and the aerial, the earthly, and even the underground gods on the other. How true this may be is seen in the protean forms at times attributed to the ainus themselves. Although Zeus was primarily a sky-god, he also filled many other functions, as shown by such epithets as θήβη, θέμβως, θαλάσσων (Earth-, Rain-, Sea-god), while Homer speaks even of the Zeus ταμάθενος, the ‘Underground Zeus’ (H. ix. 457). So also his consort, the earth-goddess Dione, whose ‘variations show how readily sky-goddess, sea-goddess, and earth-goddess might pass from one province into another’ (A. B. Cook, ClR, April 1908, where the subject is dealt with fully). Of the aerial by the ainus, perhaps, and certainly dismissed by Prospero ‘into air, into thin air,’ or those others who ‘on the reached margin of the sea . . . dance their ringlets to the whistling wind,’ or those again who ‘hover through the fog and filthy air,’ the genesis appears to be twofold, as disputedly suggested in Hemsterhuis’ oft misquoted epigraph (in his Lucian):

‘Bia duo sunt homines; manes, caro, spiritus, umbra; Quaeas hic haec, haec enim est, haec est. Terra tegit carmen, tumulum circumvolat umbra, Orcus habet manes, spiritus astra petit.’

First come the ‘winds’, a somewhat obscure expression meaning the ‘Good Ones,’ like the Greek εὐκαίρια, the ‘Well-disposed,’ i.e. the Eriynes or Furies, and the Irish Duine Matha, ‘Good People,’ i.e. the mischievous fairies who would resent being spoken of disrespectfully. These manes, originally the ghosts of the dead, and worshipped by the greater part of mankind, constitute, with the following umbra and spiritus, the first great category of aerial beings. Many were consigned to Orcus, as already noted, and many to the grave; but others were deemed to be the souls of the beasts (winds), or to be wafted aloft as the ‘other-self’ (spiritus), and fill the aerial spaces with good and evil genii. (For these distinctions between the personal soul and the other associated entities, see art. Ethnology, § 9.)

Here it should be noted that the umbra—the human shadow—was originally regarded as a distinct being, and the belief still survives, even amongst cultured peoples, as in the English saying, ‘No man can escape from his shadow.’ So also Lucian: ‘They [the shadows], when we die, become accusers and witnesses against us, and convicts of crimes perpetrated during life, and they have the reputation of being exceedingly trustworthy, since they are always associated with and never separate from our bodies’ (Menippus, or the Oracle of the Dead in H. Williams’ Lucian, p. 573).

Naturally these arbiters of human destinies eventually received divine honours, although it was found impossible to set them, and the tombs (synda), or to be wafted aloft to the or to the other spirits of the air belonging to the first category, that is, those representing departed souls and their concomitants. They are, however, very numerous, and the Talmudists, who have had the trouble of counting them, find that the bad ones (only about 7,406,000) are vastly outnumbered by the good, who are roughly estimated at 1 quadrillion, 64 trillions, and 340 billions.

If not so called, the godly beings belong to the second category, i.e. those derived directly from the air itself, may be regarded as by far the more important of the two classes. These may, by contra-distinction, be called the Wind-gods in a pre-eminent sense, and among them must be included the winds themselves. Thus the very
first of the six groups mentioned by Epicharmos are the winds: Μέλαινα Ἀνέμοι τοῖς θεοῖς έκεν μέλαινας ἀνέμους, ὦπν, χιόν, νεφέλη (Stobaeus, Floril. xci. 29), and the dedication of the four quarters whence blew the chief winds formed the very basis of the religious systems of many primitive peoples.

This was specially the case in the New World, where the Virginian Algonquians had only five gods, and of these four were the 'Four Winds which keep the four corners of the earth.' (see art. AMERICA). Hence it is natural to find the chief wind-gods as the four deities of the cardinal points, the fundamental idea being that they are the props of the universe, controllers of the seasons and the weather, and senders of rain and sunshine, on which, in fact, all good and evil things depended. Hence in Hiousaitha (xiv):

'Γίλεχ Μανίτο τοῦ Μιθυ, ἡ Μάνιτο τῆς ζωῆς, ἡ Μάνιτο τῆς ζωῆς...

and to him is opposed

'Μίθιχος Μανίτο τοῦ Μιθυ, ἡ παλαιή Χάρα τοῦ Εὐφήλων, ἡ παλαιή Χάρα τοῦ Εὐφήλων.'

Ratzel, a leading authority on these questions, remarks comprehensively that 'in the place held by the winds among the elements is traced, in the connection of the four quarters, the basis and the germ of the stellar heavens.' In the Aztec mythology, the four winds were opposed to four deities, the god of the heavens; in the Aztec cosmology one of the four cataclysms was caused by the air; and Orozco y Berra identifies Quetzalcoatl himself with el dios de los vientos ('the god of the winds'), since he was often represented as moving through the air laden with a wind-lag which was always inflated with destructive gales, and he was born of the cloud-snake Mixcoatl, or at least of his consort Coaticue — she of the 'snake-robe.

To Quetzalcoatl corresponds the Kukulcan of the Maya, a universal deity of many functions, enthroned on the clouds of heaven and on the cross-shaped tree of the four points of the compass, also figured in the pictorial codices as dwelling in the heavens, and throwing down the clouds from which the lightning falls. He is associated, too, with the four colours — yellow, red, white, and black — which, as in the Hopi myth (see above), though in a different way, correspond to the cardinal points: 'south,' yellow; 'west,' red; 'fire,' white; 'water,' black. 'Kukulcan,' writes Dr. P. Schellhas, 'is represented with all the four cardinal points; he appears as ruler of all the points of the compass; north, south, east, and west, as well as fire, water, earth are subject to him.' (Deities of the Maya MSS., p. 17). Here we see the interminglings of divers functions and provinces above referred to. It may be added that Kukulcan shares his many-sidedness with three other Maya gods, one unnamed who is connected with the symbolic colours of the cardinal points, a second the war-god, of frequent occurrence in the codices, and a third identified by Förstemann with a storm-deity, whose features are intended to symbolize the blinding force of the wind. That the four winds would appear to have been originally defied, or presided over by divinities whose functions and ethereal realms afterwards became confused.

Lastly, the Cakchiquels, one of the most cultured Maya-Quiché nations of Guatemala, paid special homage to the four wind-gods, to whom even human sacrifices were offered. 'Sánchez y Leon states that the most usual sacrifice was a child. The heart was taken out, and the blood was sprinkled toward the four cardinal points, as an act of adoration to the Four Winds, copal being burned at the same time as an incense' (Historia de Guatemala, quoted by Brinton in the Annals of the Cakchiquels, p. 45).

In Madagascar the Four Winds are, or were, fully recognized, and, as amongst the northern Amerinds, worshipped in their order next after the supreme deity. Little is now heard of them, and they are scarcely mentioned in the missionary records; but in Robert Drury's time (early in the 18th cent.) they were invoked in all solemn oaths, thus: 'I swear by the great God above, by the Four Gods of the Four Quarters of the World, by the Spirits of my Forefathers, that, etc. (Journal, 103 of Olives Island, 21st of December, 1719). Drury tells us that at their meals the people 'take a bit of meat and throw it over their heads, saying, "There's a bit for the Spirit." Then they cut four more little bits, and throw to the lords of the four quarters of the earth' (ib. p. 280).
It is, however, to be noted that this belief may have been introduced by the later (Hova) immigrants from Malaysia, where the worship of the wind-gods had long been established under Hindu influences. In the island of Bali, east of Java, where alone Brahmanism and Buddhism still persist, the winds have expanded, as later in Greece (Aristotle, Meteorology), to sight, that is, the eight gods or demi-gods of the Rámâyana — Indra, Yama, Surya (for Nirriti), Chandra (for Isháni), Anila, Kubera, Varuna, and Agni. Of these, however, only three — Indra, Yama, and Varuna — are the entry in Celebes, the fourth place of Siva, and since in Bali the worship of Siva has in a way absorbed that of all the other gods of the Hindu pantheon, the eight cardinal points themselves are now also attributed to corresponding forms of Siva. Of the three specially mentioned, Indra has been raised, on to the head of the pantheon, she turned to Jupiter, the north, and finally to the west, and each time the priestess prayed that the deity of the wind would fertilize her. Her prayer was answered, and Luminuit, the wind god of the west, was called, and cutting them of the same length gave one (tui) to Luminuit and one (asana) to Toar, saying, "See, there are two sticks. Give you, Luminuit, to the right and you, Toar, to the left, and whenever you meet any one measure sticks in their same length you are mother and son, but if one is longer than the other she has a twin at the centre of the earth." Both went on their way, but after a while Toar met without knowing one another, and on measuring sticks they found that Luminuit was longer than Toar's, for the tui stick had sprouted out and grown. Therefore they returned to Karéina, and when they had measured the sticks she said, "You are not mother and son, therefore you must become man and wife. Be fruitful and populate the earth." So Luminuit and Toar begat many children, twice nine, three times seven, and once three. The three are the Pasilowan, of whom one was the priest at Warsendukun in the air; from the other two the people of Minahasa (North Celebes) trace their descent. This legend of the origin of the earth and of the people is full of interest to the student of cosmology. The story of the conception of Luminuit by the god of the West Wind exhibits traces of the very common myth of the origin of the earth and of Man. Luminuit is the earth, goddess, the fruitful mother of all things; the West Wind is the one which brings the rain and fertilizes the earth (S. J. Hickson, A Naturalist in North Celebes, p. 241).

In Celebes, besides the four wind-gods, there are numerous aerial beings, which are somewhat vaguely described as 'free wandering spiritual forms of various ranks, powers, and capacities for good or evil.' These are distinguished from the spirits by what certain trees and, waterfalls, and other objects are supposed to be animate, and, as 'the religion of the Minahassas was a differentiated form of Animism' (ib. p. 247), it may be conjectured that the wandering forms are believed to be disembodied souls of the dead rather than spirits derived directly from the air. This view is strengthened by the further statement that the spiritual world is inhabited by the souls of deceased chiefs, who live for ever in 'in the form of wandering ghosts haunting the scenes of their former triumphs and experiences. They believed in a series of ancestral ghosts of the rank of first-class gods, and in a crowd of lesser deities, 'dreaded demons' (ib. p. 248). And as all alike were called Empung, the generic name for the gods, but literally meaning a 'grandfather' (cf. the African Munku-lunkulu, which has the same meaning), it is obvious that ancestor-worship prevailed over pure psycho- logical worship. In the Celebes, however, it dwelt to a great extent in the ethereal regions. In fact, four heavenly villages were expressly set apart as their residence, and these villages—Kasosoran, Kalawakan, Kasendukan, and Karondoran—were so contiguous to the earth that formerly the empguns would often return and mingle with mortals, rich blessings ever following in their footsteps. In these celestial villages rice was grown, and it was from this source that the cereal now thriving in Minahasa was originally procured.

Now, the returns and still devas, since his heaven (Indraloka or Svarga) lies beneath that of Viúnu, and Viúnu's beneath that of Siva, where at last the soul attains repose and release from transmigration. In fact, Svarga still holds sway, it conducts the empguns; its inhabitants are liable to being inferred, and of ascetics who acquire supernatural powers, or at least certain powers, in the very act of daily life.

In North Celebes the four wind-gods are held in honour, and play a great part in the local cosmogony. Luminuit, mother of mankind, met the rock-born priestess Karéina, who ordered her to turn her face to the south. 'When she did this the priestess prayed, "O Cause of the East Wind, fertilize this woman." Luminuit, however, perceived nothing. Then she turned the priestess, she turned to Jupiter, the north, and finally to the west, and each time the priestess prayed that the deity of the wind would fertilize her. Her prayer was answered, and Luminuit by the god of the west wind begat a son named Toar. When Toar grew up, Karéina took him to the grave of the first man, the one who had been called ansa, and cutting them of the same length gave one (tui) to Luminuit and one (ansa) to Toar, saying, "See, there are two sticks. Give you, Luminuit, to the right and you, Toar, to the left, and whenever you meet any one measure sticks in their same length you are mother and son, but if one is longer than the other she has a twin at the centre of the earth." Both went on their way, but after a while Toar met without knowing one another, and on measuring sticks they found that Luminuit was longer than Toar's, for the tui stick had sprouted out and grown. Therefore they returned to Karéina, and when they had measured the sticks she said, 'You are not mother and son, therefore you must become man and wife. Be fruitful and populate the earth.' So Luminuit and Toar begat many children, twice nine, three times seven, and once three. The three are the Pasilowan, of whom one was the priest at Warsendukun in the air; from the other two the people of Minahasa (North Celebes) trace their descent. This legend of the origin of the earth and of the people is full of interest to the student of cosmology. The story of the conception of Luminuit by the god of the West Wind exhibits traces of the very common myth of the origin of the earth and of Man. Luminuit is the earth, goddess, the fruitful mother of all things; the West Wind is the one which brings the rain and fertilizes the earth (S. J. Hickson, A Naturalist in North Celebes, p. 241).

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is especially the case with sick people, whose ailments are supposed to be caused by their spir-its leaving the body and fluttering about somewhere in the neighbourhood. Then the wailian (priest or shaman) is sent for to diagnose the patient, while all his friends go out to the fields and villages to look for his soul. They make a fire in a likely spot, and entice the spirit back by cooking rice and chicken, or by whistling and calling as they would for a dog, while the priest goes through the list of gods and gives the ceremony a religious character. This goes on for some time; a rich patient who can afford many chickens has usually to wait a longer time for his spirit to return than a poor one. At last the wailian sees it! It shows itself clearly here or there by a movement in the grass or by some other sign. The wailian advances with the greatest caution, and catches it in a sarong [the broad Malay cloth worn as a wrap], just as a schoolboy catches a butterfly in his hat. They now turn homeworks; a child leads the way, carrying a waka leaf (Limnu) for the priest and spirit from getting wet; the priest follows, carrying the spirit in the sarong, and then another priest armed with sago-sago and monn [swords and sticks], which he swings backwards and forwards to keep back the spirit. zw (demons of the air) who wish to recapture the patient's spirit. When they have reached the chamber, the priest opens the sarong over the head of the patient, and says with great satisfaction and assurance, 'Now is his soul returned.' This being done, the patient should get well again, but if he does not, it is a sign that his time has come, and his spirit can no longer be retained' (ib. p. 296). Thus we see that whistling for the wind, still practised among the pagodas, is derived from the English captain to the Malay skipper, originally meant whistling for the truant souls lurking in the wind. Innumerable other survivals, could they be traced to their source, would also be found to be deeply rooted in the superstitions beliefs of primitive man.

Nowhere can this be seen better than in China, where the aereal spaces still swarm with countless good and evil spirits, the belief in which has influ-enced the development of Chinese architecture. The fundamental notion is that the good spirits move through the air in curved, the bad in straight, lines. Hence the former are welcomed, the latter baffled by the curved form given to the roof of the houses, pagodas, gatesways, all other conspicuous structures. For the same reason, no straight highways can be laid down, and partly on this ground great objections were for years raised against the development of railway enterprises. The danger of de-sacralizing the ancestral graves was also urged; but both difficulties were overcome when it was pointed out that the burial-places could be avoided by cleverly designed curves, and that these curves would at the same time serve to thwart the wicked and beneficial winds.

So also in Korea the air is infested by many malevolent beings, such as the smallpox devil, the typhus devil, and the cholera devil. As after death some of these might again enter the corpse and revive it to kill the living, they are scared off by the vigorous beating of gongs, drums, pots and cans, which is kept up incessantly for three days and nights after the funeral. These demons always travel on the north wind, and the good spirits on the south wind. Hence the graves are usually situated on the sunny slopes of a hill, whether all good influences are wafted on the balmy southern breeze. The family vaults of the better classes are also sheltered from the evil spirits by horsehoe-shaped mounds turned northwards, that is, towards the quarter whence come the demons riding on the icy arctic blasts.

Here again we seem to divine why the horsehoe is still a lucky object even among the cultured peoples of the West, where it is nailed to the stable door to protect the farm-yard from evil influences. Originally there were two horseshoes, but its peculiar shape, that was regarded as propitious, because earthworks so constructed may have been thought favourable to the good and adverse to the evil genii.

That the demons of epidemics wander about in mid-air is a belief not confined to Korea, but pervading the religious thought of the whole Eastern world. To the Chinese of Upper Burma the cholera and smallpox are real devils who are fag and filthy air, and when some of the tribe visited Rangoon in 1855 they carried their data (knives) unheated to scare of the pestilential Flat, and passed the day hiding under bushes to escape its notice. Some even went to pacify it by the sacrifice of a slave boy, a rabbit, or a parrot, dogs (Carey and Tuck, The Chin Hills, I, passim.) So also in India, the belief in the same cholera and smallpox demons, who are supposed to be always wandering about in mid-air (Census Report for 1901), is almost universal amongst the Dravidian and Dravido-Borneo people. For details the reader must be referred to art. Asia.

In Greece the four chief winds were known to Homer, who in the Iliad groups them in pairs (Erétheia to Néva, te, li. 145; Bórisi et Zéphoros, ix, 5), and is said to have entered in the Od. (v. 295-296) mentions them consecutively:—

Συν ἡ Ἑρέθης τοις Νεόιοις τε Ζέφοροι τε δυναμένοι Καὶ Βόρεια ἀαρέγγευσιν, μέγα κίων κηδεμόνι.

Here all are personified poetically, but not yet deified, unless the 'ether-born' Bóris is already to be taken as an air-god. Even their king Aëolus is still only the 'friend of the gods,' as in Od. x. 2:—

Ἀέλων Ἐννότατος, φίλος ἀδικουκτέων θεῶν

whereas in the Iliad he is enthroned amongst the Immortals with sedet Aëolus, ope, amongst the Atenen,' i. 56-57), although still subordinate to Neptune ('Non illi imperium pelagi, saevumque tridentem, sed mihi, sorte datum,' i. 138-139).

But in the interval between Homer and Virgil the rich Hellenic mythology was developed, and then, of course, divine or semi-divine origins and genealogies were discovered for all the winds personified by Homer. Thus Herodotus tells us (vii. 189) that by his marriage with Oreithya, daughter of their (legendary) king, and the Aten, the Aten gained kindship with Bóris, and that they invoked and offered sacrifices both to him and to his consort (Usuario τε καὶ ἀναμνήσισα τὸ τοῦ Βορέας καὶ τῆς Πρότωνος). Another highly honoured wind-god was the Olympian Zéphoros, who is identified as Aëolus, with Notus and others, was born of the Titan Aëtros and the goddess Eos (Aurora). To Zéphoros the Athenians raised a temple, where his effigy was that of a gentle winged youth wreathed in flowers. Later, under the discriminating analysis of Aristotle, the four became eight and even twelve (Meteorol. 2-9). Of the last four little is afterwards heard; but the eight appear to have retained their rank as air-gods at Athens, where was raised to them the still existing octagonal Horologium of Aëolus, commonly known as the 'Temple of the Winds.' On each of the eight walls a bas-relief symbolizes the wind which it faces, and an additional element of interest is supplied by the dress and accompaniments of these eight figures, which are not likely attributed by the Greeks to the winds which they represent is described. Bóris, for instance, is depicted as a bearded man of stern aspect, richly clad and wearing strong buskins, and he blows a conch shell as a sign of his tempestuous character. Cecus, another cold and inclement wind, carries a shield, the lower part of which is full of hailstones. Notus, the most rainy wind, holds an inverted urn, the whole contents of which he is pouring out upon the earth. Zéphoros, on the other hand, who is the
The air and gods of the air

harbinger of spring, appears as a graceful youth, always unclothed, with the fold of his robe filled with flowers" (H. F. Tozer, *Hist. of Anc. Geography*, p. 195).

Italy also had its complete category of wind-gods, quite independently of the Greek, as shown by their old Italic names, such as *Corus*, *Aquilo*, *Iapyx*, *Venti*, *Mons Venti*, *Mons Aquilo*, and *Aquilo*. Favonius, of whom Horace sings (*Od. i. iv.*) that

Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,

and whom Plautus contrasts with 'rainy Auster':

Hic Favonius serenius est, istic auster imberbus:

his face transillas vitium, iste spirat unum corrigi;

(*Tibullus*, vi. 35, 36). From this we see that Auster answers to the Greek Notus, while Virgil makes it equally clear that Aquilo represents Bores, as in *Geor. i. 196—

'Qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris

Inebuit', Sothyaisque hiemes atque arida differt Nubila.

It may here be stated that in Italy, as in Greece, Olymipan Jove himself had at an early date extended his sway to the earth, or rather to the nether world. Of Umbrian, a sister language of Latin, we may gather, by comparison of many *Tabulae Iguvium* found in 1444 at Gubbio, where they are still preserved in the town-hall, on Tab. II., which may date from B.C. 500, the epithet *hunte Iuvic* is twice applied to Jove (*Hunte Iuvic amans*, l. 21; and *Hunte Iuvic*late, l. 500), and this epithet, being closely connected with *hondra* = infera, means 'infernus,' so that Hunte Iuvic answers exactly to the Homeric *Zeb sera* khone. With this compare the stem *huntr-o*, which in Oscan, another sister tongue, means 'infernus,' leaving no doubt as to the force of Hunte (*The Curse of Vibla*, l. 11 in R. S. Conway's *Italic Dialects*, p. 127).

A few miscellaneous references may now be given to complete the subject, and show how thickly primitive peoples packed the encompassing atmosphere with gods, demons, and spirits of all kinds. These are nowhere more numerous and varied than in Arabia and surrounding lands, where the most dreaded are the ghouls (properly *jaq* = *ghub*), who, however, are denizens not so much of the air as of woods and deserts. They assume divers shapes and colours, and show a certain kinship with the somnambulistic spirits. Their forms are all that the women, men, animals, and dead bodies. These ghouls range through Persia and Muslim India into the Malay lands, where there is a similar 'storm fiend' who rides the whirlwind, and also a 'woman fiend named *penangalan* who takes possession of the forms of women, turns them into witches, and compels them to tell the greatest part of their bodies, and fly away at night to gather blood, and so make a vampire craving for human blood. This is very like one of the ghosts that we find in Germanic 'ghosts and entertainments' (Miss Bird, *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 304).

The other supernatural beings of the Arabs, and now generally of all Muslim peoples—*Iblis* 'Prince of Darkness,' the aistra, shehtans, and the whole host of jins—exist in pre-Mahomedan times, as is evident from Job 1, where *jaq* is rendered *hodhoh* in LXX and Satur in the Vulgate. So universal was the belief in their existence, that they had to be admitted with modifications into the Mahomedan system, which recognizes them as created intelligences under Allah—the angels formed of light, the jins of subtle fire, and man of the dust of the earth. The jins are commonly supposed to be mischievous goblins hostile to man. Some, no doubt, are good, good, and demons whose chief is the fallen angel Iblis. These reside in the lowest firmament, around the surrounding air, and haunt the commonwealth, the wells, the woods, the hill-tops, and the wilderness. They have the power of putting on any form they please, but cannot assume human form without permission. They are said to frighten and frighten the inhabitants of a friendly way; they are addicted to the most licentious habits, and they, too, in virtue of their subtle essence, pervade the solid mass of the earth and the whole space of the firmament. They are also believed to inhabit seas, lakes, rivers, and other places, and to be in a certain house in the sky. The magic formula is pronounced, 'Permission, ye blessed!' (Fehderman, *Recent Light on The Races of mankind*, p. 338). Jatler, Shureef, who speaks from personal knowledge, goes so far as to say: 'The belief of the Mahomedans is that it is not a jinn, but a shehtan, who does evil deeds' (Museum of India, pp. 284-285). This, however, does not apply to Arabia, where the had certainly predominated over the good genii, and where the above-quoted 'soft words' may be merely euphemistic. In any case, both classes belong to our second category, inasmuch as they are not of human origin but are directly created by Allah.

In general, witches and magicians, who have the power of assuming strange forms, everywhere infest the air as well as the land and water. In Aurora, Pentecost, and other Melanesian Islands, they fly about disguised as owls, eagles, or even blow-flies, and then they are most dangerous. In Lepers' Island the wizards who practise it (the magic art) are believed to have the power of changing their shape. The friends of any one suffering from sickness are always afraid lest the wizard who has caused the disease should come in this form, as of a blow-fly, and strike the patient; they sit with him, therefore, and use counter-charms to guard him, and drive carefully away all flies, lest his enemy should come in that form' (R. H. Codrington, *The Melaneseans*, p. 207). This observer mentions the case of Mottivale, a noted magician who turned himself into an eagle, or rather whose soul went out of him, and in this shape flew a long way after a ship which had carried off some natives of Lepers' Island, and in that way was able to tell them of their relatives who had been there, and reported that all had fared well except one who had died. 'Long afterwards, when some of those who were then on board returned, they said that he had brought back the truth, one of them by that time had died' (ib. p. 283).

In Guiana, not only the sun and moon, but also the wind and storms are deified, or, it would be more correct to say, are 'humanized' by indwelling spirits of an essentially anthropomorphic type. ('On one occasion, during an eclipse of the sun, the Arawak men among whom I happened to be rushed from their houses with loud shouts and yells. They explained that a fight was going on between the sun and moon, and that they shouted to frighten and so part the combatants. In many other countries exactly this proceeding of making a noise to separate the sun-spirit and the moon-spirit, or the sun-god and the moon-god, has been noticed; and it is generally supposed that in such cases a high degree of authority is attributed to these things, and any mention of anything else which shows that savages distinguish, by attributing greater authority to them, such beings as sun and moon, and very many other natural phenomena, as wind and storms, from men and other animals, plants and other inanimate objects, or from any other supernatural beings—and under this heading are included all personified natural phenomena—are, in fact, of the same kind, each with a body and a spirit. It is the old story—they differ from each other only in that some are more powerful than others in the mere matter of brute force, and none have any sort of authority over others' (E. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 364). By the Brazilian Botocudos the air is well stocked with spirits, especially of a malevolent kind, the thunder-gods, storm-gods, and the moon itself, the 'night-fire' (*toru-guenet*), which they look upon as a sort of evil principle. All baneful manifestations are attributed to the moon, which causes the thunder-storm, and is supposed at times itself to fall on the earth, crushing all that characterizes it, and frequent the habitations of man in a friendly way; they are addicted to the most licentious habits, and they, too, in virtue of their subtle essence, pervade the solid mass of the earth and the whole space of the firmament. They are also believed to inhabit houses, ovens, and other places, and in letting down a bucket to a well, or in lighting a fire, the magic formula is pronounced, 'Permission, ye blessed!' (Featherman, *Recent Light on The Races of mankind*, p. 338). Jatler, Shureef, who speaks from personal knowledge, goes so far as to say: 'The belief of the Mahomedans is that it is not a jinn, but a shehtan, who does evil deeds' (Museum of India, pp. 284-285). This, however, does not apply to Arabia, where the had certainly predominated over the good genii.
Among the Eskimos the sir, usually reserved for departed souls, is replaced by the surrounding ice-fields as the chief abode of the hosts of wicked trolls and goblins. The Greenlander especially has a superstitious terror of the inland ice-cap. ‘It is the home of his evil spirits, his ghosts, his apparitions or shades (fakanyuluk), his trolls (timoresk and eraklik), his ice-men who are supposed to be twice as tall as ordinary people, and a whole host of other supernatural beings’ (Brögger and Rolfsen’s Fridtjof Nansen, p. 150). In pagan times the ‘sacred groves,’ or good genii, whom the Western Greenlanders, since their conversion to Christianity, have degraded to evil spirits now inhabiting the lower regions of the atmosphere and the nether world, while Torngrasuk, the Great Spirit, has become the Christian Sate. Elsewhere the souls of the departed sometimes lead a restless existence in their aërial abodes, and during their hunting expeditions the Alaskan Eskimos often see phantoms gliding over the heights; these are the ghosts of the departed returning to scare or injure their living relatives. The people of the Barrow Point district are most troubled by such apparitions, as also by Kiolys, the demon of the aurora borealis, and by Tunya, the Eskimo Zeus, who, like his classical prototype, reigns in the earth, the sky, and the sea, and is one of the numerous instances of overlapping where it becomes impossible to distinguish clearly between chthonic, celestial, and air gods.

There appears to be no work specially devoted to the subject of this article. Hence the references must be to a few of the more important treatises in which incidental mention is made of the gods of the air. Such are—A. B. Cooke, ‘Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak,’ in CHR, April 1903; Lucjan, ed. Hraniadukis and H. Williams; Steinach, ‘Volcanoes, F. Ratze, Hist. of Mankind, Eng. ed. 3 vols. 1897; H. R. Voth, The Traditions of the Hopi, 1905; P. Schellhas, Deities of the Western Apache, 1893; E. L. Britton, Annals of the Southwestern Indians (Cakiquicheu), 1885; R. Drury, Madagascar Journal, etc., ed. P. Oliver, 1907; J. S. Hickson, A Naturalist in South Carolina, 1801; T. van Heugten, 1872; Brögger and Rolfsen, Fridtjof Nansen, 1890; R. Friederich, ‘Ball in Papers relating to Indo-China, 1897; Annalen Musée National de Mexico, 1860–1907; Carevey, and Tuck, The Chin Hills, etc. 1890; H. F. Tossor, A Hist. of Ance. Geography, 1897; R. S. Cowxay, The Inca Diadetes, 2 vols. 1877; A. Featherman, Social Hist. of the Races of Mankind, 7 vols. 1865–1551; R. H. Cordrington, The Malayanas, 1850; E. in Thurn, Among the Indians of Guatemala, 1838; A. H. Kempe, Fos Motocen, in Man, Past and Present, 1900; H. Rink, The Eskimo Tribes, 1887.

A. H. Krane.

Aiyana.—Among the most widely known and popular of the deities of the village, the grámdavat, of Southern India is Aiyanan, the tutelary god of the place who pronounces on the divine or the human, and drives off from them by night the evil spirits of blight and ruin. His name and worship seem to be little, if at all, known north of the Deccan. In the south, however, almost every village has its shrine dedicated to Aiyanan, where offerings are presented and prayers made for the safety of the crops from drought and disease. Gathered around the shrine, and near the village, are usually to be found rude models of terra-cotta horses, often life-size, or more, an ephelant with his troop of attendants is supposed to ride when in mad career he chases away the demons. The Indian villager avoids approaching the shrine of Aiyanan after dark, lest he should be mistaken for a demon himself.

The god is represented roughly carved in human form, either seated on a throne and sceptre, or on horseback, and is sometimes accompanied by his two wives, Prranai and Pudkal, who join him in the route of the evil spirits. He is also propitiated in the incidents of the annual sacrifices. The clay models of the horses are presented by the villagers in acknowledgment of aid rendered, as thank-offerings for recovery from sickness, or in fulfillment of a vow. Except, however, at harvest-time, there do not seem to be any regular festivals held in his honour, or any definite periods of worship prescribed. Sir Monier Williams’ account of his visit to Aiyana near Madura, 1900, gives an impression that the road from Madura to Rámmad, may serve in general as a description which would apply to the majority of the places sacred to the god in Southern India.

The shrine was situated close to a road not far from the village. Under a rough stone canopy was a rudely-carved stone male idol. . . . About twenty-five toy-like terra-cotta horses, some as large as the real, were set up. When I saw no signs of any recent offerings, nor was a single worshipper of the god to be seen anywhere. I noticed, indeed, that all the shrines of A. had a deserted appearance, the fact, being that is never worshipped, in our sense of the word. He is only propitiated in emergencies. Every year after harvest-time a festival is kept in his honour, when numerous animals are sacrificed, and images of the god are decorated with ornaments, and drawn about through the village streets on the rude clay horses’ (Brahmanism and Hinduism, p. 219ff).

The name Aiyana is said to be a combination or corruption of the two names Hari-Hara, or Viṣṇu-Rāma; and the god is popularly regarded, as in other parts of Siva by Vigna, when the latter had assumed a female form. It is more probable, however, that he represents a primitive Dravidian deity, recognized and more or less adopted by the incoming Aryans, and perhaps with an image of Siva. A figure of Ganesa, one of the other two sons of Siva, sometimes stands near his shrine. But, unlike his brother, Aiyanan does not seem ever to be invoked in the strict sense of the term, or to have prayers addressed to him for blessing or positive good.


Aiyana.—Aiyana is the Anglo-Indian form of the native name Ājāṭha, a village and rang celebrated for its cave temples, situated in N. lat. 20° 32’ 30”, E. long. 75° 48’, near the frontier of the British province of Berar, but within the dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. It lies at the southern end of one of the principal ranges from the Indhuydā hills, dividing the table-land of the Deccan from the British district of Khāndesh in the valley of the Tāptī. The only early reference to the caves is that of the Buddhist pilgrim Huien-Tsang, or as Watters, the latest translator and editor of his journey, has called him, H. C. Chwang. He writes, speaking of the kingdom of Mo-ha-la-ch’ (Mahrāṭṭā): ‘In the east of this country was a mountain range, ridges one above another in succession, tiers of peaks and sheer summits. Here was a monastery, the base of which was in a dark defile, and its lofty halls were quarried in the cliff and rested on the peak, its tiers of halls and storied terraces had the cliff on their back, and faced the ravine. This monastery, however, was never built by the Acloras (or perhaps rather Achalas) of Western India,’ The pilgrim then relates the circumstances in the Achāra’s life which led to the building of the monastery. ‘Within the establishment,’ he adds, ‘was a large temple above 100 feet high, in which was a stone image of the Buddha above 70 feet high; the image was surmounted by a tier of seven canopies unattacked and unsupported, each canopy separated from the one above it by the space of 3 feet. The walls of this temple had depicted upon them the life of Buddha as Bodhi, including the circumstances of his attaining Bodhi, and the omens attending his final passing away; all, great and small, were here delineated. Outside the gate of the monastery, on either side north and
south, was a stone elephant, and the pilgrim was informed that the bellowing of these elephants caused earthquakes” (Watters, ii. 239).

Burgess and other authorities believe that this account, dated A.D. 642, refers to the Ajanta caves. Watters admits that this view is probable, but he doubts whether the Achala of the inscription refers to the elephants of the pilgrim’s narrative. This inscription merely states that ‘the ascetic Sthavira Achala, who glorified the faith and was grateful, caused to be built a mountain-dwelling for the Teacher, though his wishes were fulfilled.’

But the wheel (Watters, in Griffith’s Antiquary, 1879, p. 574) appears in 1819, and the earliest account of its monuments, by Alexander, appeared ten years later (Trans. R. A. S. 1829). The first scientific survey was made by Ferguson, and appeared in the same journal in 1843. His account of the wall-paintings aroused much interest, and led to an appeal to the Indian Government that careful copies of them should be made. This was done by Major R. Gill; but his drawings, except the five last executed, were unfortunately destroyed in a fire at the Crystal Palace, and they were lost, in fragments. All that remains of his work now seems to be small copies, in Mrs. Spiers’ Ancient India, of two of his pictures and of eight detached fragments from others. In 1872 the work of copying the frescoes was started afresh by Griffith, and his work, in two splendid volumes, was published by the Secretary of State for India in 1896–97.

The caves are excavated in the face of an almost perpendicular rocky scarp, about 250 feet high, sweeping round in a semicircle, and forming the north side of a wild glen traversed by a small stream, the Vaghar. Above the caves the valley terminates abruptly at a waterfall with seven leaps, the total height being about 200 feet. The site is lovely and picturesque, and, at the same time, close to a main line of ancient traffic, thus combining the three leading characteristics which guided the excavators of the rock caves of Western India in selecting places for their establishments.

The series consists of 24 monasteries (viharas) and 36 temples or meeting halls (chaityas). According to Burgess, who has made a careful survey, and compiled an exhaustive report on the caves (Arch. Survey Reports, W. India, iv. 43 ff.), the earliest group consists of two Chaitya caves (numbered IX, X), according to Ferguson’s plan of the site) and two Viharas (XI, XII) of the same age, which were excavated certainly before the commencement of the Christian era. Of the later caves, Burgess forms two groups. Nine (VI, VII, VIIA, XV. to XX.) range in date from the 5th to the end of the 6th cent. A.D. The second group (I. to V., XXI. to XXVII.) were all excavated, or at least finished, within the limits of the 7th century. This second, and by far the largest, series belongs to the Mahayana school of Buddhism, and can be distinctly marked off from the earlier group. Cave No. I. is specially to be noted. Burgess describes it as the most handsomely ornamented Vihara at Ajanta, or, indeed, in all India, and at the same time it is one of the most modern, having been completed probably in the beginning of the 7th cent., and not completely finished before A.D. 650.

The most interesting and valuable of the remains at Ajanta are the series of frescoes in the caves. These generally represent passages from the legendary history of Buddha, and from the Jatakas, or stories of the Buddha’s former births. The frescoes of Asita to the infant Buddha, his temptation by Mara and his forces, legends of the Naga, or serpent race, hunting scenes, battle pieces, the carrying of relics to Ceylon, and other incidents in the Buddhist legend. Many of the frescoes represent incidents taken from the Jatakas, of which some twelve have been identified by S. F. Oldenburg (Jour. American Oriental Society, xvii. 183; JEAAS, 1896, p. 324). Of these, perhaps the most important are the Ummadanta Jataka of king Sibi or Sivi (Cowell’s Cambridge trans. v. 107 ff.) and the Chaddanta Jataka, or tale of the six-tusked elephant (ib. v. 20 ff.). A recent discovery in one of the caves has brought to light a picture which depicts the Nidanas, or Causes, in concrete form. This picture, supplemented by Tibetan versions and Lamaistic explanations, is certainly a diagram of human life in the form of the wheel of life (Watters, in Griffith’s Antiquary, 1879, p. 576).

In the mountain scenery of the frescoes are depicted figures of birds and monkeys, and sometimes of Bihis and other forest tribes, and the fabled inhabitants of the hills—Guhyanas, Kiratas, and Kinnaras, the last of whom are musicians to the mountain gods, with human busts and legs and tails of birds. The whole series of frescoes is of the greatest historical value as illustrating the religious and social life of India between the 3rd and 8th cents. of the Christian era.

All critics have praised them, and the condition of many of these frescoes ‘The condition of mind,’ writes Griffith (in Burgess, Notes, 4 f.), ‘which originated and executed these paintings at Ajanta must have been very similar to that which produced the early Italian paintings of the 14th cent., as we find much that is common to both. Little attention paid to the science of art—a general crowding of figures into a subject; regard being had more to the truthful rendering of a story than to a beautiful rendering of it; not that they discarded beauty, but they did not make it the primary motive for representation. There is a want of aerial perspective, the parts are delicately shaded, not forced by light and shade, giving the whole a look of flatness, a quality to be desired in mural decoration. Whoever were the authors of these paintings, they must have constantly mixed with the world. Scenes of everyday life, such as preparing food, carrying water, buying and selling, processions, hunting scenes, elephant fights, men and women engaged in singing, dancing, and playing on musical instruments. Many and most gracefully, and all most graphically depicted upon these walls; and they could only have been done by men who were constant spectators of such scenes; by men of keen observation and retentive memories.’ Of the famous paintings of which we have frescoes, in the series XV., the same authority writes: ‘For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story, this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing, and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it’ (ib. 58 ff.).

In many of the paintings there is ample evidence of Sasanian or Persian influence. One wall scene (Griffith’s drawing No. 5) appears to represent the reception of a Persian embassy at the court of an Indian king, and, according to Burgess (ib. 27), can hardly be earlier than the 7th cent. of our era.

**Literature.**—The literature dealing with the Ajanta caves and their wall-paintings is very extensive. References to the older accounts of travellers and the comments of critics upon their narratives have been collected by Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer, xxi. 480, where a good account of the site will be found. The later and better authorities are:Notes on the Buddhist Rock-Temples of Ajanta, Bombay, 1879, in Archaeological Survey of Western India, No. ix.; J. Ferguson and J. Burgess, the Visit to the Caves of Ajanta, 1879, pp. 550–547; J. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indrali, Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India, Bombay, 1881; J. Burgess, Report on the Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions, 1881; J. Griffith, The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves of Ajanta, Khandesh, 2 vols., London, 1896–97.

W. CROOKE.
AJIVIKAS.*
[A. F. R. HOERNLE].

I. Introduction.—The sacred books, both of the Buddhists (e.g. A.N. iii. 276; Dial. pp. 71, 220) and of the Jains, inform us of the existence, contemporary with the foundation of Buddhism and Jainism, about the end of the 6th cent. B.C., of a community of religious mendicants, whom they call Ajivikas. From certain Jain Scriptures we further learn that the founder of this community was a man called Gosāla Mankhali-putta (Pāli Makkhali-putta, Skr. Maskari-putra). In the seventh Anga (U.D. ii. 153), a man, Saddāla-putta, is said to have been received by Gosāla into the Ajivika community and the Bhagavati Sūtra, the fifth Anga, gives us an account of the life of Gosāla, as the acknowledged head of that community. Though the Buddhist Scriptures (e.g. M.N. i. 198, 230, 515; S.N. i. 68, iv. 508; D.N. i. 52; Jāt. v. 246) also frequently mention Gosāla Makkhali-putta as one of the leaders of the six religious mendicant communities whom Buddha singles out for special animadversion, they never explicitly connect him with the Ajivikas, or state that he was their leader. But that on this point the Buddhist tradition did not really differ from the Jain, is shown by the fact that both attribute to him the holding of the religious-philosophical doctrine of the negation of free will and moral responsibility.

On the exact signification of the name 'Ajivika' we have no information. The Skr. word ājīva means the mode of life, or profession, of any particular class of people, whether they live as 'swords or scribes' among the religious mendicants, have renounced the world. Thus 'right-livelihood' (sanyag-ājīva) was in the Buddhist system (Dial. 221; B.S. 147; O.B. 146) one of the eight 'paths' incumbent on the mendicant. The word ājivika, being a derivative of ājīva, means one who observes the mode of living appropriate to his class. We shall see in the sequel that there is some ground for believing that Gosāla held peculiar views as to the ājīva of a mendicant who was truly liberated from the fetters of karma. It was probably for this reason that he and his adherents came to be known as Ājivikas, or the men who held the peculiar doctrine of ājīva. All the indications that we have tend to show that, as usual in such cases, the name was not taken by themselves, but given to them by their opponents, and that in their mouth it was meant to be opprobrious. As we shall see, Gosāla, by his conduct, laid himself open to the charge of insincerity, in that he practised religious mendicancy, not as a means of salvation (mokṣa), but as a means of gaining a livelihood, as a mere profession (ājīva). The name 'Ājivika,' it appears, was originally meant to stigmatise Gosāla and his followers as professionals; though, no doubt, in later times, when it became the distinctive name of a mendicant Order, it no longer carried that offensive meaning.

2. Personal History of Gosāla.—The fifth Anga of the Jains, commonly known as the Bhagavati Sūtra, gives us a fairly connected and detailed account of the life of Gosāla (B.S. xx. 1; in U.D. App. 1). According to this account, Gosāla's father was a mankha, a kind of professional beggar, whose name was Mankhali. Hence he was known as the Mankhali-putta or the son of Mankhali. His other name, Gosāla, was derived from the circumstance of having been born in a cowshed (gokālā), in which his parents, failing to obtain any other refuge during a certain rainy season, had taken shelter. When he grew up, he adopted his father's profession of a mankha. During his journeyings he repeatedly fell in with Mahāvīra, who, just about that time, had commenced the wandering life of a Nigantha ascetic. Seeing the great respect in which Mahāvīra was held by the people, Gosāla determined to follow his example. Though at first repulsed, he succeeded at last by his importunity in being accepted as a disciple by Mahāvīra. But the two men were so different in character and temper, that after six years, owing to the insincerity and trickery of Gosāla, the companionship was dissolved. Gosāla now set up as the rival leader of a separate community of religious mendicants, called Ājivikas, and with his followers established his headquarters on the premises of a potter woman in the town of Sāvatthi (Sravasti). After the lapse of sixteen years, Mahāvīra, who never in the meantime appears to have met his former companion, happened to visit Sāvatthi, and, hearing of the influence which Gosāla was wielding there, he took occasion to expose the false character of the propounding ascetic. On learning this, Gosāla, threatening vengeance, at once proceeded with his followers to where Mahāvīra with his Niganthas was lodging. Here he began the dispute by putting forward an ingenious argument to prove that Mahāvīra was mistaken in his identity, and that, in reality, he was a totally different person from the Gosāla whom Mahāvīra had once known as his companion. On Mahāvīra contemptuously brushing aside this sophistry, the infuriated Gosāla grossly abused his adversary; and the two rival factions came to blows. In the fight two of Mahāvīra's disciples were disabled, but in the end Gosāla, being discomfited by Mahāvīra in a personal encounter, was compelled to retire in disgrace. The taunts of his rivals, and the consequent distrust of the townsmen, now made Gosāla's position in Sāvatthi untenable. This preyed on his mind so much that it became utterly unhinged, and, throwing aside all ascetic restraint, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting the potter woman, and indulging himself with the cool muddy water of the potter's shop. Six months of this riotous living brought on his end; and with it came a momentary return of

* The following special abbreviations are used in this article:
A.N. = Agastigita Nikāya.
A.S. = Aṣṭaghita Nikāya.
B. = Bohill and Rieu's edition of the Abhidhamma Chintamani.
B.S. = Buddhist Sutras, in SBE, vol. xi.
C.R. = Cp. Colebrook's Buddhist Epigraphia Indica.
D.A. = Dīgha Nikāya.
Ep.Ind. = Epigraphia India.
K.S. = Kaipa Sūtra, ed. Hermann Jacobi.
M.N. = Mājhimas Nikāya.
N.R. = Neimarman's Edita Gotama Buddhās.
N.S. = Nirākārīvalī Sutta, ed. Dr. S. Warren.
O.B. = Oldenberg's Buddha.
Oman = The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India, by J. C. Oman.
R.L.B. = Rūshiki's Life of Buddha.
S.A. = Smith's Añāka, in Broughton's India Series.
S.I.P. = Senart's Inscriptions of P adaptive.
S.N. = Sānyatīnikāya.
S.V. = Sumangala Viśālī.
T.M. = Turner's ed. of the Mahāvīra.
Tr.CO. = Transactions of the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists.
V.O.J. = Vienna Oriental Journal.
V.P. = Vīnaya Piṭaka, tr. in SBE, vols. xiii., xvii., and xx.
W.M.H. = Wilkins' Modern Hinduism.
reason and the sense of remorse. His last act was to acknowledge to his disciples the truth of Mahâvîra's statement respecting himself, and to instruct them to bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly to proclaim his shame. The disciples, it is added, refrained from carrying out the dying instructions of their master: the last among the stories of the life of Gosâla in the Bhagavati Sûtra. The Buddhist references to his life are much briefer. Buddhaghosâ (c. 410 A.D.), in his commentary on the Dîgha Nikâyâ (S.F. pp. 143, 144, tr. in U.D. App. II.), tells of Mankhali-putta, a mendicant; and that the latter name was given to him because he was born in a cowshed. Having broken an oil vessel through carelessness, and fearing chastisement from his angry master, who had caught him, he broke away, leaving his garments in his master's house, and retired to a village, where the people offered him clothes; but he refused them, hoping to make a better living as a naked arhat, or holy man.

The two accounts—so far as we are able to judge—are quite independent. The former is connected with another of the Maru or Mauka, the other is Bhadra and the Bhuddhists and Jains, being antagonistic sects, would not adopt each other's views. Moreover, Buddhaghosâ wrote in the Jain Scribe, while the Jains Sutras, as we now have them, were composed probably in Western India. All the more valuable are the two accounts, both in respect of the points in which they differ, and in which they agree. They agree in two points: first, that Gosâla was born low parental line in a cowshed, and, secondly, that he was a naked arhat. This last fact, as it is mendicant; and, secondly, that this profession of his was not sincere, but adopted merely for the sake of getting an idle living. The ground of this is, the belief in Gosâla's insincerity, which will be shown in the sequel, was, according to both the Buddhists and the Jains, that Gosâla not only taught but also practised antinomian doctrines.

The point on which the two accounts differ is the meaning of the word in Sanskrit, 'Mankhali-putta.' According to the Jains, Mankhali is the name of Gosâla's father, and a derivation from maṅkhaka. According to the Buddhist, this is the name of Gosâla himself. The reference in the Jain Scribe from a mistaken word maṅkhaka. The Prakrit word maṅkhali is the equivalent of the Skr. word maṅkÇâra; but there exists no word maṅkÇâ, the equivalent of maṅkhaka. The latter word, in fact, has not been found anywhere but in the passage of the Bhagavati Sûtra which introduces it as the source of the name Mankhali, and it is presumably an invention ad hoc. Moreover, the meaning of the hypothetical word maṅkhâla was not certainly known to the old commentators. Thus, while Abhaya Deva (c. 1560 A.D.), in his commentary on the Bhagavati Sûtra, explains it to mean 'a kind of beggar that tries to extract alms from the people by showing them instances of malpractice of Brahmins,' his name, as the name Mankhali, is perhaps an invention ad hoc. The truth, no doubt, is that maṅkÇa-la-putta is a formation like Nâgana-la-putta or Nâgâna-la-putta, a mendicant of the Nâgâna Order. It describes Gosâla as having originally belonged to the Maṅkhalî, or Masons, class of wandering mendicants; thus, the very existence of this kind of mendicant in India is proved by the fact that the celebrated grammarian Pûkîn (c. 850 B.C.), in his Grammar (v. 1, 154), explains the formation of the name. According to him, a Mason was called because he carried a staff in his hand (bâbûr staff, mûrda). On account of this practice of carrying a staff, he was known also as Eka-danda, or a 'one-staff-man.' Patañjakâ, in his commentary on Pûkîn's statement (K.Mah. iii, 93), further explains that this kind of wandering mendicant (parivârâsaka) was called Mankhali, not so much because he carried a staff, as because he professed to have received the rules of the mendicant. The reference to the two statements is to the effect that there were two grades of these Masons or Eka-danda. In the lower grade, the ascetic carried a staff, in addition to a begging bowl and a strip of loincloth (tata-bandhana). In the higher grade of Paramâmakhancâ, he abandoned even this claiming absolute renunciation as his only staff of reliance (W.S.B. ii, 174-76).

In ancient India, at one time, the tendency appears to have been very prevalent to adopt the life of a homeless wandering ascetic. Often this life would be detached from sincere religious motives; but probably as often it was due to a mere love of vagrancy and dislike of honest work. It was not limited to any particular class of people; but it was probably more prevalent among the lower classes. Among the upper classes (the so-called 'twice-born') the Brahmanic laws gives attempted to regulate it by enacting that the early years should be devoted to education and the middle years to rearing a family and pursuing a profession, while only the declining years might be given up to the ascetic life. It may be doubted whether this wholesome regulation ever was much observed in Indian society; the tendency to devote the whole life to religious renunciation is strong. It is defined by a certain period of life, but by organizing the mendicants into communities governed by strict rules of conduct. Such men were the founders of Buddhism and Jainism. Gosâla, from all accounts, was hardly a man of that stamp. He seems, by natural disposition, to have belonged to the lower sort of Masons, who made religious mendicancy a pretext for an idle and self-indulgent life. The existence of this barser sort of mendicants in ancient India is vouched for by a curious piece of folklore. It is said, that the Tîtraks or Masons (Mankhali-putas, Chedaga, in Jat. iii, 542). The verses occurring in the Buddhist Jâtakas embody the most ancient folklore—of a much older date than Buddhism itself. In the 12th and 13th verses of that Jâtaka a mendicant of the barser sort is described, among other things, as a naked mendicant (anâchâra), which shows that he must have belonged to the class of mendicants who were known as Eka-dandins, or Masons. But what gives particular significance to this notice is that the mouth of the later commentary identifies that mendicant as an Ajivika. It is clear that in the mouth of the Buddhists, 'Ajivika' was a term of reproach applicable to a Mason or Eka-dandin of the barser sort. This seems to explain why it was that both Buddhists and Jains call Gosâla a Mankhali, and say that he was a leader of Ajivika; and very possibly he was not only himself a Mankhali; but also, as the Jains say, the illegitimate son of a Mankhali.

It is difficult to determine the motive which induced Gosâla to attach himself to Mahâvîra. It may be that the contact with that religious enthusiast temporarily woke up the better instincts in Gosâla; he made an avowal professed his motives;...
murdered him by a slow course of starvation. This murder happened in the year B.C. 490, or eight years before Mahavira, in the year of the war, and that war must have taken place in the year of Kujjya's accession to regal power, and that accession cannot well be placed at a very long interval before the murder of Seniya. All these dates are best seen by assuming that Mahavira died in B.C. 484, two years earlier than Buddha, and that consequently the death of Gosala and the war took place in B.C. 500, sixteen years before the death of Mahavira, and ten years before the murder of Seniya. Accordingly that year, B.C. 500, may be taken as the approximate date of the death of Gosala.

3. Dogtrines and practices of Gosala.—Neither Gosala nor any of his Ajivikas followers has left us any record of their doctrines and practices. Accordingly we are reduced to the necessity of forming our opinion on those two points from the occasional references to them in the records of their rivals, the Buddhists and Jains. Their statements must, of course, be accepted with caution; but it is seen that general trustworthiness is guaranteed by their agreement in all essential points. This agreement possesses the same value, as the statements, coming from two mutually hostile sects, constitute two independent sources of information.

In the Buddhist Mahajmika Nikaya (l. 514 ff., N.R. ii. 254) there occurs a very instructive statement. Buddha is represented as dividing the ascetic systems which differed from his own into eight classes. For his own system he condensed into six the sentence, 'As I see it, there is no such thing as exertion or labour, or power, or energy, or human strength; all things are unalterably fixed' (cf. S.N. iii. 210; A.N. i. 260). In the Buddhist Digha Nikaya (p. 53; Dial. 71) the pith of Gosala's system is more fully stated as follows: "There is no such thing as exertion or labour, or power, or energy, or human strength; all things are unalterably fixed." (S.N. iii. 210; A.N. i. 260). In the Buddhist Digha Nikaya (p. 53; Dial. 71) the pith of Gosala's system is more fully stated as follows: "There is no such thing as exertion or power, or energy, or human strength; all things are unalterably fixed." (S.N. iii. 210; A.N. i. 260). In the Buddhist Digha Nikaya (p. 53; Dial. 71) the pith of Gosala's system is more fully stated as follows: "There is no such thing as exertion or power, or energy, or human strength; all things are unalterably fixed." (S.N. iii. 210; A.N. i. 260)."
dreams. There are 8,400,000 great periods during which both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain.'

To this scheme Gosāla is represented as appending his own determinist warning: 'Though the wise should hope that by some particular virtue or performance of duty or penance or righteousness he may escape this (the karma, that is) not yet mature, or though the fool should hope by the same means to get rid of karma that has matured, neither of them can do it. The ease and pain, measured out as it were with a measure, exactly in the great period of transmigration there can be neither increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency. Just as a ball of string, when it is cast forth, will spread out just as far as and no farther than it can unwind, so both fools and wise alike, wandering in transmigration exactly for the allotted term, shall then, and only then, make an end of pain.'

The two items in the foregoing scheme which can definitely be identified in the Jain system are—(1) the division of all living beings into those possessed of two, three, or five senses, which is fully set out in the Jain Utterādhyāyana Sūtra (J.S. ii. 213, 219; also ib. i. 3, footnote 2); and (2) the division of mankind into six classes (abhijñātā). The latter division, as held by Gosāla, is expounded by Buddhāghoja in his commentary on the Buddhist Nuśkaṭikā (P. v. 162, tr. in U.D., App. ii. p. 21). According to his account, Gosāla distinguished the six classes by six colours—black, blue, red, yellow, white, and supremely white. The black were the kings, the red, yellow, and white. The blue were the ministers, the lay adherents, the mendicants known as Bhikṣus, that is, the Buddhist monks. The red were the mendicants known as Niggaṇṭha, who wore (at least) a strip of loin-cloth. The yellow were the lay adherents of the mendicants known as Ācāryā, that is, those mendicants who wore no clothing whatsoever. The white were the mendicants, male as well as female, who were known as the Ajīvikas. The supremely white were the leaders of the latter: Nanda Vachchha, Kesā Sakkāhika, and Gosāla Mahākhalā-putta.

In Mahāvira's system, the six classes, which he termed śāra, are also distinguished by a series of six colours differing but slightly—black, blue, red, yellow, white and (white; J.S. ii. 199, 200). In the interpretation of these colours, the two systems, on the whole, go somewhat differently, but the underlying principle is, on closer inspection, seen to be the same. According to Mahāvira, the black are those who injure living beings, i.e. those who were first of the five vows of the śāra (āśīvata). The blue are those who indulge their greed or their passion, i.e., those who contravene the fourth and fifth of the vows (āśīvahā and brahmaṇa). The grey are those who are deceitful and thieving, i.e., those who contravene the second and third of the vows (āśīvahā and ācāryata). The red are those who strive to control themselves so as to keep the law, i.e., the lay adherents. The yellow are those who are firm in controlling themselves, i.e., the so-called mendicants. The white are those who have attained absolute self-control, i.e., the so-called Jaina-kṣatriya, like Mahāvira himself (J.S. ii. 199, 200).

Gosāla's scheme is practically the same, with the exception that he illustrates his meaning by quoting types. Thus for the first of the śāras he quotes 'the mendicant who is the type of the white class': for among their rivals the Buddhists had the reputation of being 'the preachers of ease' (āśīvata) who favoured 'the way of comfort' (puṣṭi-mārga, J.S. ii. 260, footnote 3; and V.D.D. ii. 332, footnote 5). The Niggaṇṭhas were the type of the second class; for they were superior to the Buddhists in renouncing comfort, but inferior to the Ajīvikas in adhering to a loin-cloth. The lay adherents of himself, the Ācārya, or the mendicants, was the type of the yellow (or Mahāvira's red) class. The 'privileged' adherents of him, and the so-called Ajīvika, who apparently also walked totally naked, were the type of the white class. He himself, and other leaders, who walked totally naked, were the type of the supremely white class. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Buddhaghoja's interpretation of Gosāla's classification is based on the Āguttara Nikāya (iii. 383), where, however, he himself is attached to the mendicant leader Pārāśara Kasapa. It is not a mere verbal error, it confirms the observation already made that the classificatory scheme was common to all the six prominent rivals of Buddha (cf. Mahābuddhara, xii. 289, v. 32 ff.)

It has already been stated (above, p. 261) that, in the main, there was no doctrinal difference between Gosāla and Mahāvira. There was, however, one point on which, according to the Jain tradition, there was a marked difference between them. They both accepted the so-called Puṇṇas, or Original Sayings. These were, later, expounded in the Dravyadā, or the twelfth Aṅga of the Jains. The first portion of this Aṅga is said to have explained 'the preparations necessary to grasp the meaning of Mahāvira's system correctly' (A.A. xx. 173). With respect to this preparatory work, Pārāśara Kasapa counted six, while others counted seven groups.

The former count was that of the orthodox Jains, while the latter belonged to certain schisms, called Ajīvikas or Terāsya, that is, as Abhayadeva (c. 1050 A.D.) explains, to the sect (pārāśāra) founded by Gosāla. These men had their name terāsya (Skṛ. trātiyā) from their practice of treating everything under three aspects (tray-ātmasa)—assertion, negation, and indifference. Thus they would say, e.g. that a thing may be true, or untrue, or that there is no being (sisī-sad-asat). This tenet, technically known as the syādvāda, or the sāyādīvāda, is distinctive of the Jains generally. It follows that the Terāsya must have made use of it in some special way, and that this special way constituted their seventh group, or preparatory discipline (parāśāra).

It may further be surmised that this seventh group was concerned with the ajīvika, or 'profession' of men; and that for this reason the Terāsya had received their alternative name of Ajīvikas, or 'professionals.' The substance of their teaching on this head is explained by Śīlānka (c. 876 A.D.) to have been that, besides the two states of man (admitted by Mahāvira), in which he was 'bound' by karma, and in which he was 'liberated' from karma, there was a third state in which he was neither truly bound nor truly liberated (J.S. ii. 245, footnote 2). The men of the 'bound' state were those who lived in the world. To the intermediate state belonged those who had renounced the world (like Mahāvira); and to the latter men, owing to their bad karma, who were not truly liberated; they had yet to pass through an innumerable series of transmigrations before they could reach that state of true liberation from karma which Gosāla claimed to have attained himself (cf. Beven 1237-1292; R.L.B. p. 253; U.D., App. ii. p. 18; see also Dial., 72) the latter is represented as himself explaining his theory of transmigration.

'According to my doctrine,' he says, 'all those who have become, or are now becoming, or will hereafter become, perfected, have to finish 8,400,000 great periods (mahākalpa), during which they have to be born, in regular alternation, seven times as a diva in a firmament (aṇamāna) and seven times as a conscious being (aṇamāna, man) on earth, finishing up with seven reanimations in seven different bodies; and having, in the course of these rebirths, rid themselves of the effects of the five sorts of karma, and of the three sorts of karma and of the fraction of it; and of the proportion, respectively, of 100,000 and 60,000 and 600 (of the 8,400,000 great periods) they attain final perfection.'

To give an idea of the immeasurable length of time involved in this process:

'The bed of the river Ganges measures 500 yojanas in length, half a yojana in breadth, and 60 dhanus in depth (a yojana= 1000 square miles, a dhanu= 500 feet). Taking a series of seven Ganges rivers of each succeeding foot at the rate of 1000 yojanas to the foot, and if one of the preceding, the last of the series is equal to 117,649 Ganges rivers; if now another's (vātika, i.e. removed, the time required to exhaust the whole of the sand of these seven Ganges rivers would be one saras period; and at the rate of 50,000 to each such sand, it would be long before mahākalps, or great period' (U.D., App. ii. p. 27, footnote 21).

In the course of its last conscious existence on earth, the soul has to pass through seven changes of body by re-animation; that is to say, the soul successively passes into, and thus re-animates, the
dead body of seven different persons. In his own case, Gosala explains, he left near the town of Rajagaha the body of Udati Kundiyayanika (when the latter died), and passed into the (dead) body of Enejjaga, re-animating it for the space of 22 years. When the latter died, he passed into and resided in the body of Mahavira for 21 years. Similarly, he re-animated in succession the four dead bodies of Mandiyi, Roha, Bharaddai, and Ajjunaga Goyamaputta for the space of 20, 19, 18, and 17 years respectively. 'Finally,' Gosala concludes, 'the Digha Nikaya (p. 166; Dial. 227) this account of the Ajivika practices is placed in the mouth of a naked ascetic.

It (fols. 125r, 1254, 1Enejjaga, Mahavira and Ajjunaga years.

This insistence by Gosala on the theory of re-animation being his own doctrine is of particular importance. It is one of those theories which Jain tradition states to have been quite peculiar to Gosala, and to have originated in connexion with certain incidents in his life. It is clearly a somewhat incongruous supplement made by Gosala to his general theory of transmigration. It must have been added for a particular purpose. What that purpose was is practically unknown.

The idea of the dissolution of the early companionship of the two men had taken place not so much by reason of a mere theoretical difference in doctrine, as on the ground of some course of conduct which was regarded by Mahavira, as well as by the people generally, as discreditable and unworthy of an ascetic.

Though the theory of re-animation was employed by Gosala for the purpose of repudiating his identity, the incident which suggested it is introduced into the text of the Digha Nikaya (fol. 1214 ff.; U.D., App. I. p. 9), at an earlier time, when Gosala was still associated with Mahavira.

Gosala, wandering together from Siddhathagama to Kumbagoua, the two men passed a large sesame shrub in full bloom. Seeing it, Gosala asked Mahavira whether or not the shrub would perish, and where its seeds would reappear. Mahavira replied that the shrub would perish, but that seeds would form in seed-vessels of the same shrub. Gosala would not believe it; so, thinking to prove him a liar, he quietly returned to the shrub, tore it up by the roots, and threw it away. As chance would have it, just then a shower of rain fell. In consequence of it, the shrub was able again to take root; and so the seeds after all formed in its seed-vessels. In the meaning which Gosala passed to Kumbagoua. On their return some time afterwards they passed the identical sesame shrub; and seeing it, Gosala reminded Mahavira of his prophecy, and asked that it was clear that the shrub had not died, and that the seeds had not formed. Mahavira replied that his prophecy had been fulfilled; the shrub had died, but believing that Gosala himself had pulled it out by the roots and thrown it away, that owing to a timely fall of rain the shrub had come to life again, and the seeds had formed in the seed-vessels. He added that similarly all plants were capable of re-animation. Still Gosala would not believe it, and went up to the plant to examine its seed-vessels; but finding, on opening it, that Mahavira had been correct, he drew the further conclusion that not only plants but also animals (including Mahavira himself) were capable of re-animation. To this generalisation of the theory of re-animation, however, Mahavira would not assent.

In this short discourse another doctrine may be mentioned which is stated in the Bhagavati Sutra (fols. 125r, 1254; U.D., App. I. p. 7) to have been quite peculiar to the Ajivika followers of Gosala. It was known as the 'Eight Finalities' (sattva chara漫tita), that is, the doctrine of the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation, the last tornado, the last sprinkling elephant, the last fight with big stones as missiles, and the last Tirthankara, viz. Manikali-putta himself. The incidents which gave rise to this doctrine are those which attended the closing days of Gosala's life. The first four were his last personal acts as related already in the story of his life (above, p. 259 ff.). The next three are said to have been remarkable events which happened just about the time of Gosala's death. The last four were one of those fierce cyclonic storms, accompanied with torrential rain, which still occasionally visit Bengal, but which are almost unknown in other parts of Northern India. The 'sprinkling elephant' is said to have been a huge creature which had been trained to amuse the ladies of the royal harem when they bathed in the river Ganges, and the claim to the possession of which, as has already been related, occasioned a war between the kings of Magadha and Vaishali. In this war those stone missiles were to require investment with some kind of powerful catapult. The reason d'être of this curious doctrine, no doubt, is that the devout Mahavira, who felt his body to be a transitory form, would not be disquieted by any such very natural event; for there is no one of those fierce cyclonic storms which elapsed without having been felt by him. The latter refers to what is excreted by the cow, what is soiled by the hand (e.g. water in a potter's vessel), what is heated by the sun, and what drips from a rock. The latter refers to such things as water-jars, mangoes, beans, etc.

With regard to the practices of the Ajivikas, we have an instructive statement in the Buddhist Majjhima Nikaya. In the 36th chapter (M.N. i. 238; N.R. i. 376), Sachchaka, a member of the Nigantha community, is represented as explaining to Buddha the practices observed by the adherents of Gosala Manikali-putta and his friends Nanda Vachchha and Kissam Sankhichha. These three men, as we have seen (above, p. 262, also below, p. 267), were the leaders of the Ajivikas. Respecting them and their adherents, Sachchaka says:

They discard all clothing (schelaka); they dispense with all decent habits (mauddhakara); they lick their food out of their hands (kattha-wallpa, B. 253); they allow only a handful of food; they permit no food to be brought to them, or to be specially prepared for them, or to be received by them; they have no meals in the day; they trust in fasting; the food which they eat is cooked, nor food placed within the threshold or among the firewood or among the posets, nor food from a couple eating together, or from a woman with child, or from a woman giving suck, or a woman in intercourse with a man; nor food which is reduced (in times of drought), or when a dog is standing by, or when flies are swarming round; they will not eat fish or flesh, nor drink liquor made from rice or the flowers of Woodfordia; they fast from seven days to seven days; they observe their fast on the half-month; in this manner they observe various routines of fasting.

In the Digha Nikaya (p. 106; Dial. 227) this account of the Ajivika practices is placed in the mouth of a naked ascetic
Another point is worth noticing in connexion with Sachchaka's statement of the Ajivika practices. When he had finished it, Buddha inquired whether the Ajivikas were really able to sustain life as they claimed, and the mendicants, contemptuously replied that, of course, at other times they indulged in copious and excellent food and drink, and thus regained bodily vigour and grew fat. This remark is significant of the prejudice in which the sincerity of Gosala and his Ajivikas was held by his contemporaries. It only serves to confirm the suspicion of Gosala's insincerity on the far more serious point of sexual conduct, which, there is good reason to believe, caused the rupture between him and Mahāvīra.

From the way the Terāsiyas, or Ajivikas, with their peculiar doctrine respecting the seventh group of preparatory discipline (above, p. 262), are spoken of, it is clear that they were not regarded as outside the pale of the Nigāghana controversy. Their doctrine might not be acceptable to the Jainas; it may even be schismatic; but it was not condemned as heretical. It might cause friction between its propounder, Gosala, and his associate, Mahāvīra, who rejected it; but it would not have caused that total separation and intense hostility which we see taking the place of the early association of the two men. For this change clearly there must have existed a special cause not essentially connected with the Terāsiya or Ajivika doctrine. What this cause was we are nowhere explicitly told. The Buddhists are silent. Buddha, we know, disliked Gosala; but he had never been in personal touch with him, and the quarrel of Gosala with Mahāvīra did not greatly interest him or the Buddhists. It was different with Mahāvīra. In the earlier years of their ascetic life he and Gosala had been associates. But the subsequent difference and total separation could not but be a matter of importance to the Jainas. Yet even in their Scriptures—so far as we know the older treatises—no explicit statement of the cause or reason of this separation is recorded. We are left to draw conclusions from some indirect indications; nor are these at all obscure in their suggestiveness. The reported choice of Gosala's headquarters on the premises of a woman, and his attempt to repudiate his identity, clearly point to, not a doctrinal, but a practical ground of separation, to some discreditale feature in the conduct of Gosala. What this feature was may be plausibly imagined in the Suśra-krtya (J.S. ii. 245). Against Mahāvīra, Gosala (above, p. 261), that men who, like Mahāvīra, had renounced this world belonged to the intermediate state, and were still liable to be involved in karma, just as clarified water again becomes defiled, while he, Gosala himself, had reached the state of perfect liberation, Mahāvīra points to the conduct of Gosala and his followers: 'These men do not lead a life of chastity. That fact, he means to say, should be enough to satisfy 'a wise man' as to their common falsehood, otherwise of Gosala's contention. In this connexion it may be noted that, in the Bhagavati Sūtra (fol. 1275-1291; U.D., App. I, pp. 11-14), Mahāvīra is represented as ironically applying to Gosala his own doctrine of transmigration, and showing how Gosala, instead of being in the state of true liberation, had after his death to pass through an interminable transmigra-

tory series, the several steps of which he specifies, before he really attained perfection.

There is, however, a passage in the Suśra-krtya which is even more explicit in its suggestiveness. It records (J.S. ii. 409-413) a disputation which Ārakha, a follower of Mahāvīra, held with Gosala respecting the points on which the latter differed from Mahāvīra. These points were an alleged charge of inconsistency against Mahāvīra, that he at first wandered about as a single monk, but afterwards surrounded himself with many monks; secondly, a charge of misplaced severity, that he insisted on his followers regarding themselves as sinners; thirdly, a charge of spiritual arrogance as well as spiritual cowardice. The four restrictions refer to:

1. Drinking of cold water.
2. Eating (unboiled) seeds.
3. Accepting things specially prepared.
4. Having intercourse with women.

Mahāvīra forbade these actions as sinful, but Gosala maintained that no accetic committed no sin in doing them. The same four restrictions are mentioned in another place of the same Suśra-krtya (J.S. ii. 267), though with a notable difference. Here they run as follows:

1. Drinking cold water.
2. Eating (unboiled) seeds.
3. Accepting things specially prepared.
4. Serving a sick brother with food brought to him in the vessel of a householder.

The ethical item of sexual intercourse is here replaced by the ceremonial item of eating from the vessel of a lay adherent. The significance of this difference will be explained in the sequel (p. 267). At this point it is important to notice only that none of the matters in dispute is concerned with doctrine; they only represent a conflict of spiritual or moral qualities, or an effort to maintain the discipline of the sect which had lost its identity.

Considering that it was the conduct of religious ascetics that was in question, the most striking point in dispute is that respecting sexual intercourse. To this point it is necessary to remember that Pārśva, the precursor of Mahāvīra, had enjoined only four vows (yāna) on his followers (J.S. ii. 121). These were—(1) not to eat (nūrīṭa), (2) to speak the truth (niṣīṭa or satya), (3) not to steal (asteya), (4) not to own property (aparigraha or aśīṣkotana). That is, Pārśva enjoined the vows of kindness, truth, honesty, and poverty. To these Mahāvīra added the fifth vow of chastity (brahma-charya, to. ii. 91, 109, 129, 204). His reason for making this addition is explained in the Uṭkārdayāna Sūtra (to. ii. 122, 123). Before Mahāvīra it had been understood that chastity was implicitly enjoined by the other vows. The wife being accounted a species of property, marriage was forbidden by the vow of poverty, and abstinence by the vow of honesty; but the case of fornication was left open. On this specious ground, laxity of morals crept in among the intellectually or morally weaker members of the community founded by Pārśva. Mahāvīra's fifth vow of chastity was designed to reform that evil. On this point he encountered the open opposition of his associate, Gosala. There was, however, no free will, there was no moral responsibility. Indeed, there is good ground for believing that it was this very laxity of conduct on the part of Gosala that gave the occasion to Mahāvīra to introduce the fifth vow, and thus to force the withdrawal of Gosala. It will be noticed that the two statements of the four restrictions, above quoted, have the first three restrictions in common, while they vary with respect to the fourth. This points to something peculiar in those three restrictions. Now, in one place of the Suśra-krtya (J.S. ii. 313) these three particular restrictions (regarding cold water, seed, and non-acceptance of specially prepared food) alone are mentioned, adduce are referred to Suśra-krtya Sūtra (J.S. i. 65) we find Mahāvīra described as 'the wise man who enjoined three restrictions' (pārśva-ātman). On the other hand, in the Buddhist Dīgha Nikāya (p. 67; Dist. 74), Mahāvīra is made to describe himself as 'the man of four restrictions' (chatavārātman). It thus appears that the restriction regarding intercourse with women is, in fact, identical with Mahāvīra's fifth vow of chastity, which, as we have already remarked, is an addition made by him to the four restrictions of Pārśva. If the surmise is correct that it was Gosala who provided the occasion for the institution of this restriction (pāmāda), that is to say, the fifth vow (yāna) of Mahāvīra's system, it goes a long way to prove that it was Gosala's laxity which caused the disputation between him and his associate, Pārśva, with respect to the four restrictions of Gosala's sect.

* In J.S. i. 63 the phrase is wrongly translated by 'three vows,' following herein the commentators; but the word, 'vow,' is some thing different from pāmāda, restriction.
of morals that was the real cause of Mahavira's separation from him. Speaking on the ascetic's duty to avoid intercourse with women, Mahavira is represented in the Sutra-katika (J.S. ii. 261) as saying concerning Gosala: 'In the assembly of the monks he pronounces holy words, yet secretly he commits sin; but there is no one to be a deceiver and great rogue.' It was Gosala's hypocrisy in the matter of sexual conduct that caused the breach between him and Mahavira.

This, then, was the main cause; but, no doubt, there were other subsidiary causes which exacerbated the friction between the two men. They had reference to the three restrictions regarding the use of cold water and uncooked seeds, and the acceptance of specially prepared food. In order to realize the significance of these seemingly trivial matters, we must remember that among all Indian ascetics abstention from action (karma) was held to be the paramount rule of conduct, because karma bound the soul in the cycle of transmigrations. But to this rule there was one exception; seeing that without the body one cannot go through the whole of the discipline which secures salvation (moksha), such actions as are necessary for the preservation of the body (dharma-dhāra-sāriva-rakṣaṇāya) in the commentary to S.K. ii. 6, § 7, in J.S. ii. 411), e.g. the begging and eating of food, are innocuous and do not operate as a fetter (kala-pāraṇa). Hence Gosala, in his vow (vrata) or restriction (yāma) taken on himself as the ascetic was considered tacitly subject to that rule and its exception. The differences among the ascetics arose when it came to the practical application of this one unqualified restriction. Thus, while all agreed that storing food was forbidden, but that begging one's daily allowance of food was permitted, some ascetics qualified that permission by certain restrictions (yāma). Mahāvira forbade the use of cold water and of uncooked seeds; the other, or state, lost injury should be done to any 'life' (jiva) in either; both should be used only after boiling, or other safeguarding process. He also forbade the acceptance of any food specially prepared for the mendicant, lest the privilege of begging should degenerate into indulgence. Gosala, on the other hand, rejected these three restrictions.

Again, while all ascetics were agreed that besides the body the ascetic should own no other possession, they were permitted of a body only for the reception of the begged food. Gosala denied the justice of this permission, because the ascetic could and should make use of his hand for that purpose (cf. J.S. i. 57, footnote 2, and ii. 267, food found to be received into the bowl made by the palms of the joined hands, and out of this natural bowl should be licked up. Hence ascetics of this stricter observance were known as the 'hand-lickers' (hatthāpalakhamāna, D.N. 166; Dial. 227). If food, however, was required for a sick monk, it was to be carried to him in the vessel of the householder. Mahāvira objected to this practice as open to the risk of injury to any 'life' that might be in the householder's vessel (J.S. ii. 309).

In the treatment of the question of clothing may be mentioned. Some ascetics (like Pārśva) permitted the use of wrappers; others permitted only the irreducible minimum of a pudic cover (kattyā-bandhana); while, again, others went about absolutely naked. To the second class appear to have belonged the Nigantas, or the immediate followers of Mahāvira (J.S. i. 73), who, accordingly, are called by Gosala the 'one-strip men' (ekatāṭaka), and placed in his red class (above, p. 262). Though according to his Nigantas (pp. 349, 350) he for himself Mahāvira discarded the use of all clothing. On this point there was no difference between him and Gosala; both were mendicants of the achetaka, or 'clothless,' class. Indeed, it is just possible that on this point Mahāvira may have been influenced by Gosala. For we are told in the Jain Scriptures that at first, when Mahāvira adopted the ascetic life, he attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva; it was only in the second year of that life, about the time when he fell in with Gosala, that he adopted the strictest observance of absolute nakedness. The procedure suggests that Mahāvira adopted that observance from Gosala, and that it was this circumstance that formed the bond of their early companionship, until the discovery of Gosala's hypocrisy caused the separation of their respective parties. It appears probable, however, that within the Nigantas community the general rule was to wear the loin-cloth, and the practice of total nakedness was limited to that section of it which formed the party of Gosala, and had adopted his doctrine on ājīva as formulated in the seventh group of the preparatory discipline (above, p. 262), and which hence was known as the Ajīvikas.

On this point there is an instructive story related in the Buddhist Vinaya Piṭaka (L. 291; V.P. Tr. ii. 261f.). Once, when Buddha was staying in Savatthi, he and his Nibbukus were invited by a wealthy woman, Vatukas, to the bank of the river. When the meal was ready, she sent her maid servant to call her guests. While she went on her errand, a heavy shower of rain fell, and on her arrival she found the Buddha and the Nibbukus standing disrobed and enjoying the rain. Thinking that there was a storm of winds, the Mahawira and his monks, both men and women, ran all over the ground. She then asked him where the place to which she had been directed there were no Nibbukus, but Ajīvikas. The misunderstanding, of course, was cleared up; but the incident, which being related later, shows that the Ajīvikas were naked monks, and that they were kept separate from the followers of Gosala, who, as we have seen, had established their headquarters at Savatthi, after he had separated from Mahāvira. The same point is illustrated by Gosala's sievefold classification of men (above, p. 263), in which the whole class is represented by his own party, the naked Ajīvikas, while the red class is typified by the party of Mahāvira, the one-strip Nigantas. Total nakedness of the other party of the monastic order, which continued in the connexion. For, as will appear in the sequel, it was the latter that formed the nucleus, from which, as a later date, the Digambara Order took its rise (below, p. 269).

It remains briefly to consider the two other charges preferred by Gosala against Mahāvira (above, p. 264). Thereference in the first of these is not quite clear. Mahāvira is accused of having first 'wandered about as a single monk,' but having afterwards 'surrounded himself with many monks' (J.S. ii. 409, 410). The charge is detailed in J.S. ii. 238, where Gosala claims that Mahāvira was a 'single' (sīha, p. 411). As a fact, however, Gosala also was 'surrounded by many monks,' who were known as the Ajīvikas. It is clear, therefore, that the mere fact that a leader wandered about or lived with a company of personal disciples did not count as an offence. The gravamen of Mahāvira's procedure, in the eyes of Gosala, appears to have been that, like Buddha, he instituted an Order (saṅgha) of monks. The followers of Mahāvira were scattered in various places in larger or smaller groups, but they were all organized in one community, under one Law, and one leader (Mahāvira). Gosala's followers formed but a small group that always accompanied its leader. There were, indeed, other groups of ascetics of a similarly dubious character who also bore the name of Dīnāgīna or Dīnāghāna, or Dīnāghāns, but lived apart under separate leaders, the names of two of whom, Kissa Sankikchha and Nanda Vachchha, are recorded in the Buddhist Scriptures (M.N. i. 328, 329; A.N. iii. 384). But the Ajīvikas of Gosala's time, who must be distinguished from the later Ajīvika Order of monks (below, p. 268), formed no organized community like the Nigantas (or Jains) and Buddhists. It is obvious that the antinomian tenets and practices of Gosala, and other men of his way of thinking, would form a natural basis for the formation of a widespread public organization. It may have been the consciousness of his disability in this respect that prompted Gosala's accusation against his more successful rival.
The second of the two charges against Mahāvira accused him of spiritual arrogance and spiritual cowardice. The reference in this charge is to Gosāla's theory of the three spiritual states of men (see above, p. 262). According to him, Mahāvira was in the intermediate state; his soul, though free from karma in a sense, was not truly liberated. Seeing himself as the system of spiritual arrogance in thinking that his system alone was correct and condemning those who differed from him (J.S. ii. 411, §§ 11-14, and Silānka's comment on Śūtra-kṛtāṅga, i. 1, 3, § 12; J.S. ii. 245). It was also full of spiritual arrogance to regard courts among the common people, but afraid to meet learned men who might refute him (J.S. ii. p. 412, §§ 15-18, and p. 415, §§ 19-25). The advocate of Mahāvira replies that, first, his master only teaches, as others do, what he believes to be true and right, and while condemning false doctrines, he does not condemn those who entertain them. Secondly, he never refuses to meet honest and worthy opponents, and is void of hypocrisy himself, while trying to win people for his doctrines.

The earliest mention of the Ajivikas occurs in a brief record incised on the walls of two rock-hewn caves on Barabar Hill near Gayā (IA xx. 361 ff.; S.A. 144). According to its own statement, it was made in the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor Ashoka, that is, c. A.D. 251. If, as Edgerton (K. Piyadassi, in the 13th year of his reign, bestowed this cave on the Ajivikas.'

The next mention occurs in the seventh of the celebrated Pillar Edicts of the same Emperor Ashoka, incised in the 29th year of his reign in B.C. 236 (S.I.P. ii. 82, 97; Ep. Ind. ii. 270, 272, 274; S.A. 155). It runs as follows: ‘I have arranged that my Censors of the Law of Piety shall be occupied with the affairs of the Buddhist Order (śrāvaka) as well as with the Brāhman (ascetics), the Ajivikas, the Niganthas, and, in fact, with all the various mendicant communities (pāśaṇḍa).'

A further early mention occurs in a brief record, incised on the walls of three rock-hewn caves on Nageshuni Hill in the first year of the reign of Gosāla's disciple Dāsaratha (IA xx. 361 f.; S.A. 145). It runs as follows: ‘This cave was bestowed by his Majesty Dāsaratha, immediately after his accession, on the venerable Ajivikas, to be a dwelling-place for them as long as the sun and moon endure.'

After this we meet with no mention of the Ajivikas till we come to the 6th cent. A.D. In that century, about A.D. 550, Varāha Mihira, in his astrological works Brāhaj-jātaka (xv. 1) and Laghu-jātaka (xii. 12), names them as one of seven classes of religious mendicants. These are—(1) the Sākyas or Raktapatras (men of the red robe), i.e. the Buddhist monks; (2) the Ajivikas, or, as the commentator Bhattotpala (c. 600 A.D.) explains in the Ekadandins, or ‘mendicant staff'; (3) the Nigrantha, or Jain monks; (4) the Tāpasas (ascetics) or Vanyāsanas (eaters of wild fruits), i.e. Brāhmans of the third ārama, living as hermits in the forest; (5) Bhikus (mendi-cants) or Brāhmans of the second ārama, living as homeless wanderers, and following, according to the commentator, the Mimbhās system; (6) the Vṛddha-āravikas; and (7) the Charakas, who appear also to have been two kinds of wandering religious mendicants. That these seven classes of devotees, and therefore the Ajivikas among them, were actually existing in Varāha Mihira's time, is evident from the fact that he teaches that a person is destined to enter into one of them according to the indications of his horoscope.

In the 9th cent. we have the testimony of the great Jain commentator Silānka (c. 876 A.D.) to the continued existence of the Ajivikas. And here we first meet with the interesting fact of the identity of the Ajivikas with the Digambara Jains. Commenting on the objection made by some to Mahāvira's four 'restrictions' in the Śūtra-kṛtāṅga (J.S. ii. 237), Silānka states that the reference is to the Ajivikas and Digambaras. We find, however, that in Silānka's view the followers of Gosāla, that is, the Ajivikas, with the Teriśiyasa (Sanskr. Trairāśikās), it follows that in Silānka's view the followers of Gosāla, the Ajivikas, and the Digambaras were the same class of religious mendicants.

In the 10th cent. we have a further testimony to the identity of the Ajivikas and the Digambaras. In his vocabulary, called the Abhidhāna Ratna-mālā (ii. 189, 190), Halāyudha (c. 950 A.D.) enumerates a large number of names of the two Jain divisions, the Śvetāmbaras (or white-skinned ones) and the Digambaras (or sky- clad, i.e. naked ones), or, as he calls them, the Śvetāmbara and Digvāsas. The latter, he says, are also known as the Ajiva, which is only a shorter form of Ajivika.

Lastly, in the 13th cent. we have, in certain temple records, a mention of the Ajivikas as a sect then actually existing in South India. These records are inscriptions on the walls of the Virinchipura (S.I.Inscr. i. 88, 89, 92, 108). They refer to grants of land to the temple together with 'the tax on Ajivikas,' made by the Chola king Rājarāja in the years A.D. 1226, 1239, 1249, 1259. By the editor of the records these Ajivikas are, on the authority of modern Tamil dictionaries, identified with the Jains. This, of course, means the Digambara sect of the Jains; for it is this sect whose principal seat, in those times, was in Southern India, and colonies of them are still to be found there (IA. xxxvi. 459; JGOS xxxviii. 17). The statements on the subject in the Tamil dictionaries appear to be based on the Tamil literature, and possibly on modern usage. The older Tamil literature (feste Dr. Pope) certainly uses the term Ajivika in the meaning of 'madman', and in 'dancing of the madman', and there can be no doubt, therefore, that since the 6th cent. A.D., when Varāha Mihira used the term, the name has signified the Digambara sect of the Jains.

As to Varāha Mihira's use of the term, it is to be noted that his commentator Bhattotpala, whose date is about A.D. 950, identifies the Ajivikas with the Ekadandins. This identification is based on a Prakrit verse which he quotes from a Jain writer called Kākakākhārya. That writer, who lived about A.D. 450, that is, about a century earlier than Varāha Mihira, names the same seven classes of ascetics with the one exception that he writes Ekadandina for Ajivikas (Pr.C.O. ii. 9, 430). Bhattotpala on his own part does not say that the Ekadandins or Ajivikas are devotees of Nārāyanā, that is, of Viṣṇu. On the other hand, Silānka, speaking of the Ekadandins in another connexion, declares them to be devotees of Viṣṇu (J.S. ii. 245, 417). It is clear from this apparent discrepancy that what these two commentators had in their mind was the class of ascetics who are still known as the Dāsāṅgasastra.' These ascetics are usually classed as belonging to the intermediate division of Hindus; but in the Ajivikas they are stated that they invoke not only Siva but also Viṣṇu as Nārāyanā. They carry a staff (dāsāṅga) with a piece of red cloth attached to its top, wear only a narrow strip of cloth, or go quite naked, and are enjoined to live solitarily. They hold Vedantist doctrines and any man, caste or no caste, may join them (Pr.C.O. ii. p. 1. 245). They must not be confused with Dāsanāmīs (dāsāṅga), who are a comparatively modern class of ascetics, having been founded by the reformer Ṣaṅkarāchārya and his disciples in the 9th cent. A.D., and who lived in (māha), and pay some regard to caste in the matter of admission (VAGAS xx. 66, 67).
tistinguishing tenets of his own, and also retained his old distinguishing mark, the bamboo-staff. On account of these distinctions his party within the Niggantha community was known as the Terasiya or Ajivika (above, p. 262), and apparently so also the Ekadandin, or the One-staff men. Still later, in the reign of Ashoka, there were differences of opinion between the members of the two schools as to the purity of Aja-vika ways. So, when Ashoka finally expelled his subordinates and followers, Gosala was expelled by Mahavira from the community; and with him, it would appear, were ejected also a few others of the Ajivika party who were his intimate friends and shared his teachings. The Buddhist Scriptures make no mention of these two friends, Kissa Sankicheva and Nanda Vachchha (above, p. 263). These three men, after separating from Mahavira, appear to have lived a comparatively solitary life at Savatthi at the head of small groups of like-minded followers. But there is no reason to believe that, with the expulsion of the black sheep, the Ajivika or Terasiya party as such ceased to exist within the Niggantha Order. In fact, whatever evidence there is points the other way. Thus, in the connexion, the difference already noted (above, p. 264) between the two versions of the 'four restrictions' possesses a peculiar significance. The reference to sexual delinquency occurs in that version of the 'four restrictions' ascribed to Gosala and his faction; while the other version, which substitutes the reference to the use of the householders' vessel, is, according to the commentator Silanka, concerned with the Ajivikas or Digambaras. The difference, however, which existed between the two versions, tends to show that there was a portion of the Ajivika party within the Niggantha Order which was not implicated in the antinomies of Gosala's faction. As a matter of fact, the Ajivikas, according to the present day, from the Svetambaras on the points implied in the four restrictions. Thus the restrictions respecting the use of cold water and natural seeds were intended to enforce extreme regard for any kind of life (jiva); but the Digambaras are said to be 'only moderately careful of animal life,' while the Svetambaras are extremely so (IA xxxii. 460). With respect to the fourth restriction, while both sects insist on the vow of chastity, they differ in respect to that of the vessel. While the bowl belongs to the regular outfit of the Svetambara monks, the Digambaras are not permitted to carry it, but must receive their food in the palms of their hands (Oman, p. 151). As to the question of nakedness, the difference between the two divisions is sufficiently indicated by their names. Further evidence in the same direction is afforded by the subsequent revival of the Terasiya trouble within the Niggantha community, and by the retention to this day of the distinguishing mark of the staff among the Digambaras. On admission, we are told, 'the novice is supplied with the articles allowed to an ascetic by the Jain Scriptures, a black rod or dand about five feet long, and the Suddhu (or professional monk) always carries his staff (dand)' (BG ix. pt. i. p. 107).

The case, then, stands thus: Ekadandin is a general term for a class of ascetics which includes two subdivisions, the orthodox Savite Danzins and the heterodox Jain Ajivikas or Digambaras. The Jain writer Kalkaskharya, of course, meant to indicate the latter by the word Ekadandin; and Varaha Mihs, therefore, to preclude misunderstanding, substituted the more definite term Ajivika. The orthodox commentator, Bhottottapala, misunderstanding the position, confused the heterodox Ajivika with the orthodox Danzin.

According to the tradition of the Digambaras, an acute antipathism between their own party and the party of the Svetambaras arose during the life of Bhaddabhuto, who appears to have been the last head of the united Niggantha, or Jain community (JGOS xxxviii. 14, xl. 92; IA xxi. 69). Soon after his death, about 264 B.C. (i.e. 170 years after the time of Asoka), according to the tradition in the Kalpa Sutra (J. S. 1, 290) ascribed to a man called Chhaluka Rohagupta. This man is said to have been a disciple of Mahavira, who, with the help of the people of the region, expelled to 230 B.C., and it was he who is said to have founded the Terasiya schism. The Terasiyas, as we have seen (above, p. 262), are the Digambaras as the latter are known. It is evident that the term Ajivika or Digambara Order was already in existence when the Ajivikas dedicated the Barabari Hill cave to the Ajivikas. As to Asoka's successor Dasaratha (or Sumprati, as the Jain calls him), we are expressly told that he was convinced to the extent of the fact that the Svetambaras claim him as a convert of their original leader Subastin (A. S. 10, i. 299), a contemporary (p. 269-273) and co-leader with the above-mentioned Mahavira (JGOS, xxxviii. 601). But from the fact that Dasaratha dedicated, in B.C. 257, the Nagarjuni Hill to the Ajivikas, perhaps his conversion is to be placed to the credit rather of the Digambaras; although, of course, he may, like his predecessor Asoka, have distributed his favours impartially to the principal mendicant Orders of his time. Of Asoka we know from his seventh Pillar Edict that he was a patron equally of the Buddhists, Nigganthas, Ajivikas, and Digambaras. It is evident, therefore, that this term ascribed to the latter order of the Jain sects, has been said that the terms Niggantha and Ajivika denote the two Jain Orders which are known to us as the Svetambara and Digambara, and that the Ajivikas have been assimilated (by Professors Kern and Bühler, Ep. Ind. ii. 714, J. A. xxii. 663) that the term Brahmmapa in the Edict qualifies also Ajivikas, describing them as a 'Brahmanical' Order. Irrespective of the difficulty whether at that early time there existed any orthodox or in the sense of a non-Buddhist, and in the context of the Edict it means 'a Brahmancet, that is, a person of the Brahmân caste who had adopted the rule of the fourth order of mendicants or way of life. Such a person took on himself to live a homeless wandering life as a religious mendicant. The appeal to the statement of Bhottottapala, as has been already shown (above, p. 266), is unsatisfying. A Vasipava or Savita ascetic may belong (or rather, may have been so prolonged before joining) to any caste (W. M. H. p. 106 B). These men may be said to be 'Brahmanical' ascetics because they profess to be devoted to Brahmanical deities, but no Brahman would call them 'Brahmanical.' The term 'Brahma-
cal' expresses a Western idea, quite foreign to the word brahmmapa.

The history of the Ajivikas may be briefly summed up as follows: Gosala commenced his ascetic life as a Mankhall or Maskarik, that is, as an individual of the ancient well-known class of religious mendicants which was distinguished by the carrying of a bamboo staff. After a time he renounced the acquirement of Mahayan power and turned to another class of religious mendicants known as the Nigganthas, or Unfettered Ones (i.e. unfettered from the bonds of karma), the followers of Parśva-natha. The two men, holding kindred views on the stringency of ascetic requirements (q.e in the point of nakedness (acārye) he elaborated a common system, to which, however, Gosala added some particulars of his own. Each of them had his own party among their common following; and Gosala's party was known as the Ajivikas, or 'Professionals,' on account of its leader's peculiar views on the jīva, or 'profession,' of a religious mendicant. In course of time Gosala developed antinomian proclivities; and this produced ill-feeling between the two associates and ultimately led to a schism. Gosala parted, together with those of the Ajivika party who actively sympathized with him. There is no reason to suppose that the seceders formed a large group, or that as a group they survived the death of their leader Gosala. The others of the Ajivika party who had not shared Gosala's antinomian tenets and practices remained within the Niggantha community; but they retained their peculiar views on the points of total nakedness, non-possession of a bowl, imperfect regard for life, distinction of the service mark of a sewer, and so forth. On account of these differences, there no doubt existed some amount of friction between the Ajivika party and the rest of the Niggantha community. It manifested itself especially in the time of...
of Bhadrabāha, whose sympathies appear to have been rather with the Ajivikas. But the friction came to a head only in the earlier part of the 3rd cent. B.C. when that party, which was known also as the Terasiya (Trairāśika), definitely and finally separated to form the distinct Order which is now known as the Digamaras. It thus appears that the friction between the Buddhist and Ajivika elements may be traced back to the very beginning of Jainism, it being indirectly due to the antagonism of the two associated leaders, Mahāvīra and Gossāla, who are the representatives of the two hostile sections. It is also within that period that we find detached references to Ajivika mendicants occurring in the Buddhist Scriptures and elsewhere. The Vinaya Piṭaka (i. 8; SBE xii. 90) and Majjhima Nikāya (i. 170; N.R. i. 271, II. 454) relate how Buddha, immediately after his enlightenment, met an Ajivika of the name of Upaka, who, however, received Buddha's account of his spiritual experiences rather contemptuously. The Majjhima Nikāya (i. 31; N.R. i. 45) further relates the story of an Ajivika Panduputta who had been originally a carriage-driver, who was converted to Buddhism by his own belief. In the Vinaya Piṭaka (ii. 284; SBE xx. 370) we are told also of an anonymous Ajivika mendicant who gave the Buddhist monk Kassapa the first information of his master's death. These men probably were members of the Ajivika party in the region of Kusinagara. In another place the Vinaya Piṭaka (ii. 130; V.P.T. x. 132) relates how on one occasion certain Ajivikas, meeting with some Buddhist monks who walked under a Buddhist sunshade, jeered at the un-acetic conduct of their rivals. In the Mahābhāṣya (xiii. 67) there is a curious notice of a group of Ajivikas which existed in Ceylon in the time of King Pandu-kabhaya about B.C. 426, and on whose behalf that king is said to have built a house (gaha). This notice, however, considering its very early date to which it refers, must be accepted with much reserve. Another very curious notice of the Ajivikas occurs in a little book on Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, by Sadasjaya Sugīra, ed. by Mr. Edgar W. Sīnger, tr., in the Philosophical Series [No. 4] of the Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.

In the Introduction, p. 16, the author says: 'Two more schools are frequently included by Chinese and Japanese authors among the sects of ancient India (i.e. the western countries). They are called Niganditas and Ashikas, and are quite similar to each other. They both hold that the penalty of a sinful life must sooner or later escape being imposed, since it is impossible to escape it, it is better that it should be paid as soon as possible, so that the life to come may be free for enjoyment. Thus their practices were ascetic: fasting, silence, immovability, and the burying of themselves to the neck (Nyukuron-no, i. 28), were their expressions of penance. They were probably offspring of the Jainist or some other Hindu sect.'

... The 'Nikandita and Ashikha' of this statement are obviously the Niganthas and Ajivikas, that is the Svetambara and Digambara Jains.


A. F. R. Hoernle.

AJMER, AJMER (the mere, or sacred mountain, of Ajayarāja, who is said to have founded the city in the 2nd cent. A.D.).—The capital of the British district of Ajmer-Meherwār, in the province of Rājpūtāna. It is noted for two important religious buildings, a mosque, and the shrine of a noted faqir, or Muslim saint, who bears the name of Āhā Din ka Jhūpār, 'the shed of two and a half days,' is a converted Jain temple; and the most probable explanation of the name is that the Sultān Quṭb-ud-dīn or Alāmshah, when he visited the place, ordered that on that spot a mosque should be converted into a mosque for his devotion. It is now the finest existing specimen of the early style of Muslimān mosque in India. Inscriptions fix the date of its erection between A.D. 1211 and 1236, in the reign of Alāmshah. It is thus of the same age as the celebrated mosque near the Kuth Minār in Old Delhi, and Cunningham supposes that both were probably planned by the same architect and erected by the same body of workmen.

The faqir's shrine, or dargāh, marks the resting place of the much revered Khwājah Mu'in-ud-dīn Hasān Chishti (A.D. 1142-1236), who was born in Sijistān or Sīstān, eastern Persia, whence he journeyed to India in 1183, and retired to the seclusion of a hermitage at Ajmer. In the case of these hagiographic literary works, which round this personage, many wonders and miracles wrought by him are recorded. The Emperor Akbar made a pilgrimage to his tomb, and to the present time the merchants of the Dargah Bāzār, which adjoins the tomb of the saint, daily lay their keys on the steps of the shrine before they open their shops. The custody of the shrine is in the hands of the eldest lineal descendant of the holy man, and all the descendants of the Khwājah still enjoy such consideration throughout India that the Nizām of Hyderābād will not sit in their presence, and even the Hindu Mahārājas of Jaipur, Gwālīr, and Jodhpur place them on the same seat with themselves. The annual festival of the Saint is held in the month Rajab, when enormous caravans of horses, goats, and other condiments are fitted at the expense of rich pilgrims to the shrine, and while the food is still in a state of boiling heat it is scrambled for by the mob of fanatical devotees who attend the fair, and who highly value even a small fragment of the sacred food. It is counted among the miracles of the Saint that he never lost on such occasions, though burns are frequent.

LITERATURE.—La Touche, in Rejuttana Gazetteer (1879), II. 64 ff.; Ferguson, Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture (1890), 292, 510 ff.; Indian Antiquary (1897), xxxv. 164. For the history of the saint, Aini-Akhtab, tr. Jarrett (1884), iii. 301.

AKALI.—The sect of the Akalis differs essentially from all the other Sikh orders in being a militant organization, corresponding to the Nāgas or Gossais among the Hindus. Their foundation is ascribed to Guru Govind himself, and they steadfastly oppose all attempts at religious innovations. The term akali, or 'immortal,' is said to be derived from akali-purāya, 'worshippers of the eternal,' but probably it is a self-assumed title, bearing its obvious meaning. The Akalis wear blue chauri dresses, with bangles or bracelets of steel round their wrists, and bangles of steel in their lofty conical blue turbans, together with miniature daggers, knives, and an iron chain. §

The tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, 1678-1708.

Murray's Hist. of India and Persia (London, 1822), ii. 117. The term akali means 'deathless,' i.e. 'God,' and Akali is simply 'God's worshippers.'

Malcolm points out that Kalgir, elder brother, Bala Rām, wore blue clothes, whereas he is called Nīlabār, or 'clad in blue color,' and Sittār, or 'the blue clad' (Acadian Researches, xi. 291).

§ A few Akalis wear the fojd or top-knot, but not all. Those who do not, only use 'dur and lōd' water; and also smoke,
In their military capacity the Akalis were called Nihangs, or reckless,* and played a considerable part in Sikh history, forming the Shahidis, or first of the four dehra.

At the siege of Multān in 1615 a few Akalī fanatics† carried the fauās-brayes into preparation, and precipitated the fall of that fortress. The career of Phulā Sirāj illustrates both their defects and their qualities. This Akālī first came into notice as the leader of the attack on Mautāsalī’s escort at Amritsar in 1609. He was then employed by Ranjīt Singh, who stood in considerable awe of him, to conquer the Indus valley, where he was guilty of atrocious cruelty towards the Muhammadan population, and in Kashmir.‡ Finally, Phulā Singh and his Akālij contributed to, or rather virtually won for Ranjīt Singh, the great Sikh victory over the Yamānatris at Teri in 1623. In this battle Phulā Singh met with a glorious death, and his tomb at Naushaṅrah is now an object of pilgrimage to Hindus and Muhammadans alike.

Under Phulā Singh’s earlier leadership, and perhaps before his rise, the Akalis had become a terror to friends and foes alike, and they were dreaded by the Sikh chiefs, from whom they often levied contributions by force.§ Ranjīt Singh, after 1823, was not able to reduce their power, and the order lost its importance.

The Akālij headquarters were the Akālī Bāṅga at Amritsar, where they assumed the direction of religious ceremonies and the duty of convoking the khalsa. In good fortune was held an advantage to enemy generals, and a general leadership of the Khalsa. Since Ranjīt Singh’s time Anandpur has been their real headquarters, but their influence has to a large extent passed away, and some of them have degenerated into begging ascetics.

As an order the Akalis are celibate. They have, says Trump, no regular chief or disciple, yet one hears of their gurus, whose leavings are eaten by their disciples (smauk or chela). They do not eat meat or drink spirits, as other religious bodies do, but consume inordinate quantities of bhang.


H. A. Rose.

AKBAR.—1. Life.—The emperor Akbar, whose full name was Abū-l-Fath (or Abū-l-Mozaffar) Jalal-ād-dīn Akbar Ghāzi, was born at Umarkot ('the fort of Umar') on 15 Oct., O.S., 1542, which the jōtā-wearers may not do. Others, again, wear a yellow turban, but the white one, so as to show a yellow hand across the forehead. The story goes that a Khāfsī of Delhi (Kandīlāl, author of the Zaligāz-nama) desired to see the Guru in yellow, and Govind Singh granted his wish. Many Sikhs wear the yellow turban at the Basant Panchnām. A couple erroneously ascribed to Bhā Gurdās says:

Sīth eufed, uerd, sātādns
Jo palhe, soq Gurdān,
'They who wear dark mūs (the Akalis), white (the Nirmalas),
(red the Udaisins), or yellow, are all brothers in the Guru.'

1 Ibhetton, £251. Cunningham (p. 370) says registers 'naked' or 'hymne' has the meaning literally (cf. Piatt, s.v.); but in Sikh parlance the word undoubtedly means 'free from care or caution, and so 'reckless.' In Hindustān it bears its original meaning.

† They were headed by one Jasā Singh, called Mālā ("royal") Singh, from his piece. He denied himself the use of bhang, the only intoxicating drug used in the Akalis. See Carvkar’s Myths of Emperors of Mughals, p. 145.


A religious opinions.—This side of Akbar’s character and beliefs has received such little attention, that the question of his real greatness. After all, Akbar was a king immersed in affairs, and religion was only the occupation of his leisure hours. He was a great conqueror and administrator, and was more in his place at the head of his troops, or when engaged in revenue reforms, than when seated in his Hall of Worship. It is certain, too, that he never seriously entertained the idea of becoming a Christian, and that the devoted Italian and Portuguese missionaries were sadly deceived in their hopes about him.

Father Goldie very sensibly remarks: 'How far Akbar was sincere in his search for truth, how far he had towards it a
feeling akin to the agnosticism of our day, or whether he was merely bent, from the very first, on making for things new and old, or he must be referring to some posthumous accounts of Sulaiman's behaviour.

Undoubtedly Akbar has received more credit than he deserves for the depth and fervour of his religious feeling. He was an active mind and delight was his greatest passion, and his religious opinions have been discussed by Hindus, Muhammadans, Pariss, Christians, and freethinkers, and we have details about them in the Akbar-Nama, Badayuni, the Dastân, and the writings of Jafri, Bartoli, Vais Kennedy, Wilson, Elphinston, Rehatsek, Blochmann, Count Noer, General Maclagan, and others. We have also Tennyson's poem Akbar's Dream. Akbar's Nama, written by a Hindu mistress for the emperor, is nearly the only piece of Akbar's experience, which is still in existence. We can only tell the things we know, or we must either be confusing things new and old, or he must be referring to some posthumous accounts of Sulaiman's behaviour.

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had a remarkable experience which is described as
a case of jasha, or attraction. He had gone out to
the banks of the Jhelum—the Hydaspe of Alex-
ander—to enjoy hunting, and had appointed officers
to organize an immense gamarghād, or batte. It
was one of the most extensive of country from
Girjak—supposed to be the Bucephala of Alex-
ander—to old Bhera. They were ten days engaged
in driving the game, and had nearly completed the
work, when something came over Akbar, and he
suddenly broke up the hunt, and set free all the
animals, even to Abū-l-Fażl, the chronicler, of
Niẓām ad-dīn, who by mistake puts the event into
the 24th year, calls it a case of a strong attraction
(jasha gawī), and says that Akbar bestowed alms on
jāfīrī and others, and ordered a garden to be
laid out and a house built on the spot where he
had sat under a tree and experienced the call.
Shortly afterwards he made a rapid ride to Ajmir,
in order to pay his annual visit to the shrine and
be present at the anniversary of the saint's death.
In this year also he revised the discussions
in the Tādiyānā, and we are told that the Ṣafā,
the philosopher, the rhetorician, the lawyer,
the Sunnite, the Shi‘ite, the Brāhman, the Yātī, the
Buddhist, the atheist, the Christian, the Jew, the
Sūfī, the Christian, the Muslim, and the Jadal to
capture enjoyed the pleasure of seeing Akbar place himself in the pulpit and
preside over the debates. The date given for
the commencement of these discussions is 20 Mhr
A.H. 936 or 3 Oct. 1578. Abū-l-Fażl puts Father
Bucharski, according to his approbation and
the Hijrah of Worship into this year, and tells an apocryphal
story about the Father's challenging the Muham-
madan doctors to the ordeal of fire; but unless
Abū-l-Fażl is giving a consecutive account of the
discussions, this has only a connection with the
theological order, there is a mistake in his narrative,
for Aqūavīna did not arrive at Fatḥāpur till
February, 1580. According to Abū-l-Fażl, Akbar
spoke at one of the meetings as follows:

"Formerly, from asseSSing to the opinions of apostate, wicked
men, we thought that outward conformity and the letter of
Muhammadanism profited even in the absence of inward
conviction. Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers
in the Brāhman (i.e. Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our
ancestors, and in the light of truth there is no truth upon
soul, the brilliant illumination has possessed us that in this
distressful spot of contrarieties (the world), where the darkness
of unbelief and the blackness of presumption are gathered
under a single head and unity, that single step cannot be taken
without the arrow having for its target the beneficent creed
which adopted with the approval of the intellect. To repeat the
words of a creed, to remove a patch of skin (i.e. to become
circumcised), and to make a moving image of the thing on
the road of idolatry, to show forth the Priest in the land of
 slogans and the Prophet in the land of the Prophet, is
the turning away from the Truth.

"Obduracy is not the placing your forehead in the dust; put
Truth forward," for sincerity does not dwell in the fore-
head.

"The first step in this perilous desert is with a high courage
and a lofty resolve to do battle with the poison and pre-
sumptive carnal soul, and by vigorous self-knowledge to bring
Anger and Lust into subjection to Sultan Reason, and to erase
from the soul the image of evil habits. May the Sun of
Reason in this year be an effective help of your Counsel and
truth conveys one to a worshipper of the Truth. Afterwards, he may
be inspirer to others, and the succession of the later, by an error of
judgment, has fallen into the pit of heresy, assuredly he shall not be stained
with the dust of blame. We blame ourselves for what we did in
accordance with the veil of Error and convert one into a worshipper of the Truth.
"I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed
it desirable even in this knowledge, I was unseemly to force
others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from
persecutors? One, who has been made known to us."

These words may be compared with two sentences in Akbar’s
Memorabilia at the end of the 4th. "Formerly," he states,
"I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed
it desirable even in this knowledge, I was unseemly to force
others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from
persecutors? One, who has been made known to us."

It is declared that Akbar (who could neither read nor write) was
most learned theologian (alams), and that, if mag-
takids differed in opinion about any trivial point, they
should decide between them, and that his decision was final; also
that if he issued any new order, the followers of
it, provided that it was not opposed to the Qur‘an, and should
be for the public benefit. If any one opposed such an order, he
would be ruined spiritually and physically, and be subject to
final damnation.

Budāyün tells us that the 'ulāmā, with the
exception of Mubarak, signed this document unwillingly, but that Mubarak added to his signature the statement that he was heart and soul in agreement with the paper, and that he had for years been awaiting its execution. Badayuni adds that after Akbar had procured this document, the road of ihtikād (degree-giving) became open, the supremacy of the intellect was established, and no place remained for opposition. There was an end to the resolving of questions and to prohibitions. The intellect of the imām became the Law, and Islam was called bigotry.

At the commencement of Muharram, the copy of the execution of the document and of its effects is naturally very different from Badayuni’s. According to him, all the doctors were eager for its execution, and the reluctance was on the part of Akbar, who was unwilling, as he expresses it, to come out from behind the veil. He yielded to their entreaties only because he came to perceive that, in leaving his position as commander of the spiritual world, and accepting the rank of muttahid, he was in reality placing a veil over himself. The result of this, as he well knew, was, the wandering in the desert of doubt attained certitude, and that distracted souls obtained reposes. Almost immediately afterwards, he admits that Akbar’s conduct gave rise to many misconceptions, and that his religion of claiming the Godhead Dei and that of being a Hindu. He says that one special reason for such ideas was the appearance of Christian philosophers in the meetings, and the discomfiture of some of the pretenders of learning.

It was probably in order to counteract these ideas that Akbar, shortly after this, paid a visit to the shrine at Ajmīr* (he did not go there at the usual time, that is, at the saint’s anniversary), and that he paid extraordinary reverence to a stone which was brought from Ajmīr, and was said to bear an impression of the Prophet’s foot. Abū-l-Faţıš tells us that the impression was not genuine and that Akbar knew this, yet that he completely silenced calumnies by his politic conduct on this occasion.

Akbar’s innovations in religion, added to his interference with the sīfl-holders, led to the rebellion of Bihār and Bengal. Maulānā Muhammad Yazdī, the chancellor of Jaunpur, issued a decree to this effect that it was a duty against Akbar. Akbar retaliated by having him and another leading rebel—Mu‘izz al-mulk of Mashhad—arrested, and contrived that they should be crowned in the Jumna. This rebellion made Akbar proceed more carefully with his new religion, and the Christian missionaries found him less disposed to listen to them. After the rebellion was suppressed, however, he advanced further in the path of heresy, and formally instituted the Divine Faith and practised sun-worship. At the same time he was intolerant to some heresies. A sect calling themselves Ithās sprang up, but Akbar had the members seized and sent off to Sind and Afghanistan, where they were bartered for horses!

Akbar had a theory that the Muhammadan religion could not last for only a thousand years from its origin. This was apparently a part of the Mahdāv movement which, as Blochmann’s preface to the translation of the ʿAin shows, began in A.H. 900, that is, at the beginning of the 10th. (In accordance with the faith in the approaching termination of the Muhammadan religion, Akbar proceeded in the year A.H. 990 still further with his innovations. Among other things, he ordered a history to be written which he called the ʿTarīkh Alfi, or *Chronicle of a thousand years.* At this time only ten years were wanting to complete the chilid according to the ordinary reckoning from the Flight to Medina, but Akbar disliked this era, on the ostensible ground that the word Flight was of ill omen, and that it implied the success of the enemies of the Faith. He therefore directed that the history should begin ten years later, from Muhammad’s death. It appears, however, from a passage in the Dabistān, that he was also inclined to date the thousand years from the Tartar invasion of Persia when he was forty years old. If this were the date, then the thousand years would begin in A.D. 610; and so in 1582 the thousand Muhammadan years were more than complete, for each of them is eleven days shorter than the solar year. Next, he prohibited the killing of cows, and interdicted, or at least greatly restricted the use of beef. In the same year, also, he wrote to Goa, asking for missionaries and for copies of the Penta-

* On his way back from Ajmīr, Akbar seems to have been ostentatiously pious, fitting up a large tent furnished with prayer-niches, and praying in the congregation five times a day. Of extracts from the Zudsūṭa-i-Tauschīr (Ritchie, vi. 189).
that to the sharī'ah is not dated, but it evidently was written about the same time, for it refers to the year 989 as having passed away.

Some years afterwards, viz. in A.H. 994 (1586), we find him writing a letter repelling the charge of impiety brought against him by 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Transoxiana. 'Abdullāh had been so dissatisfied by the reports about Akbar's heresies that he had dropped correspondence with him. In reply Akbar wrote two long letters to him, denying the charge and asserting his orthodoxy. But 'Abdullāh opposed the charges himself with sending an Arabic quatrain which 'Abdullāh could construe into a denial of his apostasy: but the letter goes farther than this, and is a serious denial, backed by supposed proofs, of the truth that he was no good Muslim. In it he appeals to his temporal successes as proofs of his being sound in the Faith, for otherwise God would not have favoured his arms; he refers to his having introduced Islam into places where it was previously unknown, and to his having subdued temples of infidels and heretics having been turned by his instrumentality into mosques and holy shrines for the orthodox. He also speaks of his great desire to destroy the Feringhīs, i.e. the Fārsīs, who oppressed the Persians. The truth probably is that, though Akbar had become disgusted with the 'ulamāʾ on account of their greed and their quarrels among themselves, and also because they held that he had more wives than the Prophet, and he was determined to be the head of the Church and the supreme arbiter in religious matters, he never entirely divested himself of his early religious beliefs. He was a dīpychus, like his secretary and pānegyrist, who, while professing a bond religion, and presiding over a fire-temple, was yet secretly engaged in the pious work of multiplying copies of the Qurān, and was sending copies of his father's commentary thereon to foreign princes. Akbar, too, was before all things a politician and a man of the world, and was in no mood to endanger his sovereignty for the cause of religious truth. He was willing that his followers should exhibit what he called the four degrees of devotion, i.e. to submission, prayer, fasting, and holy war. He recommended prayers and Fasts, and sent orders to the secretaries of State to make use of them; but he showed no eagerness to make such sacrifices himself. He was not an enthusiastic about the Divine Religion, and hence, though he was a mighty monarch, he was far less successful the the contemporary Bayzādī in making proselytes, and founded no enduring school.

In the Dabistān-al-Maṣḥūḥ, a singular work written in the time of his grandson Dārā Shikoh by a Sūfī who apparently professed Mussalmānicism, but who afterwards was a Pārāvī or a follower of the Dīn Iḥlālī of Akbar, we have what purports to be a specimen of the disputes which were carried on in the Dabistān, but they are probably imaginary. For real accounts of them we must go to Bādayūnī and Abūl-Faṣl. The chapters in the 'Ain (Blochmann's it.), which bear on the point are the 'Ain 18 of the iṣbāḥat mimahmatum and 'Ain 77 of the same book on His Majesty as the Spiritual Guide of the People." The later portion contains an elaborate Ordinance of Divine Faith. There are also two valuable chapters on the subject in the third volume of the historical part of the Akbar-nāmah. The latter, however, was combined with a worship of light and fire, especially as represented by the sun, which is not to be distinguished from the religion of the Parsees. Indeed, it was Parsees from Parsi in Gujarāt and from Persia who taught Akbar. Upon this point the interesting article of 'The Parsees at the Court of Akbar' by Jessenfeld Modl, Bomb. Branch of the R.A.S. (1902) may be consulted. Reference, too, may be made to the chapter in the fourth of the constellations and plant department when Akbar's meditations on the.BorderFactory to the two volumes of Akbar's meditations on the Border and the conversion to Islam brought about their decline.

Akbar never published any catechism of his religion, and, though Abūl-Faṣl meditated writing a separate book on the subject, he never did so. We therefore have to draw our knowledge of his tenets from scattered passages in Bādayūnī and from the short section in the 'Ain entitled 'Ordinances of the Divine Faith' (Blochmann, 166). Akbar called his religion Din Iḥlālī, or 'the Divine Faith,' and also the Taḥtāb-l-iḥlālī, or 'Divine Monotheism,' in allusion to His making the one fullness of the Obedience of the One who is the Monarch. With this however, he couple the statement that Akbar was God's Khalīf, or Vicar. Bādayūnī writes: 'His Majesty had now (A.D. 987, or A.D. 1579) determined to use publicly the formula 'There is no god but God, the heavens and the earth are His representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. Akbar also adopted the doctrine of transmigration, and observed: 'There is no religion in the world from which this light fār-saʿīdī, the Divine Light,' and the tongue of antiquity called it Kīyān Khoorah, "the sublime halo" (Blochmann, iii.).

Evidently Persia and the old Persian religion had a strong influence over him. Persia came to him from Nāsurī in Jāmāt, and he also went to Persia and fetched a learned Zoroastrian named Ardashir. He adopted the Persian Naurūz (New Year) festival and some twelve others, and enjoined their observance on his provincial officers (see his firman of A.H. 992 (1584). Akbar then composed Abūl-Faṣl his instructions to the viceroys and to the police (Jarrett, iii. 41, etc.). In the firman he also gives his reasons for establishing a new era, which he called the Divine era, and in his instructions to the kotwal (Jarrett, iii. 45), he becomes so bigoted in his asceticism as to direct that whoever should eat or drink with a butcher should lose his hand. If the association did not go so far as this, the penalty was the loss of a finger. This, as Elphinstone well remarks, was a law worthy of Man, and no doubt it was prompted by the zeal of his Hindu advisers who wished to put down the killing of cows. Widows were not to be compelled to perform satī, but were not to be prevented from voluntary immolation. Circumcision was to be deferred till the age of twelve, the object being not to make children Musalmāns until they could judge for themselves.

Some of the flatterers suggested that he should introduce the New Faith by force, but his natural mildness and tolerance prevented him from following their advice. As Bādayūnī says, His Majesty was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword.'
the sun was in the meridian. In the Akbar-ndmah, iii. 364, one instance of such initiation is recorded. Faith Dost, the son of the Barbegi or Master of Requests, importuned Abi-f-Pal and Akbar consented, and at length Akbar consented to recite over him the formula ‘The pure shtet and the pure glance err not.’ But the initiation was not a success, for two days passed and no change took place, and Akbar thought the unfortunate initiates. It was observed that he had not even fulfilled his promise, and Dost, on the 6th of his subscription, went to the court, and said, ‘Akiba was being initiated, and the time for reciting the Shema’ (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One God), and they were combing his flesh with coma of comas. But in this case, but he persisted in reciting it, in the afternoon. The next day, he came to him, saying that he had endured enough. Akiba replied, ‘All my days I have been troubled by you not, shall love the Lord with all thy soul (or life), even if He should take away thy spirit (or breath). When, said, will it be in my power to fulfill this? Now that I have been initiated, I cannot fulfill it.’ As he was lengthening out the word Owe, till he expired at Ox, the Bath Kof went forth, saying, ‘Happy art thou, Akiba, that thy spirit went forth at Ox.’

It is interesting to compare this with the account in the Talmud (Bab. K. 7a): ‘Akiba was on the point of undergoing the extremity of the law in the presence of the impious Turnus Rufus, when the moment arrived for reciting the Shema’. He began it, and it fulfilled that old man!’

Father Ruffoldo Aquaviva left when he found Akbar bent on establishing a new faith. He and other missionaries saw they made no impression on Akbar, who refused to accept Christianity unless the mysteries of the Trinity and of the Sonship of Jesus Christ were made intelligible to him. He also withdrew from their society when he found that the alleged heretics were provoking a rebellion in Bengal. He returned to playing with the subject when the danger was over, and Father Jerome Xavier was with him to the end, and wrote for him a Life of Christ and a Life of St. Peter, and also some controversial tracta. But Akbar never was so well-disposed to Christianity as his son Jahangir, and died as he had lived—a sceptic.

AKIBA BEN JOSEPH (50-135 A.D.)—A great Rabbi who largely modified Jewish thought after the destruction of Jerusalem, and was not without influence on the early Christians. Graetz describes Akiba as beyond doubt the most gifted and influential of the Tannaim. Much legendary material clusters round his early history. He was a great traveller. He went to Rome in the autumn of 95 as one of a embassy of Domitian from the cruel edict, only stopped by the emperor’s death. His companions were Gamalafl, Eliezer ben Asaria, and Joshua (Erubin, 84; and Sukka, 23).

When on board ship, he erected a tabernacle, which was blown down in a gale, and his companions laughed at him for being over-righteous. At Rome he was in favour at the court of the Emperor Nerva, where Flavius Clemens (consul and Domitian’s nephew) and Domitilla and Akylas (or Aquila), afterwards Akiba’s pupil, became proselytes. But when Trajan succeeded, bad times arose for the Jews, and he returned to Palestine. Thence he went to Babylon, and preached and taught in Nehardea (see Talmud, ad fin.). Afterwards he lived at Gaza (Ab. Zara, 54a).

Before the outbreak of Bar Cochba’s rebellion, Akiba made a final journey throughout Parthis and Asia Minor, and spread the Messianic prophecy, preaching against Hadrian and his legions. We read of him as in Phrygia, Galatia, Galicia, and Armenia (Bab. Rosh ha-Shanah, 30a; Jemmam, 12a; Baba kamma, 112a; Sifra, Ni. 5, 2.). The earthquake which had just destroyed Csesareas inspired Akiba and the Jewish rebels with confidence; for as its rise had coincided with Jerusalem’s fall, so should its fall result in the restoration of the Jewish capital.

The disastrous failure of Bar Cochba’s rebellion resulted in Akiba’s imprisonment and execution by the Romans.

E. A. Abbott, in From Letter to Spirit, quotes the Talmudic description of his martyrdom. The Talmud Babli (Bab. K. 55b) says: ‘Akiba went and died, but how, when Akiba was being initiated, and the time for reciting the Shema’ (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One God), and they were combing his flesh with coma of comas. But in this case, but he persisted in reciting it, in the afternoon. The next day, he came to him, saying that he had endured enough. Akiba replied, ‘All my days I have been troubled by you not, shall love the Lord with all thy soul (or life), even if He should take away thy spirit (or breath). When, said, will it be in my power to fulfill this? Now that I have been initiated, I cannot fulfill it.’ As he was lengthening out the word Owe, till he expired at Ox, the Bath Kof went forth, saying, ‘Happy art thou, Akiba, that thy spirit went forth at Ox.’

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The story of the ‘ten martyrs’, including Akiba, still forms the theme of a touching Selicia, and of an elegy in the Jewish ritual for the Day of Atonement and the Fast of the Ninth of Ab.

But legend does not leave Akiba with his death. As with so many saints, there is a popular tradition of miraculous events attached to his memory. One tradition is that Akiba, who died at 130, became the patron saint of Cairo, but the popular story is that he became the patron saint of the city of Gaza. The story is told of a poor woman who had a daughter of 12 years of age, who had been thrown into prison after the capture of Gaza by the Romans. The woman, who was very poor, was unable to pay the ransom for her daughter, and the girl was imprisoned. But a angel appeared to Akiba in a dream and told him of the girl’s imprisonment, and Akiba went to the emperor and interceded for the girl, and she was released. The story is often told of Akiba’s intervention in other cases of imprisonment and persecution.

Perhaps his most famous pupil was Aquila, whose literal literal translation of the new text of Scripture was held in high esteem by all Jews, though Jerome sneers at it. Every enclitic is translated by a sw. And the Talmud of Jerusalem (Kid. 59a) says: ‘Aquilas the proselyte translated his Targum (text) into Greek. This was because of his practice of Akiba’s theory, and accounts for the popularity of his translation amongst the Jews, who in Talmud and Haggadah quote Aquila no less than fourteen times (see de Rossi, Moer Epist. vi. 45). But that popular translation did not preserve his Targum, for the Greeks forgot their Greek; and it was not till 1903 that Burkitt was able to rescue and identify an important fragment out of the Cairo Genizah. Of Akiba’s other pupils, we must mention the Jewish Assop, Meir, who was the link between his Mishna and
ours, and Simeon ben Johai the mystic, to whom the foundation of the Kabbala is attributed.

With mysticism, however, as with gnosticism, Akiba had no sympathy. He is the only one of the four Rabbis who is said to have entered the erva, the mystic garden, and come out again without hurt. One died, one became insane, and one an apostate—probably to Christianity. The last was the famous Acher, Elisha ben Abuyah. There was much coquetting with Christianity in those times. Even the famous Eliezer ben Hycranus, Akiba's teacher, was taunted with being a Christian because he listened with pleasure to a parable recited to him in the name of Jesus. But Akiba's was an exact science which left no room for eschatological speculations. He sought for mathematical proofs of his principles of the Jewish religion, and found them in the apparently superfluous terms, words, letters, and ornaments of Scripture upon which tradition and usage were to found new doctrine. This method he derived from his teacher, Nahum of Gimzo, but Philo had applied it a century earlier to the relations of ethics and philosophy. Akiba applied it to Halakhah, and Akiba's view ultimately prevailed in the Talmud. It is in reference to this doctrine that Mt 5:23 and Lk 10:27 record that 'till heaven and earth pass, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the law' (Loga ev 7 ha kephalai va tov y'mo min kephalai y'se'el). Sharpe translates kephalai by 'one tip of a letter.'

Akiba's chief antagonist was R. Ishmael. The true test of the Akiba literature regarded as consisting of anti-opponents, like Hillel and Shammai, and other pairs such as those described in Aboth, cap. 1. The fundamental distinction between them was in their treatment of pleonasm in Scripture: Ishmael regarded the oral interpretation as essential to the Law, and Akiba held them to be essential portions of the Law. He never took the particle na as a sign of inflexion, but 'expounded (exp) all the na in the Torah,' and his pupil Nehemiah of Emmaus seceded from his school in consequence of the risk which such an interpretation involved in such a passage as 'Thou shalt fear (na) the Lord thy God,' which, according to R. Akiba's view, implied fearing somebody or something with the Lord. Akiba said of the Torah, Akiba was the true Torah, and it meant just as well mean another god. Another of such rules was that dealing with the word saying (tov'ma): Wherever the word saying is used it must be expounded (Sifre, Na 57). Finally, he insisted on his teachers and governors speaking pleonastically in the text. 'R. Akiba expounded the yom (Tosefta, 388). A further difference between the men was that whereas R. Akiba did, R. Ishmael did not allow himself to treat conclusions out of Scripture as the premises for further conclusions (Jer. Kidd. i. 2, and Nasir, 572).

It was in opposition to this perhaps extravagant mode of interpretation that the more sober R. Ishmael altered rules of interpretation to his father, Mitzvah, so that it be represented logic and his great opponent allegory. The thirteen principles are really based upon the seven rules laid down by Hillel.

The Midrash were originally drawn up as abstract rules by Hillel, and were variously interpreted and modified by his successors, but Akiba and Ishmael and their scholars specially contributed to their definition, Akiba on the grammatical and exegetical side, and Ishmael on the logical. In their final form these rules are the thirteen exegetical principles by which the Law is expounded, and which constitute the Baraita de R. Ishmael to be found in the Jewish Daily Prayer-Book.

(1) From minor to major.
(2) The inference from similarity of phrases.
(3) If an enumeration of particulars succeeds a general proposition, such general proposition is limited to articles ejusdem generis, but if it precedes, the general proposition may be extended.

(6) Interpreting a passage according to one of similar content in another place.
(7) Deducing a passage from its context.

In (6) and (7) Akiba and Ishmael disagree. Where two Scripture passages conflict, a third would be deduced to constitute one of the conflicting digresses and reject the other. Ishmael would thereby modify both such digresses. This opposition of the two schools gradually decreased and finally vanished, so that the later Talmud do not discriminate between Akiba's axioms and Ishmael's.

The effect of Akiba's system was epoch-making. He really gave his contemporaries a new point of view. The Temple had been destroyed, the country vanished, and the Jews of the time were like sheep without a shepherd, having lost all hope and all belief. Scripture seemed insufficient to provide for one's daily needs or satisfy anybody's ideals. The Oral Law was doubted. It had enemies without and within. The forces of barbarism and Rome had conquered, and Christianity was a redoubtable foe from within, which, with its Messianic mysticism, must have offered comfort to the hopeless exiles. Then came R. Akiba, and showed that there was authority for all the Oral Law. He gave the solid rock of Scripture as the foundation for all the structure of observances, rules, and usages prevalent in his time, and at the same time enabled his pupils and followers to build on the foundation. So that he surprised his contemporaries, and even his teachers, so that R. Joshua, once his teacher, could ask (Sota, 276), 'Who removed the earth from the eyes of R. Johanan ben Zaccai, so that he may see how Ishmael of Emmaus seceded from his school in consequence of the risk which such an interpretation involved in such a passage as 'Thou shalt fear (na) the Lord thy God,' which, according to R. Akiba's view, implied fearing somebody or something with the Lord. Akiba said of the Torah, Akiba was the true Torah, and it meant just as well mean another god. Another of such rules was that dealing with the word saying (tov'ma): Wherever the word saying is used it must be expounded (Sifre, Na 57). Finally, he insisted on his teachers and governors speaking pleonastically in the text. 'R. Akiba expounded the yom (Tosefta, 388). A further difference between the men was that whereas R. Akiba did, R. Ishmael did not allow himself to treat conclusions out of Scripture as the premises for further conclusions (Jer. Kidd. i. 2, and Nasir, 572).

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Three people are happy, and their consciences may be tranquil, namely, (1) he whose prayer is glib in his mouth, for prayer must come free from the heart, not from the mouth; (2) he in whom men have satisfaction, God has satisfaction, and his neighbours also; (3) he who is satisfied with that he possesses, that is a good sign for satisfaction, but when he is satisfied, that is a bad sign.

As for sin, at first it is like a thread of a spider's web, but in the end it is as strong as a ship's rope. He who in anger tears his own throat, he will crock his neighbours at the end, for this is how the evil inclination works. It says today 'tear your clothes,' and to-morrow 'serve idols.'

He who in anger throws his hands on the ground and scatters his meat, he will not leave them until before he has to bury them for money. Akiba mocked at the weaklings who could not withstand the inclination to sin, but there is an Aryan in his heart, that he himself had once more succumbed to temptation (Gdtd. Bia), when Satan presented himself to him in the guise of a lovely woman.

Like Akiba, Aba's great principle was that of Le 19, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," and this principle he applied with characteristic ingenuity to marriage. An unequal match he condemns as offending against this principle. "He that marries a wife who is not fitting to him commits five sins. He transgresses the three commandments, not to bear a grudge, or be angry with his brother in his heart, as well as the two as to loving one's neighbour. If he hates his wife, he defaces the object of marriage. It is better to leave the world than take upon oneself to be stronger, because it is said, 'Fear thy God that thy brother may live with thee.' The greatest sin is usury, the most virtuous vice, to have a nick in the web. Aba Akiba noted three things that pleased him much. The Medians carve at table, they kiss the hand only, and they have the table in the open field. (These preferences reflect his fears as a conspirator against Rome.)

There are five persons whose sin can never be forgiven: (1) he that feeds his daughter, or his wife, on an idol; (2) he who breaks up a marriage; (3) he who leaves his wife in times of want; (4) he who eats in his wife's absence; (5) he who eats food in any woman's presence. Five rules he gave to his pupil Simeon ben Johai when he was in the Roman prison: (1) 'If thou wouldst hang thyself, hang on a large tree; (2) teach thy son out of a correct book; (3) do not cook in a pot in which thy neighbour has cooked; (4) seek to keep thy capital and have an income besides; (5) in both milk and mirth have to provide for a wife and children.'

Abodh d. R. Nathan other six rules are laid down: (1) Go not into the society of mockers, lest thou learn from their actions; (2) avoid the table of a priest who is an idler, lest he teach thee that which is not holy; (3) be not free with thy promises, lest thou break thine oaths; (4) account not thyself to be a great man, lest thou hast to make a large repayment; (5) be not to the poor; (6) commit not thyself to doubtful things, lest thou and thy children are cut off. (A) in the name of the God of hosts; (B) in the name of the God of Jacob; (C) in the name of the God of Father Jacob; (D) in the name of the God of the House of Jacob. (B) Tell of the Unseeable; (C) see the Unseeable."

Lal-gir's case is unknown, nor is there any record of the origin of the special theory which is the basis of the religion. That the Supreme Deity is indescribable, void of all qualities, and incomprehensible, is a commonplace of nearly all phases of Hindu belief, but this has been materially qualified and modified during the past thousand years by the spread of the Bhakti-marga (q.v.), which superadds to it the idea of devotion to a personal God, who is the Supreme Deity become incarnate in cognizant form out of pity for man's weakness and sin. The greatest exponent of the Bhakti-marga, Tulsi Dasa (1582-1625 A.D.), was never weary of dwelling on the incomprehensible nature of the Supreme Deity, and arguing from the fact that He was manaka-bhakta-bhakatam bhakata (i.e. beyond the reach of thought, act, and speech) to the conclusion that the only way of salvation open to a human being was the exclusive worship of a personal incarnation of that Deity under the form of Rama. The tenets of the Alakhiyas, based as they are upon the rejection of the idea of a personal God, may well have been put forward as a protest against the view of the Bhakti-marga, and as a counter attempt to popularize the idealistic theology of the advaita Vedanta philosophy, the aim of which is knowledge of the unknowable, rather than the adoration of the comprehensible. In this connexion the most important, as amongst Saivas, it is employed only by those who claim spiritual descent from Sankaracharya (q.v.), the great founder of the advaita Vedanta. Lal-gir was also probably influenced by the doctrine of the Jains (with which his teaching has much in common), who are
ALAKNANDA—ALBIGENSES

numerosous and influential body in Rājputānā. Still more striking is the agreement of his teaching with some of the doctrines of Buddhism, but we have no reason to suppose that he can have been alive when that religion flourished in India. The earliest mention of the Alakhiya that the present writer can find is in a short poem attributed to Tūlā Dās. That reformer is said to have entered into a controversy with one of them, and his argument, as contained in the poem, was that the only way to 'see the Unseen' was to see him through the personality of the gods.

A modern sect, akin to the Alakhiya, was founded about the year 1850, in Orissa, by one Mukund Dās, who was, according to his followers, an incarnation of Alekhi (sic) himself. He, however, claimed only to be in special communication with this Alekhi, whom he described as a formless, spiritual being, omnipresent and omniscient. In other respects his teaching was identical with that of the Alakhiya of Northern India. He died in 1875, and the sect that thereby originated, is still in existence in some force in the district of Sambalpur, immediately to the west of Orissa.

LITERATURE.—Regarding Līlā-gir, see p. 195 of the Gazetteer of Bihār, by Major F. W. Powlett (1859); also W. Crooke, The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (1896), L. p. 78 (mostly based on Powlett); cf. also H. V. Roper, The Alakhiyas of Orissa (1895), pp. 235, 236, 238; and the present writer's 'Notes on Tūlā Dās' in Indian Antiquary, xxii. (1900) p. 271. As for the followers of Alakhiya, see Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1885, p. 29.

GEORGE A. GHIBERN.

ALAKNANDA (Skr. alaknanda, 'a young girl').—A sacred river in the district of British Garhwal, one of the tributaries of the Ganges. It has several sacred junctions (sangamāya) along its banks, at which religious bathing fairs are held—Nandprayāg, where it is joined by the Nandā; Rudraprayāg, by the Pindār; Rudraprayāg, by the Mandāki; Devaprayāg, by the Bhagirathi, after which it is styled the Ganges (which see). Though the Alaknanda in volume and position is superior to the Bhagirathi, the latter is popularly regarded as the source of the sacred river.

LITERATURE.—Raper in 11th vol. of Asiatic Researches; Oakley, Holy Himalaya (1899), 141.

W. CROOKE.

ALBIGENSES.—A sect which derived its name from the cathedral city of Albi (Lat. Albige), situated on the south bank of a confluent of the Garonne in France called the Tarn, which gives its name to the modern department. The city of Albi was conversely with those of Carcassonne and Toulouse, all three the dioceses being in the province of Narbonne, and owing a common allegiance to the metropolitan of that city (Longnon, Geogr. de la Gaule, pp. 520–521; Devie and Vaissette [ed. 1872], vi. 6). The associations of Albi were consequently chiefly with those counties to the south; but when, in the 11th cent., it was placed under the rule of a vicomte, his jurisdiction extended north as far as the course of the Aveyron. In this belief, however, that of Toulouse is connected mainly with that of Septimania, the extensive region between the Rhone and the Pyrenees.

As early as the 6th cent. St. Amaran, had been the protector of Albi, and his worship was associated that of Eugenius, the bones of both being interred at Vieux, some 18 miles west of the city. Diogenianus, its third bishop, is the first with respect to whom we have any information; he is referred to by Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franci, ii. 12) as one of those who faced a battle with the Visigoths toward the end of the first half of the 5th century. Septimania, from the 5th to the 8th cent., was ruled by the Visigoths, who had his capital at Toulouse, and the territory is consequently, at this period, often referred to as Gothia. The Goths professed the Arian faith, and supported it, although not coercively, among the populations whom they had reduced to subjection, but whom they aimed at assimilating rather than effacing. They were themselves industrious cultivators of the soil, and understood the working of metals; the Roman cities remained intact beneath their sway, and the Roman law was administered concurrently with their own. The chief impediment to peaceful relations between the two races was the pertinacity with which the Catholic bishops of the conquered opposed the religious creed of the conquerors. Arianism, however, continued to spread, and, during the reign of Theodoric (453–466), became the national faith of the Suevi in northern Spain and of the populations of Cantabria and the Spanish March. If, indeed, the same conciliatory spirit towards the Roman clergy as was shown by Theodoric the Ostrogoth in Italy, had been shown by the Catholic bishop towards the upholders of the Arian creed in Septimania, it is probable that the Albignesian creed would have been averted. In the 6th cent., under King Enoric, the Visigoths had extended their rule over the greater part of the Spanish peninsula, while in Gaul it reached the Loire; but the persistently aggressive policy of the latter of the Arian clergy roused the latter to a retaliatory course of action, which still further embittered the relations of the respectively adherents of the two chief religions of Western Christendom. In the following century, on the other hand, the envoy of the Ostrogoths in Italy to Belisarius, could defy their enemies to prove that their monarch had ever resorted to unprovoked aggression on those professing the Catholic faith (Procopius, de Bell. Goth. ii. 46), so that Theodoric the Great was characterized by such exceptional tolerance towards his Jewish subjects as to make them his firmest supporters against the common enemy (Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, i. 656–660; Dahn, Urgesch. d. german. u. roman. Volker, i. 362–368, 240–250; Milman, Lat. Christianiti, ii. 3. ch. 3).

It is to be noted, again, that political aims weighed considerably with Clovis, the Frankish monarch, when, after his defeat of the Alemann, in 496, he embraced the Catholic form of the Christian belief. Ten years later, when he marched against the Visigoths, it was as 'Arian heretics' that he proposed to sweep them out of the land (ibid. ii. 27); and, as a result, consequently, was to rouse the Burgundian and other Teutonic monarchies, which professed Arianism, to a common resistance. From the struggle which ensued, Theodoric emerged lord of Provence as well as of Italy, while Gothia became yet more closely allied to the Visigothic power in Spain. In both these great monarchies, aversion from, and a spirit of resistance to, the Frankish invader became a tradition alike with the Teutonic conqueror and the native element—an element which in turn was largely modified by ethnic admixture.

The Albigeois, probably recovered by the Goths in the early part of the 6th cent., was again wrested from them a few years later, and the capture by the Franks of Alais, Uzès, Lodève, (Lutetum), and Carcassonne followed shortly after. The last-named city was thus constituted a Catholic see,—Sergius, the first bishop, afterwards appearing as a supporter of the Roman creed at the third Council of Toledo in 658, over which Recared, the Visigothic monarch, presided. Recared had recently been converted to Catholicism; and, stimulated by his example, and aided by the great preponderance of the ecclesiastical over the lay element, the Roman party secured on that
memorable occasion an easy victory, eight bishops of Septimania, those of Maguelonne, Lodève, Agde, Beziers, Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Elne, headed by the metropolitan of Nimes, making their submission and subscribing the condemnation of their former Arian tenets. Recarded's example was readily followed, however, by many of his subjects, and in Septimania a frequent submission ensued [Manai, Concilia (ed. 1644), xii. 128-130; Dahn, op. cit. i. 393-394].

Early in the 8th cent. the kingdom of the Visigoths was overthrown by the Saracen, and the new conquerors maintained their ground in GOTHIA for fifty years. In certain features, Muhammadanism and Arianism are alike, especially in their common denial of the Divinity of Christ, and also in the aversion with which both regarded the innovations which were then taking place in the Roman Church, in the direction of saint-worship and the concomitant veneration of images and relics. The new conquest was attended also by another racial admixture which would imperceptibly incline the population of Septimania to listen favourably to the doctrine of those teachers whom many of them were, before long, to imitate the doctrines of Manicheism. Fauriel has pointed out how, during this period, the industries, architecture, language, and learning of Septimania were affected by the dominion of the Saracen emir, who, thence passed at his leisure in the Eucharist, and of the lawfulness and duty of marriage (in opposition to the Petrobrusians)—were unquestionably those of the Albigenses (D'Achéry [1753], i. 604-605; Dollinger, Beiträge, i. 62-65; Bouquet, Recueil, x. 36-38).

There is, however, strong presumptive evidence of the existence of such doctrines in northern France before the 11th cent. In 991, the eminent Gerbert, on being consecrated to the archiepiscopate of Rheims, made solemn declaration of his belief in the articles of the Catholic faith, at the same time expressly specifying certain other tenets which he accepted with no less sincerity,—the resurrection of Christ and also that of all mankind, the Divinely inspired origin of both the OT and NT, the general moral and moral spirit (which was evil non per conditionem sed per arbitrium), the lawfulness of marriage and of second marriage, and of the eating of meat, the remission of original sin by the rite of baptism (Gerberti Epistolæ, ed. Harvit, 161-162; ib. ed. Olleris, 242-250; Schmidt, Gerberti, Hist. et. Doct. des Gérar. i. 33). As all these were tenets specially repudiated by the Cathari, it is difficult not to concur in the view of Schmidt, Harvit, and others, that Gerbert's declaration was designed as a protest against the growing activity of the sect in the province which he had been called upon to administer. As uttered by the metropolitan of the French kingdom, Gerbert's pronouncement acquired special importance, and it is probable that any manifestations of such heresy within the Channel States were promptly suppressed with exceptional rigour. But all around the comparatively circumscribed limits of the realm of France in those days, we have evidence that the doctrines of the Cathari were spreading rapidly.

Arras, if Slanders (whose counts rendered to the French Crown a homage that was purely external), there appeared in 1025 an Italian named Gundulf, whose preaching attracted so large a following that Reginald, the bishop of the city, ordered his arrest. He succeeded, however, in effecting his escape, and anon the papal politic to deal mercifully with the heretics. He descended to argument, but was baffled by the discovery that they admitted no written authority in doctrine save the NT, while they altogether rejected the OT. His inquiries failed to elicit any expression of opinions which could be pronounced
Manichean, a fact which Schmidt (i. 36) explains by supposing that the humble textores of Arras were not yet fully initiated. Yielding to Reginald's gentle persuasions, they abjured their errors and implored forgiveness, whereupon they were again admitted to the fold. Among the tenets to which they confessed was the denial of the worship of the Cross and of its use as a sign—an early instance of opposition to this feature in the Roman ritual (Mansi, Concilia (1759), xix. 423; Schmidt, op. cit. i. 35; Döllinger, Beiträge, l. 66-67). In 1043, we learn Roger, bishop of Châlons-Marne, excom- muning Wazon, bishop of Liége (an ecclesiastic in a repute both for his learning and piety), with respect to certain secret meetings frequently held by the Cathari in his diocese, especially at the fortress of Montmener; near Chalons, Wazon advised that, in the first instance, Roger should limit his interference to simply instructing the faithful throughout his diocese to abstain from communion and intercourse with such as were known to attend the gatherings. As, however, no satisfactory result followed, the Council of Rheims, in 1049, determined to issue a sentence of excommunication against not only those who were known to be members of the sect, but also against all who should persist or protest against it (Mansi, op. cit. i. 35, xix. 742). This stringent measure appears to have had the desired effect; and, for some sixty years after, all traces of Catharists in northern France entirely disappear.

The same instances may here suffice to ex- emplify the treatment of heresy under the earlier Capets—a treatment far more rigorous than that to be noted, in the 11th cent., elsewhere. Both Hugh and his son Robert II. were strenuous supporters of the Church. Pope Sergius of Rheims and Sens were immediate feudal lords of not a few of the civil magnates in the French kingdom. In Burgundy, Normandy, and Aqui- taine, on the other hand—provinces which in the 11th and 12th cents. were held by their rulers in what was virtual independence of the French Crown,—although there is evidence of a con- tinuous growth of Catharist doctrines, the evidence that would have necessarily resulted from such opposition was not to be observed. A decree of the Council convened at Toulouse by Calixtus II. in 1119, and re-enacted at the Lateran Council of 1139, throws considerable light on the general situation. The 'secular powers' are there declared to be the agents against those whose the Church has visited with its anathema; should they, on the contrary, endeavour to protect them, they are to be regarded as accomplices (Mansi, op. cit. xxi. 226, 252). The researches of Lucchaire supply an excellent commentary on those edicts. The atti- tude of the seigneur in his fief, as well as that of the citizen in his walled town, was at this time becoming less and less friendly towards the Church; the former often found his territorial claims in conflict with those of the latter, while the latter's chief pride was in the newly acquired freedom and privileges of his ville franche; both were thus inclined to sympathize with the persecuted sectary rather than with the imperious per- secutor. In 1147, Bernard of Clairvaux, accom- panied by the cardinal legate of Ostia, made a progress through Septimania, in the hope that, by means of his powerful oratory, he might succeed in winning back the population to the paths of ortho- doxy. He found the churches deserted, for the most part, by their congregations, and in many cases by their clergy. The laity, on the other hand, whether seigneurs or artisans, were firm supporters of heresy, if not actually professing schismatics, while the powerful count of Toulouse and the almost equally powerful vicomte of Beziers could only be regarded as sympathizers with the movement (Opera (ed. 1719), l. 235).

According, indeed, to William of Neuburg, writing in 1160, the Cathari, 'commonly called Pub- licani,' existed in 'countless numbers' not only in France, but also in Spain, Italy, and Germany (Hist. Rerum Angl. ed. Hamilton, i. 120). And at nearly the same time, Hildegarda, the 'in- spirited' abbess of Eibingen, near Bingen, addressed to the clergy of Mainz and Cologne her fervid appeals; enjoining them, 'if they would not that destruction should come upon them,' to eject from their territories these nefarious men, worse than Jews, and like unto the Sadducees,' whom she further describes as 'contemnous of the Divine command to increase and multiply,' 'meagre with much fasting and yet addicted to incestuous lusts,' and 'despirers not only of God's commands and of his Church's laws, but of the Prophets, but also of those of Christ' (Migne, PL xcvii., Epp. 47 and 48, pp. 247-253; Trithemius, de Viris Illus. Ord. S. Benedicti, ii. 119). At the Council of Tours in 1183, like tenets are described as en- countered during a visit from Toulon to France, and bishops are enjoined to use all possible means to prevent their flocks from being brought under the influence of the preachers of such heresy (Mansi, op. cit. xxi. 1177). At the Lateran Council of 1179, Alexander III. enacted a sentence of excommunication against both preacher and pervert, and commanded the secular power to proceed against these heretics,—'quos ali Catharos, ali Patrinos, ali Publicanos, ali alii nominibus consentant—against heresies by incurring an anathemas, to give them shelter, either in their houses or on their lands (Mansi, Concilia (1644), xxvii. 460-461). If we may trust the Church History published at Leyden in 1589 with the sanction of the Vigiliers, large numbers of heretics, bearing the same appellations, were burned in Flanders and various parts of France about the year 1183 (Viguer, Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 391). Two years later, we find the cardinal bishop of Rome, on the appearance of a heretical movement with a view to their forebidding suppression. But the first organized measures of this kind date from the decree of the Council of Verona in 1184, where, although the Cathari are indicated only in general terms, the decree was addressed to them by which they were especially distinguished, and the bishop of each diocese is instructed to search out heretics, and, on due further inquiry, to hand them over to be dealt with by the secular authori- ties (Lavisse and Rambaud, ii. 272).

It was not, however, until the pontificate of Innocent III. (1198-1216) that the decree of the Council of Verona appears to have been put into execution. A member of an illustrious Roman house, he applied himself with singular ability and penetration to the task of that most lamentable of the results of the popes, the carelessness by which the popes in their zeal to repel the heretics, and free the Church from idolatry, had succeeded in introducing the heretics, and free the Church from idolatry, had succeeded in introducing a process of extirpation which threatened the whole Church. The dangers which confronted the Church at this time, the spirit of the times, the conflict with the Church, and the desire of con-
vincing their foes by argument, to the famous schoolsof Paris, Chartres, Chalons, Orleans, Rheims, and Lourcine (Haureau, Innocent III., p. 12). In Spain, it was rumoured, they were seeking to form an alliance with the Saracens against Christianity, and, like Hildegardes, the pontiff in Rome and the troubadour in Languedoc alike denounced their heresy, as the worse of the two (Joachim in Apocryphorum, l. 134; Fauriel, Hist. de la poésie provençale, l. 77).

It is now that the territory of the Albigenses, having become their chief centre in Languedoc, appears first to have given its name to the sect. But wherever they congregated in large numbers—in Flanders and Picardy, for example, as Piphili, a corruption of Paulliciani; farther south, as Bulgors or Bougres. But their most widely spread designation, after that of Cathari, was Patarini, the name which they had brought with them from Italy, where again, at certain centres, they sometimes bore a local appellation, such as Concentrico, from Concentro noto, or Monza, from Alba in Piemont, and Bagnotenses, from Bagnolo near Brescia. Even Agen, though but a few miles distant from the Albigenses, gave them a distinctive appellation,—Aggenenses [see in Döllinger's Beiträge (ii. 58-59), the text of a MS compiled in 1295, and entitled Supra Stella].

It does not, however, appear that these widely scattered communities were at variance among themselves, as was notably the case, in the 17th cent., with those Pisan representatives of the Cathari who settled, as exiles, in Holland and in Germany. They are rather to be regarded as successive waves of a great exodus from Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Dalmatia, breaking now on the north-western shores of the Adriatic (where Venice became their chief centre), and now on the coast of Apulia, but finding, both among the rising communes of Lombardy and the unruly barons of the south, a sympathy which deepened into admiration and bore fruit in numerous con-

vocations and conferences. To the north and west of the Catholic Church, indeed, whether in the lands which these exiles had quitted or in those in which they settled, was not so much to inspire them with much reverence for its institutions. In Bosnia there was but one church, a despotic, and they were poor and ignorant. In Hungary, a public official might be a Jew, a Muhammadan, or a pagan; and the monasteries there, which professed the Benedictine rule, were fain to seek their novices in Germany and Italy, and existed in almost complete isolation from the surrounding populations. Those of the Greek Church, on the other hand, while regarded with dislike by the Latin clergy, often sheltered within their walls not a few for whom the refined subtleties of the Manichæist dualism possessed almost a fascination. The overtures of the Cathari, whom the Perfects of the Cathari were able to preach in the vernacular, their simpler faith and ascetic life exercised a scarcely less potent influence. Among those of them who became converts to Manichæism (see Bogomils) the aversion from the doctrines and example of the Old Rome was so strong that large numbers became converts to Manichæanism. The Paulicians, however, who formed an important body in the New Rome, migrated to Italy and to Lyby, what might there be observed of the life of the higher ecclesiastics and the state of discipline in the Church at large, it may here be sufficient to cite the declarations of a contemporary Pope and the candid admissions of a living Catholic prelate. It was in May, 1204, that Innocent III. addressed to his legate in Narbonne a letter calling attention to the demoralized condition of the clergy in that province, a state which he attributes largely to the misrule of the metropolitan, Berenger II. He describes the superior clergy as 'dumb dogs who had forgot how to bark, simoniacs who sold justice, absolving the rich and condemning the poor, themselves regardless of the laws of the Church, accumulators of benefits in their own hands, conferring dignities on unworthy priests or illiterate lads.' 'And hence,' he adds, 'the incontinence of the heretics and the prevailing contempt both of the Paulicians and the people for His Church.' 'Nothing,' he goes on to say, 'was more common than for monks even, and regular canons, to cast aside their attire, take to gambling and hunting, consort with concubines, and turn jugg-
glers or doctors' (Epist. bk. ii. No. 75, Migne, PL cciv. 356-357). "We are bound, in good faith, to admit," writes Mgr. Donaus, "the: 'the clergy of the 12th cent. were not simply wanting in the power to withstand the revolutionary designs of the new Manichæans, but themselves offended them but once pretext and an excuse.' " (Albigenses [1880], p. 287). In the year in which Innocent himself was elected Pope, the citizens of Lodève, in the territory of Beziers, had plundered the palace of their bishop, and compelled him, by threats on his life, to grant them fresh privileges (Luchaire, Innocent III., p. 27). It is, in deed, undeniable that at this time most of the chief seigneurs in Languedoc regarded Catholicism with indifference, if not hostility, and were friendly at heart to the Catharists; while, if their arch-

exucer, Peter of Cernay, may be credited, the counts of Foix, Beziers, Toulouse, and Béarn took special delight in encouraging the desecration of churches and in offering insults to the officiating clergy (Historia Albigensium, Migne, PL ccxlix. cols. 565, 566, 579, 600-609). That such outrages were instigated by the Catharists themselves, or that they were the result of their teaching, is, however, at least doubtful, although there certainly are instances of similar action on their part under extreme provocation. But, generally speaking, by the admission of the same writer, they were known among their supporters as the domi homines, the 'bons hommes,' whose simple blameless life offered, in most respects, the strongest contrast alike to the self-seeking and self-indulgent habits of the clergy, and to were poor the majority of the seigneurs (ib. col. 552).

Prior to the reign of Louis VII. (1130-1180), the counts of Toulouse had been among the most independent of all the vassals of the French Crown; but in 1184 the marriage of Raymond v. with Constance, the sister of Louis, ushered in a material change in these relations. Shortly after, and for the first time within a century, a French monarch visited Languedoc in person; in 1158 his aid was invoked to repel the forces of Henry II. of England from the Oise near Paris. For they had become the policy of Louis and of his successor, Philip Augustus, to cultivate direct and friendly relations with the clergy of these southern provinces; and a series of charters granted to the bishops of Maguelonne, Narbonne, Nimes, Uzès, and Agde, and to the churches and abbeys of Toulouse, raised them to comparative independence of the local seigneurs with respect to their temporalties,—the King and the Pope thenceforth representing their suzerains (Luchaire, Instd. des premiers Capétiens, i. 281).

It was at the time when this important political change was becoming operative, about the year 1187, that the chief leader of the Paulicians in Constantinople, whose name was Nucetias (or Nigintas), arrived in the Toulousain to preside
over a Synod of the teachers of the Catharists which had been convened in St. Felix de Caraman near Toulouse. His account of the prospects of the sister Churches in the East was well calculated at once to reassure those whom he addressed, and to remove the apprehensions of those of the Latin Catholic clergy to whose ears it might come. His own church of Melanigia, in close proximity to Constantinople, stood firm; as also did each of four others, among which he had made a visitation before crossing the Mediterranean: (1) that known as the Pyrgo Calani, (2) that in Rumania, (3) in the Bulgarie (with Philippopolis as its centre), (4) the Dalmatian,—at the head of each being its duly appointed bishop, duly fortified for the spiritual life by the reception of the Consolamentum. Before he left the Toulousains, Nicaetan had either confirmed or instituted five new bishops for Septimania and the adjacent counties, among whom was Sicard Cellerier, bishop of Albi (Vignier, Histoire de l'Eglise, 1601; Döllinger, Bétrage, i. 116, 121, 122, and n. 63).

According to Döllinger (ib. p. 200), the above-named Synod reasserted the Manichaean doctrines of the sect in their most aggressive form; and in 1201, another 'Perfectus,' one Julian of Palermo, as the Imperator, seeks audience at Albi. He had long been known by his labours among the warlike race which sheltered in the gloomy gorges of Albania, and his fervid oratory now so wrougth upon the Albigenses, that almost the entire population, from his teaching, were received with open arms in most of the chief towns of Septimania. It is to be noted, accordingly, that at the very time when Innocent resolved upon the Crusade in Languedoc, the doctrine of the Cathari had assumed a form which can only be described as subversive, not merely of the teaching of the Western Church, but of Christi
tanity itself.

The Church of the Cathari most resembled, perhaps, that of Rome, with respect to its organization. It appears to have had its Pope, although this is somewhat doubtful (see Schmidt, Histoires, ii. 145); but it is certain that, in the New Rome, Niquinta had been styled 'Papa,' and Julian of Palermo as Imperator, and perhaps he had won for himself the recognized right to bear a designation which implied his superiority to human frailties and passions. Under his teaching his flock learned to repudiate the Divinely instituted ordination of marriage and to ignore the rights of individual proprietorship, the ties of social existence and of civic organization being alike thus cast aside. Self-detachment from the world, while engaging in secular duties and pur
suits, the Catharists, having been their dominant conception of the religious life, all contact with the material involving a certain deification, while life itself was a kind of purgatory, of which the Catharists rejected the Roman doctrine, maintaining that the soul, after death, entered forthwith into a state either of perfect happiness or of eternal suffering (see Eckbertus, Migne, PL clxii. col. 15). Their abstention (of Manicheistic origin) from all animal food included even milk and eggs, all matter being regarded as the creation of the Spirit of Evil, but especially that which was the outcome of sexual propagation. Labour was justifiable so far as it served to sustain life; carried beyond that point, it was useless for those who were debarred from the possession of anything that could be called personality (Schmidt, ii. 84, 85). Such was the creed imposed by the Perfectus on the believers (credentes); but besides the believers there were the 'hearsers' (audite
tores), who listened to the words of the teacher but failed adequately to put in practice what he taught. With regard to their theology, the evi
dence is perplexing, not to say contradictory. Their Christology, while evidently influenced by Arianism, differed from it in some important re
pects. Christ, they held, was not God, but a manifestation of the Divine Nature, and one with it only in respect of will and intention,—an Archangel among the angels and appearing upon earth in this celestial form (see Docetism), but neither Incarnate nor Ascended, the very miracles which He wrought being explained away as purely meta
phorical, and designed simply to symbolize the power of the spiritual over the earthly nature. At the time of the commencement of the Crusade, indeed, the dualistic and anti-materialistic theory which had obtained such influence in Languedoc, and possibly, to the teaching of Nicaetan and Julian, that, according to some teachers, the Christ of the Evangelists was really an emanation of the Spirit of Evil, permitted to appear on earth as the Word made man, evidently found its support in the teaching of the Catharist, and was thus a further indication that work of man's salvation which was being accomplished by the true Christ in heaven (Peter of Cernay, op. cit. col. 546; Schmidt, ii. 37). The views inculcated with respect to the Third Person in the Trinity were equally strange and impossible, no one being able to say what it was or what it was about. The Catharists were calculated to scandalize and alarm the devout Catholic, the theory of the Consolamentum must have added yet further to his dismay, supplanting as it did the ordinances of the Church in relation to baptism, to the Eucharist, and to absolution. This singular and elaborate ceremony, described at length by Schmidt (ii. 119—129, commencing with the renunciation of the Church of Rome and followed by a declaration of acceptance of the Catharist faith, and a solemn promise to observe it), was, according to his teaching, to be administered by the Consolamentum to those who were seriously ill, the individual, we are told, would not infrequently refuse all food, and either voluntarily or at the behest of the Perfecti submit himself to the endura, so as to die of starva
tion, and thereby expiate his immediate passage into eternal felicity (Liber Sentent. Inquisitionis Tolosanae, p. 134; Schmidt, ii. 102, 129). With the Consolamentum were associated two other doctrines which may be said to have completed the Catharist theol., the first of which savoured of Roman Catholicism,—the above-men
tioned repudiation of the doctrine of Purgatory, and the theory that the efficacy of the ceremony would be lost, if the officiating Perfectus were not himself pure from sin. The admission, indeed, with which the teaching of the Perfecti was associated, akin to that of the heretics of Septimania and the citizens of Milan and Toulouse, is largely to be attributed to the fact that the Perfecti actually exemplified in their lives the austere virtues which they inculcated, thereby presenting a marked con
trast to the life and aims of the great majority of the Roman clergy. The attitude, again, of the Catharist towards those who were not of his pers
uasion cannot be described as intolerant; he
preached and he prayed, but he did not persecute; and here, again, he contrasted favourably with the Catholic, and won the sympathy of the seigneur. It is, indeed, implied by William of Puylaurens (Chronica, passion), that under the protection of the knights of Languedoc a man could profess almost any religion that he pleased. The whole laxity of the faith and the diversity of tenets appeared only to call imperatively for intervention; and his experiences, since his accession, in his own dominions might well seem to show that such intervention, if judiciously and steadily pursued, might result in a conversion. Peter would have nothing to do with it—except in the case of the Catharists, and they were very naturally refused. Thereupon Peter pronounced him excommunicate, and placed his residence, in his capacity of archbishop, within the city walls (Acta SS. vol. Iviii. Mai). At Viterbo (one of his favourite residences), in 1205, several Catharists had been elected consuls, and their Perpetus, one John Tiniosi, had been returned for the office of papal chamberlain. Remonstrances having proved ineffectual, Innocent himself, in 1207, had repaired to the city; the leaders fled on his approach; he commanded that their houses should forthwith be demolished and their property confiscated; while the podesta and the consuls were compelled to swear that, in future, they themselves would mete out like punishment to all heretics (Epist. x. Nos. 105, 130, 139; Migne, PL ccxx. cols. 1200, 1220, 1231). Like punishment was inflicted on Orvieto, and with the close of the year 1207 the submission of the city was complete, and the independent Viterbo had been raised to the rank of a cathedral city; while Innocent was now able to direct his attention to where it seemed most required, namely, to Languedoc. His intervention in that province was materially aided by a political change which had taken place since his accession (Schmidt, i. 148-149).

In 1137, the kingdom of Aragon had been acquired by the count of Barcelona, Raymond-Berenger IV., and the crown had become hereditary in his house. In 1204, his descendant, Pedro II., following the example of the French monarch, had proclaimed himself the vassal of the Roman pontiff; and, in consequence, various fiefs which had been ceded to the counts of Toulouse (among them those of Carcassonne, Albi, and Nîmes) became detached from their former fealty to that of the kings of Aragon, the first two cities, it is to be noted, being in the same episcopal province, with Narbonne as their common metropolis (B. Haurean, Bernard Dilucius, p. 12).

It was now, therefore,—when the Fourth Crusade had resulted in the reduction of the Eastern Empire to the condition of a French dependency, when the disastrous ten years' war between France and Germany had been ended, and Otto IV., under solemn promise to restore the lands which he had wrested from the Holy See, was looking forward to his coronation in Rome,—that the time seemed to have arrived for effective measures in the Toulousain. Throughout his letters, Innocent lays emphasis on the fact that his great aim is the conversion of the heretic, not his destruction; and in Nov., 1206, three legates had been sent by him from Rome to Narbonne instructed to make yet another attempt to bring the Cathari to reason by force of argument. They were at the same time directed to lay aside all pomp and ostentation, and to win the sympathy of observers by a humble demeanour, to go meekly clad, imitating the poverty of their great exemplar, and by the force of their own example and convincing speech (documentum sermonis) to recall the heretic from the error of his ways (Epist. 185), as recorded by Luchaire that four months before this letter was written, Diégo de Acevedo, the bishop of Osma in Spain, accompanied by Dominic de Guzman, the founder of the Dominican Order, had had audiences of Innocent in Rome, and on their return journey had, by accident, fallen in with the above three legates (one of whom was Peter of Castelnau) at Castelnaun, when the bishop of Osma had given them much the same advice as that which soon after reached them as a mandate from Rome.

In the bishopric of Aragon, a burning question was present when this advice was given, we may fairly accept the assertion of Vignier that the self-denial, self-devotion, and fervid oratory which distinguished the Dominican friars were, to a great extent, evoked by the urgent necessity of combating the success with which had attended the exhibition of the same characteristics on the part of the teachers of the Catharists (Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 405; Luchaire, Innocent III., 90-91). Dividing themselves into little bands, the Dominicans now appeared at different centres,—Sarvion, Beziers, Verfli, Montreuil, and Pamiers,—inviting the leaders of the Catharists to amicable disputatio on the chief points of disagreement. At each of these centres the disputation extended over from seven to fourteen days, and was listened to with intense interest by crowded audiences; but as the only accounts which have come down to us are those preserved in Catholic sources, they can hardly be supposed to be impartial. But if it be true that at Montreuil, Oton, the Catharist professor, was seized, and maintained as his accuser the identity of the Church of Rome with the Babylon of the Apocalypse, and even ventured to style the former the ‘Synagogue of the Devil’ (Vignier, pp. 407, 410), the Catharist can hardly be credited with any such compliant opponent (Devis and Vaissette (1879), vi. 249). At the expiration of two years thus spent, Dominic is recorded to have expressed himself deeply charmed at the small result of their collective labours (Pierre de Cermay, op. cit. cc. 1-5; Schmidt, i. 211-217; Luchaire, Innocent III., 92-93).

But however sanguine Innocent may originally have been of their success, he had already determined on the employment of other means, and, early in 1207, Peter of Castelnau had received instructions to urge the Catharist leaders of Septimania (of whom Raymond of Toulouse himself was one) that they should lay aside the feuds which, unhappily, were rife among themselves, and combine in a Crusade against the heretics. That it was designed, by this proposal, to isolate Raymond admits of little doubt, and he himself fully aware of the net that was now closing round him. The other barons, allured by the prospect of rich plunder, to be reaped at small risk, readily assented; but the count of Toulouse, apart from his open sympathy with his opponent, who composed a large proportion of his own subjects, recoiled from the prospect of seeing his own domains overrun by the enemies of his house, and very naturally refused. Thereupon Peter pronounced him excommunicate, and placed his
territory under an interdict, at the same time justifying this extreme course by alleging the count’s laxity and extortion in the administration of his seigneur, — laxity, as shown in his partiality to Jews and heretics; extortion, as attested by his conduct on the temporalities of the Church (Vaissette, iii. 149); he de Vaissette (1879, vi. 249-250). Innocent followed up the action of his legate by confirming the sentence of excommunication, and, addressing to Raymond a letter in which he upbraided him with seeking ‘to preserve to the count his dignity in the deed involving himself with the foes of Catholic truth’ (Epist. x. No. 99; cf. Devic et Vaissette, op. cit. vi. 255-257).

In the first instance, Raymond is said to have feigned submission, but he failed to give practical effect to the promises which he is alleged to have made; and Innocent now, for the fourth time, proceeded to invoke the aid of King Philip, entreating him to come in person and place himself at the head of the Crusade. The letter, although himself involved in hostilities with John Lackland, at length feigned compliance, but in doing so he stipulated that Innocent, in turn, should undertake to bring about a two years’ truce between France and England, and also demanded from the clergy and nobles of the French kingdom to defray the expenses of the Crusade. This, however, was altogether beyond Innocent’s power; and it was while he was probably hesitating as to the course he should next pursue that his perplexities were suddenly terminated by the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, who, on his way to St. Gilles, by one of Count Raymond’s officers. The incident itself is enveloped in obscurity, and not less so the exact date of the count’s death. According to the statement made by Innocent to King Philip, Raymond, feigning penitence, had invited Peter to St. Gilles, there to receive his submission, and had then contrived the murder. But this statement is invalidated, to a certain extent, by the pontiff’s admission, when referring to the subject some four years later, that positive proof was wanting (Epist. xi. No. 36, xii. No. 108). His immediate action, however, assumed the semblance of complicity. (10 March, 1208) to the churches of Languedoc, Raymond was again excommunicated, his person and his territory were declared to be no longer under the protection of the law, and his subjects and lands were declared to be excommunicated; but rows of fideles or compact (Epist. xi. No. 26). Should he, however, give proof of his penitence, he might even yet be received again into the bosom of the Church, but only on condition that he expelled the heretic from his dominions (ib. Migne, PL xxv. col. 1557).

A Crusade was then proclaimed, and Arnaud Amalric being appointed chief leader, with Simon de Montfort as his lieutenant, while all who refused to listen to the summons were forbidden the enjoyments of social life and interdicted from Christian burial. Raymond had the duty of preaching the great expedition throughout the realm, and for the fifth time an appeal was made to Philip (Devic and Vaissette, vi. 265-267). The king, however, still stipulated that the two conditions which he had before specified should be carried out, while he at the same time intimated (in a letter subsequently erased from the royal registers) that, as he was advised by his councillors (Raymond’s guilt as a heretic being still unproven), the pontiff had exceeded his powers in declaring his lands subject to confiscation. Such, indeed, was the attitude which he continued to maintain until his death, influenced partly by his disinclination to appear personally as the abettor of religious bigotry, but still more by the desire to employ the military resources at his command for other purposes, and not least by the apprehension lest, under the rule of a too powerful vassal, Languedoc might recover its former virtual independence (Luchaire, M. 126-127).

The first phase of the Crusade, accordingly, was that of a religious war, directed mainly by the papal legate and headed by French nobles, among whom, next to de Montfort, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Nevers, Auxerre, St. Pol, and Geneva, were the most conspicuous,—the Dominicans, like Peter the Hermit, moved on a grand scale before, lending his aid as an orator to rouse the enthusiasm of the multitude, while his efforts were seconded by the Troubadour, who, in his Chanson de la Croisade, vaunted that more than 20,000 fully armed knights and 200,000 foot had rallied to the standard of the Cross (ib. p. 129). Raymond himself, completely dismayed, now again made his submission, and (18 June, 1209), after a humiliating ceremony, was reconciled to the Church by the papal legate in the cathedral at St. Gilles; he was compelled to swear on the Gospels and in the presence of holy relics that he would treat all heretics as personal foes, expel the Jews, proclaim a Truce of God, and himself take the Cross. In the oaths taken in the crying of a special Crusade at Raymond and Milo, the legate, on this occasion, see Devic et Vaissette, vi. 277-279; Migne, PL cxxv. cols. 90-91. A like submission made by the vicomte of Beziers was not accepted, although he was named pope’s lieutenant in brother-in-law of Peter, the king of Aragon. In July, Beziers itself was taken by storm, when a general massacre of the inhabitants took place. Raymond Roger, the vicomte, fled to Carcassonne, and shortly after received a papal bull absolving him in brother-in-law of Peter, the king of Aragon. The story, however, is at least doubtful (Hurter, Gesch. Papst Innocenz des Dritten, ii. 345; Devic et Vaissette, vi. 295; Migne, PL cxxv. cols. 138-141). Narbonne saved itself from a like fate only by an anticipatory execution of a number of the Cathari. Montpellier, owing to its long and approved loyalty to the Church, altogether escaped; but rows of fideles or compact castles and villages were reduced to the appearance of a desert. So great, indeed, was the scarcity of supplies, that the French leaders, having completed their forty days’ term of service, and seeing no prospect of further plunder, were fain to return home. Simon de Montfort, fourth earl of Leicester, alone remained. In the Íle de France he held only a petty seigneur, and having been appointed successor to Raymond as viscount of Languedoc, he was appointed viscount of Languedoc, and at the same time was ‘marcher’ of Beziers and Carcassonne, he found himself virtually an autocrat in the government of the desolate province. Although he was by education and conviction an ardent Catholic, his religious enthusiasm was probably fanned by a sense of personal wrong. In 1107 he had been mulcted by John of England of all the estates which he inherited through his father in that country. Raymond of Toulouse, on the other hand, had married Joan, John’s sister, and daughter of Eleanor of Aquaine. If we add to these considerations the fact that King John of England was at this very time excommunicate, owing to his maltreatment and defiance in England of that same episcopal order whose power de Montfort was pledged to restore in Languedoc, we
cannot but see that hatred of heresy can hardly have been the sole motive which urged on the stern Norman knight in his merciless career. Before the year 1210 had passed, John himself received intimation that his own barons were plotting to place the crown which he wore on the head of Simon de Montfort.

Opinions under which Simon was now called upon to administer his territory were, however, sufficiently discouraging. Funds began entirely to fail him, and this at the very time when the few knights who had remained with him perceived the advantage they should have for the absence of the plunder which the country no longer afforded. In his difficulties he appealed to Innocent. The pontiff, already overburdened by the demands consequent upon the Fourth Crusade (see Crusades), was unable to respond with pecuniary aid, but wrote to the Emperor Otto, the Kings of Aragon and Castille, and 'numerous powerful knights and ladies,' to invoke their assistance (Migne, PL cxxii. cols. 141–157). At the same time, we find him grateful for the support of the papal see, and Simon had reason in restoring to the papal exchequer the hearth tax of three pennis per annum which the lawless barons of Languedoc had, in many cases, been diverting to their own uses.

In the meantime, Raymond, sorely pressed by the demands imposed on him by the papal envoys, was reduced almost to desperation by being for a third time excommunicated, the sentence having been pronounced by a Council at Avignon, 6 Sept., 1206. He resolved on a personal appeal to Innocent, before whom (Jan., 1210), having been admitted to an audience in the Lateran, he laid a statement of his grievances. Accounts differ with regard to what actually took place on this occasion; but it is probable that the pontiff, moved by the suppliant posture of his adversary, was prevailed upon to grant a remission of the sentence. The former of these explanations is preferred, as the chroniclers attribute to Simon's envoys a double purpose: to be received into the service of the Lateran, of which they stood in need; and to introduce their master into the Society of the Knights of Malta (ib. cols. 171–173). His instructions, however, either arrived too late, or were wilfully disregarded by his legates, to whom Toulouse was now called upon to submit. But the dwellers in the city and in the faubourg alike, having been forced by the oath of allegiance to their seigneurs, refused compliance; and it was with difficulty that the archbishop of the city, a staunch supporter of Simon, succeeded in inducing a certain number of the citizens to support the latter, under whose leadership the city once more received its former appellation of Toulouse. At the strong fortress of Minerve, near Narbonne, 140 Perfecti were hured or threw themselves on to the burning pyre (Devic and Vaissiè, vi. 329–331). At Lavaur, taken after a stubborn defence, the gibbet is struck into which the widowed 'Lady of the City,' the bounteous Giraldis, and her daughter, were flung, and stones rolled down upon their bodies. The governor and eighty knights were either suspended on the gallows or put to the sword. Ternes, Castres, and other towns were the scenes of similar horror, and Montauban being, eventually, the only two which remained in the possession of Raymond (Guillelmi de Poldo Laurentii Hist. Albig., cc. 17, 18, in Duchesne (A.), Hist. Franc. Script., v.); Devic and Vaissiè, v. 342, 356–358, 384; Peter of Cernay, Migne, PL cxxii. cc. 57, 55, 53; la Chan-

son de la Croisade, stanzas ixvii.–lxiv. (ed. Paul Meyer, ii. 83–91); Voyage en France (35me série), 269).

The war itself must now be regarded as assuming another phase, and Innocent himself became aware that a reaction was setting in throughout Languedoc, as, to quote the expression of Paul Meyer, 'it became clear that the Crusade could accomplish nothing less than the substitution of some enterprising adventurers from France for the ancient seigniorial families of the South' (La Chanson, etc., Intro. p. xxiv; Fauriel, Hist. de la Croisade, i. 122–123).

The doctrines of the Catharists were again openly espoused, as a powerful incentive to renewed resistance. The Count de Foix, Raymond Roger, reverted to his former defiant attitude. The Catholic leaders, on the other hand, perceiving how closely political supremacy was involved in the suppression of heresy, began to assert their position with increased emphasis. Arnold Amalric, the abbot of Citeaux, usurped to himself the title of duke of Narbonne (Luchaire, Innocent III., 302–307) and prevailed upon the king and his Norman party to acknowledge fidelity and homage on the former subjects of Raymond of Toulouse. Simon, however, with his habitual astuteness, professed, in the first instance, to ignore his own position, and, writing to Philip (Aug., 1211), said that he had instructed his envoys to assume possession of all the territory wrested from Raymond, and to hold the same until the rightful owner should be declared (ib. 178). By the middle of the following year, however, his representatives in Rome preferred the stronger demand for his recognition as lord of Languedoc; and in a charter of 14 Sept., 1212, granted by the abbot of Moissac, that dignitary expressly declared that 'God has justly assigned to Simon de Montfort the territory of his adversary' (ib. 347). In the following December, Simon himself convened an assembly at Pamiers, to which the seigneurs, the clergy, and the citizens of the province were alike summoned,—the great political revolution which was in process being thinly disguised by their being themselves invited to become members of the Commission which was then appointed, and by whose action the 'customs' of Paris, the 'use' of Northern France, and the supremacy of the Church (acting through its ecclesiastical courts), were substituted for the feudal liberties and customs which had hitherto existed. As Luchaire points out, however, Simon de Montfort posed as the 'saviour of the land, whose mission it was to establish order, centralization, and peace; and for a time there were those who firmly believed that they should obtain these blessings at his hands.

The king of Aragon was still Simon's suzerain, and, with the support of Innocent, was able to assert his rights. He regarded with no small alarm his great vassal's monopoly of influence and the impending political change. No less threatening, as the Crusade was pronounced by Innocent to be at an end (Jan., 1213), Peter's first endeavour was to submit to a Council convened at Lavaur (16 Jan.) a memorandum, drawn up with the design of showing that Raymond himself had never been proved a heretic, and that neither he nor his cousin, the count of Comminges, nor the count of Foix, nor Gaston de Bearn, had ever accepted the Albigenian doctrines. It was the design of the Crusade to unite the count's ruin rather than to afford him the opportunity of regaining the confidence of Innocent, and counter-representations were made at the Lateran, couched in terms of such urgency, that the pontiff, notwithstanding his distrust of Simon and the Norman party, was prevailed upon...
to change his attitude completely. ‘The supporters of heresy,’ he now wrote to King Peter, ‘are more dangerous than the heretics themselves,’ at the same time plainly intimating that further obduracy would be visited with another Crusade (Epist. xvi. No. 49; Migne, PL. cxvii. col. 561). Simon, after his removals were resumed; and Peter, along with his allies, now appeared at the head of a great army outside the walls of the strong fortress of Maret, where Simon, with a small body of knights, awaited their attack. The disastrous defeat which the confederates there sustained, involving, as it did, the death of the king and the dispersion of his forces (12 Sept., 1213), sealed the fate of Raymond’s party. He himself is next heard of at the court of John Lackland, at Périgueux, proffering a now worthless homage. Simon’s son, Amaury, now married Beatrice, the heiress of Dauphiné; Toulouse surrendered to Montfort, and the whole of southern France became incorporated with the French kingdom. Towards the close of the year, the Troubadour William of Tudela, gives place (line 2768) to his successor in the Chanson, which henceforth becomes of primary value as a contemporary historical source, being at once highly original and always lucid. It was received with i. xci-xcii.,

In 1214, Innocent rescinded the prohibition to preach the Crusade, and in the course of the year a hundred thousand ‘pilgrims’ poured into Languedoc. Their first military achievement was the capture of Maine-Camargue, on which occasion Simon, once more, finds his reference to the Waldenses, seven of whom were burnt ‘with great joy’ as incorrigible in the attestation of their errors (Devic and Vaissette, vi. 449). Concurrently with this movement, the war was conducted by the royal forces. At Bouvines (27 July, 1214) broke the power of the kings throughout the realm, and was hailed by the clergy as an auspicious triumph for the cause of unity in the Church. At the Council of Montpellier (8 Jan., 1215), Simon was unanimously elected ‘prince and sovereign’ of Languedoc; and in the following April, Prince Louis, accompanied by the new lord of the province and by Peter of Beneventum, the new papal legate, set out on a crusade. The Troubadour poet Ottol in his Chanson of the Rhone (De la Croisade, 3999-4014; Lea, Hist. of the Inquis. i. 134) describes how, to, the crusaders, the ecclesiastical superior, Arnold, duke of Narbonne, on some pretext arising out of their bitter contention for the dukedom (Fauriel, Hist. de la Croisade, 3999-4014; Lea, Hist. of the Inquis. i. 134), was selected as its rightful lord, and subsequently, when called upon to arbitrate in the fierce contention between Simon and the abbot Arnold for the dukedom of Narbonne, gave his decision in favour of the monastic dignity.

At the memorable Lateran Council of Nov., 1215, Raymond was once more, and finally, confronted with his accusers; and here, again, we find the pontiff strongly urging that the exiled count should be reinstated in the Toulouse. His supporters, however, imported six bishops, whose counsel Peter of Cernay does not scruple to stigmatize as that of an ‘Arithophel’ (Hist. Albig. c. 83; Migne, PL. cxvii. col. 700), and it was rejected by a vast majority. The brief allusion of the monkish chronicler to the fact of this divergence of opinion is illustrated at length by the contemporary Troubadour, in a manner which brings home to us the fact that this famous Council, to quote the language of P. Devic, was really more than a political congress, at which the passions, ideas, ambitions, and secular aims of the time are to be discerned, for the moment, in actual open conflict’ (Hist. de la Poésie Provencal, ii. 158). In the sequel, Innocent himself was under the necessity of issuing a decree whereby Raymond was adjudged to have forfeited his right to govern, and condemned to pass the remainder of his life as a penitent, only a small annuity being granted him, which, together with his wife’s dowry, was deemed sufficient for his maintenance. The Council signed to de Montfort all the territories which he had wrested from the heretics, along with Toulouse and Montauban, but it was ordered that the conquered lands ‘in Provincia’ (beyond the Rhone) should, for a time, be held in commission, and that in the event of the count’s only son (a youth of fifteen, against whom no imputation of heresy had been preferred) giving proof, by his ‘fidelity and upright conversation,’ of genuine merit, provision should ultimately be made for him therewith (Hist. Albig., col. 701; Guill. de Pod. Laur., c. 34; Vaissette, iii. 280; Devic and Vaissette, vi. 475, 477).

To all outward seeming, Raymond was now permanently excluded from a public career. The decisions of the Lateran Council had, however, been received throughout both the Toulousain and Provence with a general dissatisfaction which embodied both father and son to sail, in the spring of 1216, for Marseilles, where they were received with i. xxiii-xiv. So soon as the Count, with all his confederates, had arrived at the Rhone and into Aragon, while large subsidies arrived from England. A conflict ensued, of which the Provençal poet supplies us with an annalistic description..override the important fortress, were stimulated to the work of reconstructing the defences by the promise of inducements held out by Raymond’s chaplain, and both knights and ladies applied themselves assiduously to the toil; while, in the following year, when Simon de Montfort appeared outside the walls of revolted Toulouse, he stood scarcely in happier relations to the Church than Raymond had been himself, having been, by the Council of Lateran, declared at variance with the ecclesiastical superior, Arnold, duke of Narbonne, on some pretext arising out of their bitter contention for the dukedom (Fauriel, Hist. de la Croisade, 3999-4014; Lea, Hist. of the Inquis. i. 134). 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in the appearance of Prince Louis at the head of an army, whose achievements in the field are remembered only by the massacre at Marmamné, when 5000 men, women, and children were put to death by order of the bishop of Saintes, on the sole ground of their assumed heretical beliefs, and the city itself was burnt (Guill. de Pod. Laur. p. 18, 536-537). The Albigenses suffered like exemplary punishment on Toulouse was baffled, and, after laying siege to the city for forty days, on 1 Aug., 1219 Louis struck his camp and returned to France. The Albigenses took from many of their converts, the possessions which they had been wrested from them by the sword of Simon were now recovered. Eventually, after a war extending over two more years, Amaury de Montfort was slain to brieve the French monarch to renewed interference, by offering to surrender to him the entire territory which had been adjudged to his late father. It was at this juncture that Raymond VI died (Aug., 1222); his interment in consecrated ground was forbidden; and for nearly a century and a half the remains,, decency of the action of the bishops at the third Council of Toulouse (1229, 1249, 1274), was re-enacted by the dispositions of the bishops of Toulouse in their instructions to the Inquisitors. The disturbances with the French of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which obtained in the south of France, the English, and the French, the attempts at a new crusade against the Albigenses (L. Reg. I. Inv. Inquis. 1. 151). Eventually, after a long and gallant struggle, Raymond VII submitted; and was compelled, by the Treaty of Meaux (1229), to accept a series of onerous and humiliating conditions—the demolition of thestrongholds of the knights of Toulouse, the cessation of warfare in the French Crown, and the surrender of two-thirds of his father's dominions (of which, however, a part had been included in the surrender, above mentioned, by Amaury), the cession to the Roman See of the marquisate of Provence (the portion of Provence on the left bank of the Rhone), while in Toulouse itself he was required to institute a school of studies, which subsequently developed into the university, but was now conciliated by the Inquisition, the wise and farsighted predominance of strictly Catholic teaching (Martin, Hist. de France, iv. 149-150).

In asserting the foregoing conditions, Raymond can have been actuated by no other motive than a conviction of the political unwise of prolonging a racial conflict against forces which were overwhelming; but in promising his active and unsparring co-operation in the extermination of heresy, and subsequently befriending the Inquisitors, he was actuated by political considerations. That he was giving expression to a contrite sense of the perversity of a policy which had brought such ruin on his house, and that the manner in which Innocent had compassionated his helpless hoard may have instilled into the young count a genuine admiration of his protector, and sympathy with his designs. That sagacious pontiff had seen very clearly, some years before his death, that, however effective fire and sword might prove in the temporary extirpation of heresy, something more was needed to prevent the reoccurrence of an ancient faith, namely, the law, however wrongfully held. Notwithstanding his habitual tendency to temporize, he had accordingly drawn up a series of instructions which represent an important innovation upon preceding methods (Douais, L'Inquisition, 1495). The manuscript of this, in a judge's court, at that time, was still that of the old Roman tribunal; the magistrate always awaited the appearance of an accuser before he intervened to punish the malefactor. But, however adequate such a method might be found in dealing with offences against the person or against property, Innocent perceived that it failed altogether to reach a particular class of citizens, distinguished generally by their blameless life and inoffensive conduct, but lying under grave suspicion owing to the prescribed forms of public worship, and their secret gatherings. If such conduct were really a shelter for rumoured malpractices, it was certain that stronger motives were required to induce the accused Inquisitor to come forward, and he established the institution of the inquisitor system of inquiry, authorized in legal form and terminology, for bringing home to the offender a definite charge. As early as 1183, Lucius III. had enjoined upon the bishop of each diocese the necessity of seeking out and passing sentence on heretics (Manuel [1644], xxviii. 6), although Luchaire appears to be in error in supposing that his instructions were actually formulated as a decretal (Douais, op. cit. pp. 28-30); the inquisitor, moreover, postulated the existence of an Inquisitor, and if it was not until the wide-spread activity and devotion of the Dominican Order had become manifest that Innocent could discern the instrumentality for which he had been looking.

Between the years 1204 and 1213 he issued four decretals (subsequently re-enacted at the Third Lateran Council, 1213 [4]), in which the system of secret inquiry was formally recognized (ib. op. cit. 6, 7), and direction given that investigations should be instituted throughout the province of Arles, and in the dioceses of Agen, Lodève, Verocei, Tarragona, and Perpignan (Pothinus, 6th Dec., 1204). It is, however, maintained by Douais that even these instructions were general in their scope, specifying, as they do, no particular offence or persons. But when the dioceses to which they were sent (as specified by himself, pp. 6-8), together with the time of their promulgation, are considered, it is difficult not to infer that they must have been directly aimed at the Albigensian heresy. By the machinery thus brought into operation, the Inquisitor, who was not required to date his first proceedings from the year 1229) obtained the evidence on which its first proceedings were grounded, and was enabled to arrogate to itself a function beyond the power of the already existing ecclesiastical courts; while the Inquisitor, if we accept the view of Douais, represented an authority which the supreme pontiff alone had the power to delegate (L'Inquisition, pp. 9-13).

From the year 1229, accordingly, the history of the Albigenses becomes mainly associated with the proceedings of the Inquisition, and will here be found treated under that heading; while for an admirable illustration of this later period, the experiences of Bernard Delicieux, as described by B. Haureau (1877), should also be consulted. With the advance of the fourteenth century, the Catharist almost disappears in Western Europe,
although occasionally showing a bold front against the Dominicans in Toulouse. In the East, in their ancient home in Bosnia, on the other hand, they more often held their ground, even compelling the Franciscans to retire from the kingdom (see Josset, lit.); and, more recently as 1576 a paragraph in Le Temps de la guerre, that the Waldensians, even their independent existence becomes, in consequence, more difficult to trace. In Germany the Catharist becomes lost in the "Ketzer" (Schmidt, Hist. i. 141, ii. 292-323; Lombard (Alex.), Pauliniaca, etc. (Paris, 1685)). For the last four centuries they have often been confused with the Waldenses, on their alleged presence in the Germanic countries, and their material is very difficult to trace. In Germany the Catharist becomes lost in the "Ketzer" (in the same account the date is 1482). In 1685 a paragraph in Le Temps de la guerre, that the Waldensians, even their independent existence becomes, in consequence, more difficult to trace. In Germany the Catharist becomes lost in the "Ketzer" (Schmidt, Hist. i. 141, ii. 292-323; Lombard (Alex.), Pauliniaca, etc. (Paris, 1685)). For the last four centuries they have often been confused with the Waldenses, on their alleged presence in the Germanic countries, and their material is very difficult to trace.

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schor has re-edited the Corpus Chemicorum in a manner to conform to modern demands. (On this question compare W. Meyer, Verzeichnis der Handschriften im preussischen Staate, i. 1, 5, 1893.)

The notices of the ancients themselves in regard to the history of alchemy are scarce. The alleged mentions of the 'science' in the post-Manlius (ant. Theophr. in Pliny's HN xxxiii. 79, referring to an attempt of Caligula to make gold, are more than doubtful. The first authentic testimony points to the time of Diocletian. According to Suidas (Διοκλητιανος και Σημεία), this was the Egyptian books on the art of making of gold and silver to be burnt. We are thus taken back to the beginning of the 3rd cent. of our era, a period which teemed with secret, magical, and astrological writings. To the same time points a notice of the Byzantine historian Georgios Synkellos (8-9 cent.), that Julius Africanus mentioned the science of chemistry (576, 10, ed. Bonn). During the 4th cent. the possibility of alchemy was denied by Themistius (Or. iv. 214, ed. Petavi), and Aenesid of Gaza (5th cent.) is unimpressed by it. But the evidence is not explicit. None of these authors, however, uses the modern name. This was formerly believed to be secured by a passage in the astrolabe and Christian writer Firmicus Maternus (5th cent.), but the passage is a late interpolation. (cf. the edition by Kroll.)

The notice in Suidas points to Egypt as the original home of alchemy. To the same country the legendary history of the pseudo-science also points. The ancient alchemists knew a great many stories about the mystic origin of their art. It was said to have been taught by the fallen angels, by Isis, by Miriam the sister of Moses (the last trace of that legend has been preserved in the 'bian-marie' of modern chemistry), and so forth. But even their best tradition ascribed the invention of the 'holy mystery' to the philosopher Democritus of Greece. This tradition takes us at once to Alexandria, where a luxuriant growth of forgeries under the name of the atomistic philosopher had sprung up, largely ascribed to a certain Eleazar. This name, living to the beginning of our era. (The literature in Berthelot, Hist. de l'alchimie grecque, Paris, 1882; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i. s. v. 'Alchimie'.) To Egypt the very name also points (Hoffmann, Hdbb. der Chemie, 5th ed., 1882, Art. Alchimie). The extant works on alchemy fall into two classes, roughly represented by the Leiden Papyrus and by the Collection. The former class is purely technical, not yet infected by mystical ideas, and designed for practical purposes. The second class starts likewise from practical works, but from the outset is indissolubly interwoven with mystical thoughts. As time went on without bringing the alchemists any nearer to the solution of the eagerly sought mystery, speculation and hallucinations overlaid the practical nucleus in ever increasing masses, until towards the end of the Middle Ages the writings of the adepts had become one vast farrago of allegories, each one in its turn calling forth a series of additional commentary, until the 16th cent. brought about a revolution in the return from practical work, and began the modern science of chemistry.

We shall now rapidly pass in review the extant works. The Leiden papyrus is a group of papyri found together in Egypt in the early part of the 18th cent. and purchased by the Leiden Museum. Among these, three stand out prominent as a series of chemical commentary, under the letter X (our papyrus papyri X, Y, and W). The last two have of late come into greater prominence by the excellent treatment to which they have been subjected by Albrecht Dörich (α,β, τοιούτος Μάγια!') in Jahn, f. Philologie, Suppl. vi. i. Abruza, Studien zur Religionsgesch. des späteren Altertums, 1891). They are our most valuable source for studying the syncretic religion of later antiquity as reflected in the mind of the vulgar. With these our X must be grouped, as it was found with them. The great mass of its recipes, it is true, contain nothing but prescriptions for the apprentices of some cheating gold and silver. But these prescriptions are intermixed with others referring to superstition. Small wonder, for the art of the metal-worker was to be specially connected with magic; witness the legends of the miraculous creations of Berenice, of his Thelxion, and his wife of the name of Isis (see Roscher's Lex. der gr. u. röm. Mythologie, s. c.), and the northern legends of the smith Wieland. Trace of these belief have lasted into our own times. Even in the title of a chemical book usually 'the wise man,' if not actually the wizard, of his village.

Alchemy in the proper sense of the word cannot be said to be found in X. But a large number of recipes are on the end to produce an alloy of baser metals which cannot be distinguished from the gold in the article, so much so that a member of the guild shall not be able to detect them. But two of these prescriptions use a 'never-ending material' and a chemical kind of assurance. This second, originally the Egyptian name (aenem) of an alloy of gold and silver, perhaps the so-called elektron, is here conceived as a material which can give the student the means of the transformation of metals in so speak, as a leaven, changing the base foundation into gold as leaven changes flour into bread; in other words, we are face to face with a real chemical action.

At this point the second group of chemical literature sets in. Its most important, may fundamentally, in the form of Democritus, bears in its recipes the closest resemblance to the prescriptions of the papyrus (cf. Berthelot's analysis, both in the Histoire and in its existing state, 1893). None of these authors, however, uses the modern name. It was thus still preserved in the 'bian-marie' of modern chemistry, and so forth. But even their best tradition ascribed the invention of the 'holy mystery' to the philosopher Democritus of Greece. This tradition takes us at once to Alexandria, where a luxuriant growth of forgeries under the name of the atomistic philosopher had sprung up, largely ascribed to a certain Eleazar. This name, living to the beginning of our era. (The literature in Berthelot, Hist. de l'alchimie grecque, Paris, 1882; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i. s. v. 'Alchimie'). To Egypt the very name also points (Hoffmann, Hdbb. der Chemie, 5th ed., 1882, Art. Alchimie). The extant works on alchemy fall into two classes, roughly represented by the Leiden Papyrus and by the Collection. The former class is purely technical, not yet infected by mystical ideas, and designed for practical purposes. The second class starts likewise from practical works, but from the outset is indissolubly interwoven with mystical thoughts. As time went on without bringing the alchemists any nearer to the solution of the eagerly sought mystery, speculation and hallucinations overlaid the practical nucleus in ever increasing masses, until towards the end of the Middle Ages the writings of the adepts had become one vast farrago of allegories, each one in its turn calling forth a series of additional commentary, until the 16th cent. brought about a revolution in the return from practical work, and began the modern science of chemistry.

We shall now be able to trace in a very few words the development of alchemy. Starting from the purely practical basis of fraudulent craftsmen, in Egypt, famed from olden times for her knowledge of metalwork and crude chemical knowledge, (cf. the Egyptian literature) it found its further development in that home of all mystic humbug, Alexandria. Here it fell under the influence of that mixture of religions, of mysticism, and of philosophy which we call either Gnosticism or the gnostic religion. As a result of knowledge found its 'Bible' in the forged treatise ascribed to Democritus. Also in the manner of that kind of literature, counter-claim met counter-claim; hence the various traditions as to the real inventors of alchemy. Conforming partly in ideas and in expressions to Christianity, it escaped the
fate of other superstitions,—the condemnation of the Church,—was carried to Constantinople, and then reached Europe, where it was received with credulous avidity, and flourished until superseded by truly scientific methods, thus finally flowing into the broad stream of true and modern chemistry.

It remains now to speak of the relations between alchemy and philosophy and religion. The researches of Usener (Religionsgeschichte. Untersuchungen, Bonn, 1889-1897), of Dieterich (I.e.), and of Schmekel (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Mittleren Stoa) have shown how enormous was the influence of the Stoic school on the development of popular beliefs in the last cent. n.c. and the 1st cent. A.D. In regard to alchemy, however, the proof had been furnished as early as 1856 by Frantl (Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift, 1856) in an article which still contains the least exposition of the philosophical elements in ancient alchemy. The Stoics, in their endeavour to prove that the whole cosmos was permeated by the Divine, and that all phenomena of life were only emanations of the supernatural raised by these pseudo-sciences, and so they became the ardent defenders of magic, alchemy, and astrology (for the latter see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de l'Astrologie grecque). Vice versa these often adopted the apparency of the Stoic arsenal of proofs.

When the Decretianic theory constantly harps on the refrain: 'Nature overcomes nature, nature rejoices in nature, nature rules over nature,' the alchemists simply followed Stoic precedent. Nay, this very tenet is considerably older than the extant works on gold-making. It is ascribed to the mythical Egyptian king Nechepso, the patron saint of astrology, whose forged works found their entrance into the world of letters about the beginning of our era. The maxim, too, upon which the Leyden Papyrus bases its prescriptions, that a little leaven leaves a whole loaf, belongs here. When later, in the 2nd and 3rd cents. of our era, the so-called philosophical works of Herennius the Ionian were... 

ALCHEMY (Muhammadan) — I. Authors.—

The most ancient Arabic author who wrote about alchemy was a royal personage—Hâlid, son of Yazid, son of Muhammad—probably flourished between the 8th and 9th centuries (cf. Leclerc, l. 64). Compositions ascribed to Hâlid and translated into Latin are published in the Theatr. Chemicum and in the Bibliotheca Chemic, where 1500 are listed.

The second name to be mentioned is that of Geber. This famous person, who became illustrous and legendary in the Christian Middle Ages, is known under the Arab name of Abu Masar Jâbir, son of Yazid, of the Harwan school. His life is not well known, but it is certain that he was a pupil of Geber.

Lastly, there is occasionally coupled with the name of Geber the epithet 'Sûfî'; this is explained by the fact that Geber, having been converted from Sabaeism to Islam, is said to have exhibited great zeal for the Musulman faith; the title must have been added, however, at a later period.

We should clearly pay no heed to a view mentioned in the Fibris (p. 354 ff.), according to which...
Geber is a mythical personage. This famous alchemist did certainly exist; but very little is known about his life. A reliable tradition represents him as usually residing at Kufa; he is sometimes connected with the Barmecides (Fihrist and Hajji Ḥalfa, iii. p. 388). He flourished about the year A.H. 100 (A.D. 715), and his works are attributed to him; their titles are generally symbolic, and their number exceeds two hundred. There are twenty-two Arabic works placed under his name in our libraries. Berthelot and Houdas have published five of these treatises under the title of Geber; Book of Observances; Book of Mercy, a work revised by a pupil; extracts from the Book of Concentration; and Book of Oriental Mercury. The Latin treatises ascribed to Geber do not correspond to the Arabic works; besides, they exhibit a more advanced stage of chemical science. Some of these are: Geberi regis Arabum summa perfectionis ministerii, Gedani (Dantzig), 1882; Geberi philosophi de alchemia libri iii., Nuremberg, 1545 (cf. Steinschneider, ZDMG xliii. 484). The Latin treatise, entitled Book of the Secret of the Firmament, is, it is said, the only one which seems to have preserved some fragments of Geber or his pupils, judging from the resemblance between the titles of its chapters and those of a work of the same name which the Fihrist mentions and ascribes to al-Mari, MS 7156, Paris; cf. Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, i. 323.

There were several alchemists in the 3rd cent. A.H.; the two most famous are the ascetic Dhu-n-Nun al-Misri of Ikhmin (d. 245= A.D. 859) and Ibn al-Walshihya, the imaginative author of the Nabatean Agriculture, who wrote during the second half of that century. We possess three works of Dhu-n-Nun on alchemy—in poetry, dialogue, and miscellany (cf. R. A. Nicholson in J.R.S., 1896, p. 311 ff.). We have various works of Ibn al-Walshihya, especially Alchemies, an essay on ancient Egyptian paintings; and that of Uthman, son of Suwad al-Ikhmimi, who disputed with Ibn al-Walshihya.

In the 4th cent. (10th A.D.) appears the medical philosopher Razas, Abu Bakr Muhammad, son of Zayd ibn Khashabah. He was an enthusiastic student of alchemy, and almost a martyr to this science. As he had dedicated his famous book on medicine, Al-mansuri, to the Samaïd prince Abu Sahlih Mansur, son of Ishak, he afterwards also presented him with his poem, 'The Establishment of Alchemy' (Kitab tibbati al-kimya). The prince asked him to verify some of his experiments, and, finding him unable to do so, he struck him across the face with a whip, and blinded him. He died in A.H. 311 or 320. We may mention his Kitab al-asur, 'Book of Secrets,' Alchemies, Aromatic, placed under his name, is published in the Theatrum Chemicum, iii. No. 64.

To the same century belongs another important writer, Maslama al-Majriti, i.e. of Madrid. This learned encyclopedist (d. 305 or 310= A.D. 1004 or 1007), while travelling in the East, brought together, in his own country a collection of the famous works of the 'Brethren of Purity,' of which he probably made a new recension. Being skilled in alchemy, he wrote especially on this subject a Kanz al-fadilat, 'Treasury of Accomplishments,' dated 385.

We may mention in passing another prince, who was reputed to be an alchemist, the celebrated Fatimid Hafis al-Mansur al-Ḥakim (d. 411= A.D. 1020), the founder of the religion of the Druzes. The only famous names that we find after him are those of Ghuzzali the great philosopher, Tughrul, and Jildaki. Ghuzzali (451-505= A.D. 1111) believed in alchemy, and wrote some articles on the subject; one of them is extant at Berlin, Magāla al-fauz, 'Lecture on Preservation.' Tughrul (al-Rasān, son of 'All), who died about 515, wa'iz of the Fatimid Caliph, wrote the Kitab al-Muqaf, on no reliable account as an alchemist, wrote on alchemy, Jamāl al-asrār, 'Compendium of Secrets,' an article on the philosopher's stone, and a commentary on Geber's Book of Mercy. Jildaki (Ali, son of Aidamur, son of 'Ali), who died in 743= A.D. 1342, is the author of several works on alchemy, and the search for the 'elixir' (cf. on this author S. de Sacy, Notices et extraits, iv. 108; Leclerc, ii. 280).

Alchemical studies continued in Islam during the time of the literary decline and down to the present day. In the 10th cent. A.H. (16th A.D.) authors like Muṣḥif al-Dīn Bostān Efendi of Ašīr, or Ali Beg of Iznik, are found writing Alchemies, and in the 11th cent. the physician Maulā Sāliḥ, son of Naṣrallāh al-Ḥalabi, adapted Paracelsus. It is said that there are still alchemists in Morocco and at Mecca.

2. Doctrine.—The doctrine of alchemy appears among the Arabs under very philosophical aspects; it implies certain ideas on the nature of physical matter which are derived from general philosophy. In this connexion with philosophy, we have also the attachment of the romances of the 'arbalas,' that we come upon treatises beginning with real philosophical introductions; e.g. the 'Treatise on Concentration' goes so far as to speak expressly of the doctrine of the categories, which it ascribes to Pythagoras, saying that there are ten things which form the universe: essence and its nine accidents.

It is not difficult to see with what philosophical school the alchemists are, as a rule, connected. It is with the great school of Neo-Platonic origin, which developed in the Musalmān world when the Greek sciences were being studied there, and attained its height about the 10th cent. of the Christian era (4th A.H.). The alchemists are connected more especially with the branches of this school which propound the so-called 'illuminative' doctrines. In these seems a disposition to syncretism, which prevailed: according to them, truth was possessed in the different nations by wise men who expressed it in different ways, and who are at one time mythical personages, at another well-known philosophers of very discredited science. This inclination towards syncretism is shown in the alchemical writings. The alchemical authors do not know whether they owe their art to Egypt rather than Persia, or to India rather than China. The ancestors whom they claim are at one time quite mythical, e.g. Hermes and Agathodemon; at another historical, or semi-historical, e.g. Qarūn, the Korah of the Bible, brother-in-law of Moses, whose treasures are mentioned in the Qur'an (xxvii. 76, xxix. 33, 50) or, again, Queen Cleopatra, the emperor Heraclius, or Bilgis, the daughter of Ceyx. To these soothsayers and kings the alchemists add the philosophers and scholars of classical antiquity, especially Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Democritus, Diocletian, and Galen. This grouping would not give any very clear information, if we did not know from the history of philosophy that the list is framed according to the usage of the Alexandrians and the Sabaeans, and that therefore it was in these two groups of scholars that the Musalmāns found their masters. As regards the Sabaeans, we have already remarked that Geber probably belonged to their sect; they carried the practice of syncretism to a great length; they collected and fixed a large number of legends of various origins. The addition of the Talmudic legends of Qarūn and of Bilgis, of the Persian names of Jamsal and of
Maghis the sage, to the Egyptian legends of Hermes and Agathodemon, must have been their work. More especially Alexandrian are the legends, of frequent occurrence in the alchemical writings, which refer to the Pyramids and the great ruins of Egypt, and represent these monuments as ancient laboratories, or at least having been used as deposits for the secrets of the sciences. The tradition which makes Cleopatra a scientist is undoubtedly Alexandrian, as is also the one which represents another woman, Mary the Copt, as lecturing on alchemy in the presence of various learned men (cf. Kopp, Beiträge, i. p. 402; Steinschneider, Mathem. § 140; Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, iii. passim). One of the Arabic treatises published by Berthelot and Houdas bears the name of an Egyptian sage Ostanes.

Another tendency which appears from time to time in the alchemical writings certainly arises from Neo-Platonism, viz. the tendency to mysticism. It makes itself evident in two ways: (1) by founding the art of alchemy on a revelation which was received by the ancient prophets, e.g. by Hermes or by Qârûn; or (2) by making moral conditions intervene in the production of the great work: God co-operates in the undertaking, and the alchemist must prepare himself for this Divine co-operation by purity of heart. Even in the cases in which this condition is not formally laid down, the alchemistic writings bear a strongly religious stamp.

It is a very wide-spread custom among writers on occult subjects to connect the metals with the planets. Gold is held to correspond with the sun, silver with the moon; the other metals, mercury, iron, tin, lead, correspond respectively to Mercury, Mars, Venus and Saturn. This connexion was made long ago, but the Muslims ascribe it more especially to the Sabeans; and this provides a new proof of the important part which that sect took in the transmission of ancient ideas, Greek as well as Jewish and Chaldean.

The part played by Syrian scholars in this work of preserving and handing down scientific knowledge was greater even than that of the Sabeans; and it is better known. It was through Syria that the Muslims became acquainted with the chief Greek alchemists, especially Zosimus (cf. Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, ii.).

Now, what exactly is the doctrine, or rather the postulate, on which alchemy is based? This problem, in its essential elements, is very simple. It holds that metals differ from each other in degree, but not in nature, and that any one of the baser metals, like lead or copper, may be transmuted into a more perfect metal like silver or gold. This postulate is connected with or implies a curious idea frequently expressed by alchemists, that of the ‘life’ of the metal. The metal or the mineral is really regarded as a living being, which is engendered and develops in the womb of the earth, where it is subjected to various conditions which hinder or promote its perfection. This theory is expressed, e.g., in the treatise of the ‘Brethren of Purity’ devoted to mineralogy. Dieterici, the editor of that treatise, remarks that it is conceived on Aristotelian, one might say modern, Neo-Platonic principles, and that it is inserted in a series of treatises based on those of Aristotle, although we do not know any work on minerals by that philosopher.

In that treatise the doctrine is presented thus: From the elements which are the potentials in the womb of the earth, there are first of all formed, as energies, mercury and sulphur; from these two there are afterwards formed, as entelechies, metals, or bases; and these two, as entelechies, become the basis, or cored, of metals. It is on these elements in these circumstances. It is only in consequence of certain injuries undergone that the material does not become silver or gold instead of lead or tin. Alchemists endeavour to repair these injuries (Dieterici, p. 12). The same idea is expressed in the Cosmography of Qazwîni (ed. Wustenfeld, i. p. 207), and in this work also it is said: ‘The metals in their mines undergo certain defects—as unpleasant odour, softness, and a disagreeable smell. In this book also, means are given by which some of these defects are suggested.

In the works of Geber published by Berthelot, and especially in the Book of Mercy, whose authenticity appears most certain, this notion of the life of metals is consistently expounded; a regular anthropomorphic theory is applied to mineralogy; not only the idea of ‘generation’ applies to metal, but also the ideas of ‘maturity’ and ‘education’; all these conditions, it is said, are necessarily the same as in the case of a human being. This doctrine is expressed with equal force in the treatise by al-Âbîb, published in the same collection and apparently quite ancient. According to these various alchemists, the formation and the life of metals require time, like our own; to bring the metal in the womb of the earth to its perfect state, which is the state of gold, nature makes a very long time, more than a thousand years; and according to the most wide-spread alchemical tradition, the work of alchemy is to imitate nature, and at the same time to discover more rapid means than hers for the development of the metal.

The anthropomorphic theory of alchemists has one more aspect; it applies to chemical bodies the ideas of life and death, of body and soul, of matter and mind. In this sense the idea of occult forces is very interesting; these subtle, intangible, invisible forces are compared to spiritual forces, the force of the magnet, which attracts iron through other materials, and that of poison, which permeates the organism, are called ‘spiritual forces’ (Berthelot, Geber: ‘Traité de la métri- cordes,’ p. 175). In bodies, substances earthly and gross, and others pure and light; the former are called ‘dead,’ the latter ‘living’; these notions of death and life are also employed in a relative way: e.g. sulphur and arsenic are living when they are mixed with substances inferior to them, such as tale; but they appear earthly and dead when they are united with live mercury (ib. p. 178). In every body, and a fortiori in every combination, it may be supposed that there is a material part, which corresponds to a soul and a body. The soul is infused into the body; its nature is superior to that of the body, refines it, and gives it a kind of immateriality. A common task for chemists consists in giving a soul to each body, by first purifying its souls and bodies, and then infusing into each body the soul which suits it. Geber, still following the idea that there were certain injuries caused by nature, even speaks of ‘restoring’ to the body the soul which ‘has gone out of it’; this is another aspect of a chemical operation; thus, mercury is the soul which suits gold and the other metals. The spirit also is capable of a sort of education; not only must it be fit to unite forcibly with its body, and for that reason be pure, but it must also be firm, it must resist fire, and to this end must, as far as possible, partake of the nature of fire.

In practice, the aim of the alchemist’s efforts is to find the substance, a living substance, ‘elixir’ or spirit, which, when combined with the body of the imperfect metal, previous to its being purified, will change it into perfect metal. Alchemists use various means, and look in various places to find this substance; they do not regard it as exclusively mineral; they even make use of organic bodies in its preparation; they discuss whether it is excre- ment, the body of a stone, the body of a beast, or the body of a man, etc.; it is called ‘the stone’; it is the Philosopher’s stone, the very precious stone.’ This stone is afterwards ground down, and during the grinding it is sprinkled with
water mixed with drugs and simples. The liquid obtained in this way is the 'elixir.'

3. Discussions of the doctrine.—During the course of Arabic literary history, various persons assumed an attitude of opposition to the alchemical doctrine. This opposition led to discussions. It must, however, be stated that the objections raised are in some cases against the study of human bodies and their properties, but only against the assumption peculiar to alchemists, concerning the possibility of the transmutation of metals. In the 3rd cent. A.D. the philosopher al-Kindi declared himself in favour of the alchemists, as an treatise on 'the error of those who think that gold and silver can be obtained otherwise than in their mines,' and another on 'the deceits of alchemists.'

A pupil of al-Kindi, Dubais, took up the cause of the alchemists, however, and wrote two treatises on their science, cited in the Fārābī. Razes composed a 'refutation' of the objections of al-Kindi. Fārābī believed in alchemy, but Avicenna (Ibn Sinā), was opposed to it (see AVICENNA). Tūghrāʾ afterwards defended alchemy against Avicenna.

Avicenna's objection in saying that the seven metals differ in their specific qualities, each of them forming a definite species with real characteristics; Fārābī believed, on the contrary, like the alchemists, that all metals were of the same species, and he considered their qualities merely as accidents, Tūghrāʾ, bringing in the Divine power, observes, in addition, that it is not a question of producing a specific difference in the metal treated, but of making it fit to receive this difference from its Creator. Avicenna also objects, like al-Kindi, that it is incredible that there can be a shorter way of bringing metals to their perfect state than that which is followed by nature.

The other objections brought forward against alchemy are: that no one has ever been pointed out with certainty as having achieved the great work; that it is especially poor people who study alchemy; that alchemists circulate counterfeit gold, and in that way wrong the public, and are liable to punishment by law. This latter accusation applied to the cases in which alchemists succeeded in giving a metal to what they called a dye, i.e. in covering it with a layer which had the appearance and some of the properties of gold. The alchemists replied, weively enough, it is true, to these objections, by saying that this 'dyed' was fast, and would last several centuries.

The cosmogonist Dimishtī (ed. Fraenh, p. 97) and the historian Ibn Bāḥūl (Prolegomena, de Slane's Fr. tr. iii. 207 ff.), opponents of alchemy, speak in an interesting way about alchemists, and relate the objections which were raised against them.

4. Special contribution of Muslims to alchemy.—It is very difficult to determine exactly the share due to Muslims in chemical discoveries. It was, apparently, very slender. The most ancient Arabic works are adaptations of, or commentaries on, Greek works; that of Crates is typical. The discoveries which Western tradition has ascribed to Aelian, Pliny, Dioscorides, alchemical works of silver are not found in the Arabic works placed under this alchemist's name, but only in some Latin pamphlets at the end of the 13th cent.; it seems, therefore, that the admiration felt by the Western peoples for Muslim alchemists is due not so much to their real worth, as to the general custom of looking to the East for masters, especially of the occult sciences.

It is, however, probable, that Muslims made progress in chemistry as applied to medicine, in dyeing, and in the art of enamelling. Al-Kindi, besides others, wrote about colour matters, glaze-making, the processes of removing stains from cloth, and other similar subjects. These particular industries have not yet been studied minutely enough.

Every one knows that our languages are indebted to Arabic chemistry for certain words, which are preserved in various words in modern languages preceding the Arabic article; e.g. alchemy, alembic, aludel, alcohol, elixir. The word alchemy has been derived from χημεία, 'mixture.' Wiedemann has shown that this word originally denoted the very substance and art of accomplishing transmutation, the elixir, and not the sum of the words which help to find it (Wiedemann, Beiträge, ii. p. 351; J. Gildemeister, ZDMG, 1870). The kohl, which has given its name to alcohol, was originally a very fine powder; it is the black powder which Oriental ladies use for blackening round their eyes. The use of the word was generalized and extended to various powders and to liquids. Elixir is said to be derived from Greek ἕλικωρ, 'dry powder' (J. Gildemeister, l.c.); it is possible, however, from the point of view of the etymological form, that an Arabic word, and belongs to the root kasaara, 'to grind,' al-ikāwī being 'the thing ground,' the powder.

LITERATURE.—Berthelot, La Chimie au moyen âge, 1886, p. 1, Essai sur la transmutation des métaux, au moyen âge, Paris, 1898, pt. iii. with the collaboration of O. Houdas, D’Alchimie arabe, 1893; Eilhard Wiedemann, Beiträge zur Geschichte, der Naturwissenschaften, 1864-1903. On the Arabic authors see Brockelmann, Geschichte der arab. Literatur, 2 vol., Weimar and Berlin, 1897-1902. Latin works on alchemy are given in the works from Arabic are found in the following collections: Theatr. Chem., 8 vol., Strasbourg, 1599-1611; Bibliotheca Chemica, Geneva, 1702; Ars usw. per quam chemiam coeunt duo vol., Bille, 1672; Ars chemica, princeps, Bille, 1672. A famous work entitled Pars philosophorum, is found in a collection in the artis usw.; a 'Alchemy' ascribed to Avicenna, Liber.Ab Cat. BIBLIAE VULGATIS, 1897. Box. 0. 1530. DE VAUX.

ALCHEMY (European).—The study of alchemy in Europe is traceable to the schools of Spain. J. Ferguson, in his notes to the 'Catalogue of the Alchemical, Chemical, and Pharmaceutical books of James Young of Kelly and Durris,' notes which form the latest storehouse of information on the history of alchemy in Europe, says, under the head of Michael Scott: 'It was in Spain, to which it had been brought by the Arabs, that the art first found place in Europe' (Bibliotheca Chemica, Glasgow, 1906).

The Khalifate of Cordova reached its highest splendour under the rule of Alhakam III. (A.D. 912-961) and Al-Hakam II. (961-973). The libraries of the rulers, the nobles, and persons of importance, numbering in some cases 400,000 volumes, attracted students from all parts of Europe (Rafael Altamira de Creves, Historia de España, i. 275).

I. Among the first to profit by this revival of learning was Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (999-1003). While still a student in the Abbey of Arville in Anjou, he attracted the attention of Borel, Count of Barcelona. He returned with him to Spain, and is said to have visited Cordova during the reign of Al-Hakam II. It was in the schools of Spain that he studied the sciences of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and chemistry, which he professed on a later date; upon him is based the modern science of magic or wizardry. During the Papacy of John XII. (965-973) he visited Rome in the company of Count Borel and Hatto, Bishop of Vic. He then made the acquaintance of the Emperor Otto I., and was recommended by him to the notice of Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims. By Otto II. (973-983) he was
apPOINTED Abb O of Bobbio. Driven from Bobbio by the neighbouring nobles, he returned to Rheims, where he taught the 'whole range of human science.' On the degradation of Arnulf, he was made Archbishop of Rheims in 991. Forced to make his way to Spain, he took refuge at the Court of Otho III. (983–1002), and by his influence in 996 he became Archbishop of Ravenna. In the following year he succeeded to the Papacy. Thus by the close of the 10th cent. the learning of Spain was introduced into France and Italy and the Imperial Court (Milman, Lat. Chr. ii. pp. 331–345).

2. The influence of Gerbert did not end with his death. His pupil, Fulbert of Chartres (1007–1028), continued his work. Adelmannus, Bishop of Brescia, in a letter to Berengarius, speaks of their joint studies 'in Academia Carnotensi, sub nostro illo venerabili Socrate, nemen Fulberto' (Bar. Ann. Eccl. 1004, 6). The Schools of Berengarius in Tours and Angers to some extent carried on the same work. Behind the theoretical controversy of the early Scholasticism of the 11th cent., the tradition of the wide learning of Gerbert may be traced as one cause of the recognition of the philosophical studies of Spain in the 12th cent. (Cobbe, 'The Church and the Papacy in the 12th cent.,' ed. 1862, ch. iv. Ed. 1893, ch. ii.).

3. The fall of the Khalifate of Cordova in 1013 did not check the progress of learning in Spain. The kings of Seville, Cordova, Malaga, Granada, Almeria, Denia, Zaragoza, Toledo, and Badajos vied one with another in form and size they gave to philosophy and science. The studies of the former period were continued, and special attention was given to the natural sciences—medicine, chemistry, botany, and astronomy. Ibn al-Baitar of Malaga made a large collection of minerals and plants, and under the Muwahhid Khalif Ya'qub al-Mansur (1196) the Giralda of Seville became the chief observatory in Europe. In philosophy, Averroes of Cordova (1126–1190) won a European reputation as the commentator of Aristotle and Plato.

4. The conquest of Toledo by Alfonso vi. of Castile in 1085 was another step in the propagation of the Arabic learning in Europe. A school of translators was founded at Toledo which reached the height of its fame in the reign of Alfonso vii. (1130–150). Among those who were attracted to Spain were Hermann of Dalmatia and Hermann of Germany, Gerard of Cremona, the Englishmen Daniel of Morlay, Robert the Archdeacon, and Matthew Scott (Kaf. Almir. 1203). Altamira Crevea, op. cit. i. 484–514). It was in 1182 that Robert Castrensis translated the Liber de compositione Alchemiae, associated with the names of Hâlid and Morienus. To the same period belongs the teaching of Alain de Lille, so called 'Doctor universalis,' who had been a monk at Clairvaux, and was afterwards Bishop of Aixerre.

5. Michael Scott was among the first to bring alchemy into prominence in Europe under the patronage of Frederick ii. (1194–1250). He dedicated his Historia to Frederick in 1239. He studied Arabic in Sicily, and spent ten years in Spain. At Toledo he translated Aristotle's treatise On Natural History from the Arabic, with the help of a Jew. In 1217 he translated an Arabic work on the sphere. This is a link with the studies of Gerbert, who in a letter to Remigius, a monk of Trèves, excuses himself for not sending a sphere, owing to his time being occupied with civil business.

From Toledo he went to Cordova; in 1220 he returned to Sicily, and in 1229 he was at Oxford. He died in 1235. Ferguson says of him:

'At Toledo he learnt magic for which the city was famous—natural magic or experimental physics and pugnac, as well as black magic, involving the invocation of the infernal powers. There, too, he experimented in Alchemy' (Bibl. Chem., art. Michael Scott).

His Liber de Alchemiae is the result of these studies.

6. Albert the Great has the merit of having brought the study of alchemy as a branch of philosophy into touch with the progress of the Middle Ages. The Great Chronicle of Belgium in 1480 speaks of him as 'magnus in magia, major in philosophia, maximus in theologia.' Born at Lausingen in Swabia, he studied at Paris and Padua, and in the early part of the 13th cent. taught in the Schools at Cologne. In 1228 he was called to Paris, but after three years he returned to Cologne. He was the most distinguished amongst the Dominicans of Germany. In 1260 he was summoned to Rome by Pope Alexander iv., and was made Bishop of Ratisbon. He resigned the see after three years, and retired again to his studies and his lectures at Cologne, where he died in 1280.

He was the master of Thomas Aquinas (Milman, Lat. Chr. ix. 1277, 264, cit. op. cit. vol. xxxvii.) is a practical treatise on the transmutation of metals, the structure of furnaces, and the various methods to be used in the study of alchemy. The Preface is valuable as indicating the wide-spread interest which was then shown by all classes in the study:

'Inveni multos praeviditos litteratos, Abbates, Prepositos, Canonicos, Medicos, et illusteres, qui pro re ore nuncius sequiri expensas atque labores, et tamen desiderio multae curae nescient expensas atque labores, et tamen desiderio multae curae nescient.' (Col. de Alch., Prest.).

He considers it a true art:

'Probat artem Alchemiam esse veram' (Cec. c. 3).

He believes all metals can be transmuted into gold and silver, represented in astrological terms as Sun and Moon:

'Et ut breviter dixam, omnia metallia transsubstantiantur in Solem et Lunam' (ib. c. 10).

He speaks of the Elixir:

'Et quia eam spiritualem et tinctura quae dicitur Elixir arabice, fermentum latine' (ib. c. 10).

Fermentation and chemical reaction seem to be used as equivalent terms.

7. Thomas Aquinas was the pupil of Albert the Great at Cologne and at Paris. He, like his master, was a member of the Dominican Order. He graduated at Paris, and taught not only at Cologne under Albert, but at Paris, at Rome, and at other cities in Italy. He refused the Archbishopric of Naples, and died at the Abbey of Fossa Nuova near Piperno on his way to the Council of Lyons in 1274. Ferguson, in his Bibl. Chem., discusses the authenticity of the Theurum Alchomiae secretissimae ad fratrem Reinaldum which is attributed to him, and leaves it an open question. The Summa contains one or two passages which directly or indirectly refer to alchemy, although his similes are drawn from animal and plant life rather than from the mineral world. The principle of the transmutation of metals may be inferred from one of the earliest definitions of the Summa:

'Respaddo concidendum quod Deus est omnino immutabilis, omnis autem creatura aliquid modo est mutabilis. Secundum est enim, quod mutable potest aliquid diei dupliciter. Uno modo per potentiam, quae in ipso est. Allo modo per potentiam, quae in altero est' (Summa, pt. i. qs. ix. art. i.).

God alone is immutable; all else is mutable, in different ways. In one place Aquinas refers to the relation that exists between the minerals and the stars:

'Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod effectus alicuius inventur assimilari causa agenti dupiliter. Uno modo concidendum

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eandem speciem, ut homo generatus ab homine, et ignis ab igne. Alio modo secundum virtualem...
 Westminster, after studying the art for thirty years, worked at Westminster in the reign of Edward III.

The De considerationibus quinque essentiae, the Speculum alchemiae, the Speculum secretorum, the Secretum secretorum naturae de laude lapidis Philosophorum, the Semita recta alchemica, and Theesaurus philosophorum, were published in Latin (Little, 'The Grey Friars in Oxford', Oxf. Hist. Soc. Publ. vol. xx. pp. 191-211).

9. The most prominent names among the alchemists of the last part of the 13th century are Remondus Lullius and Arnold of Villanova. The former of these, the Raymond Lully of the later English alchemists, was born of noble parentage in Catalonia, and held, in his early years, a high position in the Court of Aragon. Disappointed in his romantic attachment, he announced the errors, and gave himself up to a life of study and mission work in Africa. His work witnesses to a remarkable combination of spiritual devotion and scientific research, with a passionate enthusiasm for the conversion of the Moors. He devoted himself at first to the study of Arabic. He undertook his first mission to Africa in 1271, but met with little success. He was at Paris in 1281, where he became acquainted with Arnold Villanova. In 1287 he visited Rome, and in 1291 Montpellier. During these years he was to be found amongst the Franciscans, and in 1291 he was received into the Order. His works, and especially his Speculum alchemiae artis ac philosophiae reconditarum traduntur, says that he converted 22 tons of quicksilver, lead, and tin into gold. The tradition is that he was brought from Rome by Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, and that he coined the rose-nobles for Edward III., but does not seem to rest on historical fact (Ferguson, Bibl. Chem.).

Arnold of Villanova, his contemporary, was probably also a Spaniard. He was born in 1245, and died in 1310. He studied amongst the Arabs of Spain; and it is stated, on the authority of John André, that he succeeded in the genuine conversion of iron bars into pure gold at Rome (Bibl. Chem. p. 95). At least these alchemists of the 13th century, in their researches seem to have discovered the secret of a long and useful and strenuous life. Albert the Great died at the age of 97, Roger Bacon at about 87, Raymond Lully at 80, and Arnold Villanova at 65, at a period when the average life was not so long as it is now.

10. The most distinguished pupil of Lully and Villanova was Pope John XXII. He also lived to the age of 90. He worked at alchemy in the Papal palace at Avignon, and is said to have left behind him 25,000,000 florins. At the same time he wrote a letter in which he censured the black magic which was practiced 'in nostra cura' by certain clergy. —Joannes de Lemovicis, 'Jacobus dictus Brabantinus,' and a barber-surgeon, described as 'Joannes de Amanto, medicus,' or, in another place, 'barberius' (Raynaud, Ann. Eccl. 1317, 53).

12. The practice of the art of alchemy was continued throughout Europe in the 14th cent. on the lines laid down by the masters of the 13th cent. John Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, after studying the art for thirty years, worked at Westminster in the reign of Edward III. (1297-1297).
Rupecissa, or Jean de Roquetaillade, was a Franciscan of Aurillac in Aquitaine. He was imprisoned by Innocent VI in 1356-1357. He quotes Geber, Lullius, and Villanovan. In his Liber lucis is the picture of a furnace, in which was practised 'the incanulation of the philosophic egg whence issued the marvellous quinta essentia.' Petrus Bonus of Ferrara was the author of the Preciosa novella de Thesauru ac pretiosissimo Philosophorum Lapide. It was written in 1390, and published at Venice in 1546. The term 'fermentum,' used by Albert the Great as the Latin of the Greek duvate, is applied by Petrus Bonus to the philosopher's stone. It is also used as the means of perfecting it:

'Aput philosophorum fermentum duplicitor videtur: uno modo ipsa lapis philosophorum et suis elementis composita, adeo completus in comparationes ad metalla; alter modo illud quod est perfectionis lapis et ipsum completus.'

The chemical reactions due to it are compared with the working of yeast:

'Verde primo modo dicimus quod sic fermentum pastas vincit pastam et ad se convertit semper, sint et lacis contortas, ad metalla reliqua. Et sic contus par fermenti pastae habet convertit partes pastae et non convertit, sicut et lapis habet convertit pluris partes metalorum ad se, et non converts.' (Petrus Bonus, op. p. Schittenberger, On Fermentation, p. 139.)

His epitaph says of him:

'Bona sua in pauperes distribuenda collo-

13. The 16th cent. saw a further development of alchemy into the more exact sciences of chemistry and medicine. Paracelsus, in his student wanderings an alchemist, became by practice a physician, by experience an adept and wizard, scepetic and critic. He wreaked his work by his bombast, his lies by his self-indulgence. At the same time, to use Browning's words, 'the title of Paracelsus to be considered the father of modern chemistry is indisputable.' Gerardus Vossius says of him: 'Nobilissimum medicinae partem, diu seplatum avorum etate, quasi ab orco revocavit Th. Paracelsus' (de Philosopha et Phil. sectis, ix. 9). It appears also from his treatise de Philobotomia that he had discovered the circulation of the blood. Lavater says that 'though an astrological enthusiast,' he was 'a man of prodigious genius' (de Natura Rurum, Holcroft's tr., vol. iii. p. 179). There is a reference to his use of laudanum on the evidence of his secretary, Oporinus:

'Alii illud quod in capite habuisset, ab ipso Azzoth appellatum, medicinae fulis preustissimam aut lapidem Philosophorum putaret' (Melch. Adum. A Zuil.uldum sword was no laughing matter in those days, and it is now a material feature in the popular idea; to Azoth was simply 'laudanum suum.' But in his time he was commonly believed to possess the double tincture—the power of curing diseases and transmuting metals. Oporinus often witnessed, as he declares, both these effects, as did also Franciscus, the servent of Paracelsus, who, in a letter to Neander, describes a successful projection at which he was present, and the results of which, good golden ingots, were confided to his keeping.'

Paracelsus, otherwise Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus ab Hofheim, was born at Einsiedeln in 1493. He studied medicine under his father at Villach, and alchemy under Trithem, Bishop of Spanheim, at Würzburg. The character of his studies at Würzburg is best seen in the letter dedicatory, written in 1510, by Agrippa to Trithem:

'Quaam super tecum, R. P. in consobro tuo apud Herbipolium (Würzburg) aliquando conversatus, multa de chymia, multa de magia, multa de cabalistica, castcharque quae adhibu in occulto dilettescant, arcana scientiae atque arthus una contulissimae,' etc.

It was partly in rebellion against these traditional methods, partly to gain as wide an experience as possible, that Paracelsus spent his early life in travel:

'Patria auxilium primum, deinde proprium industria doctissimae viros in Germania, Italia, Gallia, Hispania, allisque Europae regionibus, nactus est profectores' (Melch. Adam, in Vit. Germ. Medic.). The passage illustrates the wide interest in alchemy throughout Europe at the close of the 15th century.

Under the patronage of Sigismund Fugger, Paracelsus learnt much in the mines of Bohemia, and himself speaks of his researches into folklore:

'Ecce anatomem adolescentem difficilissimi Hineris hand piget, ut venustam saltem puellam vel feminam sapientia' (Definitiones Septem art. c. quinto iii. 1527.: 'de peregrinationibus et exile.'

In 1526 he was called to a chair of physic and surgery at Basel. Here his over-bold denunciation of Avicenna and Galen made him many enemies. In 1528 his fall was brought about in the case of a canon of Basel named Liechentfels. This man was cured by Paracelsus, but refused to pay the recognized fee. His refusal was supported by the magistrates, and Paracelsus was ejected. He was at Nuremberg in 1529, at St. Gall in 1531, at Pfeffers in 1535, and at Augsburg in 1536. He then visited Moravia, Arabia, and Hungary. In 1538, when at Villach, he dedicated his 'Chronicle' to the States of Carinthia, in gratitude for the many kindnesses with which they had honoured his father. He died at Salzburg in 1541, at the early age of 48. He seems to have been generous in the practice of medicine. His epitaph says of him: 'Bona sua in pauperes distribuenda collo-
candaque erogavit.' A sceptic and fierce critic in alchemy, he appears to have been no less so in theology. Quenstedt says of him: 'Nec tantum nove medicina, verum etiam nove theologice autor est' (De Patr. Doct.). Delrio places him among those who were: 'partim atheos, partim hereticos' (Disquis. Magist. i. 8). At the same time, he is justified in the last words he places in the mouth of Paracelsus:

"If I stoop
Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
It is for a time; I press God’s lamp
Close to my breast; its splendour, soon or late,
Will turn and transmute the weeds to roses,
I shall kneel and kiss the feet of the rose."

You understand me? I have said enough?"

An inventory taken at his death shows that the only books he left were the Bible, the New Testament, the Commentaries of St. Jerome on the Gospels, a printed volume on medicine, and seven manuscripts. His works were published by F. Bitianius in 3 vols. fol. in 1658; the Hermetic and Alchemical writings by A. E. Waite in 2 vols. in 1614.

Jules Anger says of him: 'He is the pioneer of modern chemists, and the prophet of a revolution in general science' (Encyc. Brit. art. 'Alchemy'). Browning sums up his study of Paracelsus in the words:

'Meanwhile, I have done well, though not all well.
As yet men cannot do without concept;
'Their for their good, and therefore fit while
Treated, rejected the weak, and scorn the false,
Rather than praise the strong and true, in me:
But after, they will know me.'

(Paracelsus, 1835, and notes.)

The new influence in the 16th cent. is shown by the violent death of Beuther, who was alchemist to the Elector Augustus of Saxony from 1575 to 1582, and in the title of Libavius' great work published in 1595—Alchymia recognita, emedita, et aucta. It has been called the 'first text-book of chemistry.' It contains a chapter on the philosopher's stone. In England, Thomas Charnock published his Secretary of Philosophy in 1587, his Exigus of Alchemy in 1572, and his Memorandum in 1574. He was instructed in the use of gold-making powder by Bird, who received it from Ripley. It was only those who were well-to-do who could be on these experiments. The furnace alone cost Charnock 30l., or £150. The Alchemical Testament of John Gybbys of Exeter in the time of Elizabeth has been published by James O. Halliwell (London, 1854).

There does not seem to have been much interest taken at this time in Oxford, early part of the century. The Day Book of John Donne in 1520 contains but few references to alchemical works. There is one copy of the Commentum Arnoldi de Villanovae (fol. 5, a. 1); there are three copies of a Chirurgamia de manu (fol. 1. a. 1, s. b. 2, 13. a. 1); and two copies of Albertus, de mineralibus (13. a. 1, 13. b. 2). There is also a copy of Theoriae planetarum (15. b. 1) (Fletcher, Collectanea Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. v. p. 71 ff.). In the catalogue of books belonging to William Cyn, drawn up by his executor, Linaec, in the same year, there is the same absence of such books (Mont. Burrows, Collect. Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. xvi. p. 317 ff.). Oxford had at this time other interests, especially the new learning associated with the names of Groen, Linaec, Foxe, and others. The training of Linaec, the founder of the English College of Physicians, the friend of Politian and Chalcondylas, and the great Venetian publisher, Aldus Manutius, is in marked contrast to the restless wanderer of Paracelsus.

14. It was long before the new sciences cut themselves altogether adrift from the ideas of the alchemists. In the early part of the 17th cent. the brotherhood of the Hermetic philosophers known as the Rosicrucians (wh. see) brought the occult mysteries of the earlier alchemists again into notice. The brotherhood claimed descent from Christian Rosencreutz in 1459; but no evidence for this exists beyond their own publications. The controversy centred round a work entitled, Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz anno 1483, written by Johann Valentin Andreæ in 1616, and published at Strasburg. Among the most prominent of the Rosicrucian brotherhood, and one of Michael Maier, physician to the Emperor Rudolph II. (1576—1612), he published Examen fuscorum Pseudochymicorum in 1617, Atlanticus fugiens in 1618, Symbola aureae mensae in 1617, and the Tripus aureus containing three treatises, "Rationale Valentinae Practica ex Germania, the Creda Miki seu Ordinale of Thomas Norton, and the Testamentum of Cremer, Abbot of Westminster. Robert Fludd introduced the brotherhood to the notice of English physicians. Born in Kent in 1574, he matriculated at St. John's, Oxford, on November 10, 1592, and took his M.A. degree in 1598. One of the three questions discussed by him for Inception in Medicine in 1605 was: 'Chymicum extractum minus molestiae et periculo affert quam quod interior et naturale.' (Reg. Univ. Oxon. Soc. vol. ii. pt. i. 193, ii. 191, iii. 194). In the same year is discussed in Comitisi: 'Incantatio non valet ad curam morbi.' Fludd went abroad and studied the works of Paracelsus and the mysteries of the Rosicrucians. On his return he practised as a physician in London, and died in 1637.

The Hon. Robert Boyle, one of the first promoters of modern chemistry, and a leading member of the Royal Society on its incorporation in 1662, believed in the transmutation of metals. In 1659 he brought to Oxford the noted chemist and Rosicrucian, Peter Stthael of Strasburg. Anthony Wood began a 'course of chemistry' under him April 23, 1663, paying 50s. in advance, and the balance of £3. at the conclusion of the class, May 30, 1663. 'A. W. got some knowledge and experience; but his mind was still busy after antiquities and music.' Among the members of this famous chemistry class at Oxford was 'John Lock, a man of turbulent spirits, eloporous, and never contented' and 'Mr. Orographer Wren, afterwards a great knight, and an eminent virtuoso.' In 1664, Mr. Stthael was called away to London, and became operator to the Royal Society; and continuing there till 1670, he returned to Oxford in November.


The Rosicrucian ideas and alchemical methods survived to some extent at Oxford. Elias Ashmole was the contemporary of Robert Boyle at Oxford, but as a member of Brazenose it may be deemed as 'a sojourner.' In 1650 he edited a work of Dr. John Dee, who died c. 1608, of whom Wood says: 'I have heard some say that he was a mere mountebank in his profession' ('Wood's Life and Times, Oxf. Hist. Soc. vol. xix. p. 306). In 1654, Ashmole wrote The Way to Blies in three books. 'The author says that motion is the father of heat, and doth yet beget and purchase it of nothing, theoretically anticipating modern doctrines' (Bolton, Catalogue, 84, in loc. It treated the Philosopher's Stone. In 1677 he offered his curios and MSS. to the University, on the condition that it would build a Museum and Chemical Laboratory. The foundation-stone was laid September 14, 1679, and the building was finished March 30, 1682—1684.
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The inscription describes this first public laboratory in Oxford:

‘Museum Ashmoleanum: Schola Naturalis Historiae: Officina Chemicorum.’ The three largest rooms were public; ‘The University’s private chamber’ was in a building to the rear. This middle room is the School of Natural History, where the professor of chemistry Dr. Robert Boyle, reads three times a week. ‘The lower room, a cellar, ... is the Laboratory, perchance one of the most beautiful and useful in the world’ (L. Costes, ‘Museum Ashmoleanum,’ 3rd ed., vol. xvi. p. 55).

It was thus under the direction of Ashmole, perhaps the last of the Oxford alchemists, that the study of chemistry was placed on a sound and public footing. Ashmole died in June 1692, a year after Robert Boyle.

In the sister University, at the same period, Newton, who became Fellow of Trinity in 1667, directed his studies for some little time to alchemical methods, and investigated the Philosopher’s Stone. But at Cambridge, as at Oxford, the newer scientific methods set aside the dreams and theories of the older alchemists, and opened the way to modern chemistry.

15. In the 18th cent. alchemy was finally discarded in the person of Dr. Price of Guildford, the last of the alchemists, a distinguished amateur chemist, and Fellow of the Royal Society. In May 1783 he professed to transmute mercury into silver and gold in the presence of a select company. Several of the members spent three months in investigating the propositions of George III., and Price was made M.D. of Oxford. The Royal Society then pressed him to repeat the experiments in their presence. He hesitated, refused, and only on the pressure of the President, Sir Joseph Banks, was last reluctantly consented. He withdrew to Guildford, prepared an ample amount of laurel water, and then began to manufacture his projection powder. On the 3rd of August he invited the Royal Society to Guildford. On the morrow he was invited to the reignitation. He received them, and then committed suicide in their presence.

In Germany, alchemy was laughed out in the person of Semler. He received the ‘Salt of Life’ from Baron Hirschen, and, treating it as the Philosopher’s Stone, was surprised to find gold deposited in the crucible. Klaproth analyzed the ‘Salt of Life,’ and found it to consist of Glauber’s salt and sulphate of magnesia. In the Salt sent by Semler, Klaproth discovered gold, though not in combination. Klaproth again consented to analyze Semler’s solution before the Court, when, instead of gold he found a kind of brass called tombac. On further investigation, it was disclosed that Semler’s old servant, eager to honour his master, had slipped pieces of gold leaf into Semler’s chemical mixtures. The servant entrusted the secret to his wife, that in his absence she might purchase the gold leaf as before. She, however, bought brass instead of gold, and spent the balance on drink. In this way alchemy was laughed out of Germany (Chambers, Book of Days, i. 602).

The theories of the alchemists did not die out at once. They were still held in the close of the 18th century. The Antiquary says that Dosterriswivel ‘exhibits himself as a perfect charlatan—talks of the magisterium—of sympathies and anti-sympathies—of the dividing and undividing—and all the trumpery with which the Rosicrucians cheated a darker age, and which, to our eternal disgrace, has been revived under the garb of chemists’ (vol. ii. p. 185).

The Lives of the Adepts in Alchemical Philosophy was published in London in 1814, and contained reports and extracts of many works on alchemy. Bulwer Lytton’s Satan was written in 1842 as a study in the mysteries of the Rosicrucians.—George Eliot in 1871 wrote: ‘Drugs, ‘the first hypothesis of practical chemistry that set on one side the theories of the alchemists:

The observation of the Law of Equivalents and the Law of Multiples ‘led to the idea that the elementary bodies are made up of indivisible particles called atoms, each having a constant weight peculiar to itself; and that chemical combination takes place by the juxtaposition of these atoms, 1 to 1, 1 to 2, 1 to 3, and so forth. This is the atomic hypothesis of Dalton’ (W. H. Wau, Inorganic Chemistry, 1853, p. 207).

Immutability has been the recognized law of the elements:

‘Our molecules, on the other hand, are unalterable by way of the processes which go on in the present state of things, and every individual of each species is of exact uniform mass and magnitude. ... In speculating on the cause of this equality, we are thereby led to imagine that the composition of each atom is exactly fixed, and that no other is possible.’ (L. F. S. Hume, Chemical Philosophy, London, 1876, p. vii.) In treating of the Periodic Law and Mendeleev’s Table, he says: ‘This table requires a few remarks on the first principles from which it may ultimately be built, namely, the idea of a fixed number of elements, as, for instance, copper, silver, gold, for which a place cannot readily be found. Silver is undoubtedly said of molecules identical in all respects with our own?’ (Clark-Maxwell, Theory of Heat, 1885, p. 331).

Thus, under the most advanced theory of Chemistry and Physics in the 19th cent., the transmutation of elements was inconceivable. Yet there were masters of chemical philosophy who entered a caution against the exclusion of possibilities.

Diderot writes: ‘The molecular theory has been adopted in a somewhat rigid form, not by reason of any special conviction of my own regarding its permanence as a scientific truth, but because I am satisfied by long experience that it may be of use, and I cannot dispute its almost indispensable place in the hands of teachers. ... In the hands of the public, it has no value whatever, as is shown by the fact that it is not very closely, with sodium, whilst it is also connected with copper on the one hand and with mercury on the other. Gold again is unquestionably traded at 200 shells to which it is most nearly related exhibit even atomicity’ (p. 543). There still remained something behind which was not altogether clear, and this, too, in the indefinitely divisible nature of gold and gold.

17. The discoveries of the Becquerel rays and the isolation of the element radium by M. and Mme. Curie in the opening years of the 20th cent. have opened up far-reaching possibilities, and have induced many leading chemists to conceive the idea of the transmutation of the elements. At the Leicestershire Meeting of the British Association on Aug. 1, 1907, Lord Kelvin challenged these inferences. He maintained that it was almost absolutely certain that there are many different kinds of atom, each eternally invariable in its own specific quality, and that different kinds of atoms, as, for instance, copper, silver, gold, for which a place cannot readily be found. Silver is undoubtedly said of molecules identical in all respects with our own?’ (Clark-Maxwell, Theory of Heat, 1885, p. 331).

The discussion on 3rd Aug. 1907 was an event in the history of chemical science. Professor Rutherford, in opening the debate, held that the discovery of the electron had not as yet disproved the atomic theory. All attempts to find an electron with a positive charge of electricity had failed. ‘... Though we can liberate the electrons of matter very freely, there is no evidence that the liberation of the electron tends to the integration of an atom.’ Sir William Ramsey, as a chemist, disagreed with Lord Kelvin and Professor Rutherford.

The latter had said that there was no evidence that the loss of electrons altered the atom. Perhaps not. But there was evidence that the gain of electrons did alter the atom. Without placing radium hermetically closed in a glass vessel, the electrons, emanating from the radium through the glass, and falling on a nickel bar placed in juxtaposition, hit the atom after a certain time, of covering the bar with a film of radioactive matter, which could be separated by chemical treatment. His conclusion was that some kind of matter, converting the nickel into some other substance, this being characterised by its radioactivity. In his reply, said that the discovery of the properties of radium had been most suggestive, and had opened our eyes to other discoveries, never suspected or thought of. When Ramsey then announced a further discovery. He had proved that when radium was isolated in a bottle, after a lapse of time it gave off an emanation, and the new radium again that emanation was isolated, it produced helium and something else, which is conjectured on possible grounds to
be lead. Again, when that emanation was dissolved in copper solution it produced the new element called argon, but now, when the radium emanation was dissolved in water, the resulting product was of the nature of helium, but its kindred element neon. These marvellous properties of radium thus described by Sir William Ramsay seem almost like the ancient dreams of the alchemists. Has it all been reserved for the chemists of the 20th cent. to find in radium the Philosopher's Stone, and to prove it to have the power of turning base metals into gold?


**TOMAS THOMAS.**

**ALCHERINGA.**—The name applied by the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes of Central Australia to the mythical past in which their ancestors were formed, and their ceremonies and regulations were instituted. According to Spencer-Gillen (3: 164), the word ancestor is the equivalent of the Hermetic word kahor (not of the Adept of Thelema), and is associated with the term 'Dreamer.' Analogous beliefs are found in other tribes to the north of the Arunta; the Warramunga term corresponding to Alcheringa is Huktu.

1. In the Alcheringa existed at the outset, according to the Arunta myth, the ancestors whose spirits they regard as incarnated in the men of the present day; they were at least semi-human, but possessed more than human powers, and are credited with the formation of natural features such as the Macdonnell Ranges; in the Alcheringa period these amorphous inapertuwa, who were transformed into human beings and later underwent initiation ceremonies, travelled over the country in totem companies, each carrying a churinga (see AUSTRALIANS), and at the spots where they camped are the present okmanikili, or local totem centres. The Arunta distinguish four Alcheringa periods: (a) creation of man from the inapertuwa; (b) institution of circumcision; (c) institution of the mica opera; (d) regulations regarding marriage. Originally the country was covered with salt water, which was withdrawn towards the north; two ungambukula (= self-existing?) in the western shell went the east south; the knives they released the half-formed arms and legs, slit the eyelids and so on; after circumcising the men they became lizards. Some of the uncircumcised men were eaten by orunche (evil spirits), who were killed by men of the lizard totem. In the next two stages an okmhrabala (sage) introduced circumcision with the stone knife, and taught the little hawk totem group to perform the operation; they also formed the four intermarrying classes, but without associating them with marriage regulations. More inapertuwa were produced by the wild cat totem instituted the mica ceremony, and the order of the initiation ceremonies was arranged. Finally, the Emu people introduced the present marriage restrictions. According to the Unmatjera and Kaitish, the inintintu (the Arunta inapertuwa) were formed into human beings by an old crow; he returned to get his stone knife with which to circumcise them, and in his absence two lizard men from the south circumcised and subcruised the men and performed the corresponding operation on the women. Another Kaitish tradition makes the transformers two boys to whom Atnata (a god) sent down stone knives. Some of the ancestors were men (etunts) when they were first formed. In the Kaitish tribe the travels of the groups of totemic ancestors are almost wanting, or possibly forgotten; the various spots are said to have been peopled by one or two ancestors, who sometimes carried churinga.

2. The Urubunna, the neighbours of the Arunta on the other side, also have their mythic period, named Ularak; the ancestors of the totemic groups were semi-human and lived on the earth or beneath it; they had superhuman powers, and each totem group at the present day were few in number, and there is no myth of the churinga being carried. The Urubunna belief thus differs widely from that of the Arunta and Kaitish, and comes near that of the Warramunga, and so on. The semi-human totemic ancestors of each totem group at the present day were few in number, and there is no myth of the churinga being carried. The Urubunna belief thus differs widely from that of the Arunta and Kaitish, and comes near that of the Warramunga, and so on. The semi-human totemic ancestors of each totem group at the present day were few in number, and there is no myth of the churinga being carried. The Urubunna belief thus differs widely from that of the Arunta and Kaitish, and comes near that of the Warramunga, and so on. The semi-human totemic ancestors of each totem group at the present day were few in number, and there is no myth of the churinga being carried. The Urubunna belief thus differs widely from that of the Arunta and Kaitish, and comes near that of the Warramunga, and so on.

3. The Unmatjera hold that every totemic ancestor had his class as well as his totem; the totem changes in their belief, as in that of the Arunta, in successive incarnations, the class seldom or never.

4. The Warramunga, Walpari, Tjungill, and other tribes held that every one is the incarnation of a Wilgara ancestor; but these latter are regarded as having been fully formed men, and all the members of a totemic group at the present day are looked on as the descendants of one ancestor who wandered over the country leaving spirit children in trees and rocks; they believe that if a woman strikes one of these trees with an axe, the spirit child will enter her body. The ancestor began his travels under ground, and then came up to the present world. When the ancestors of a man first appeared, the totem stories were told, and the spiritia of the group engaged in feasting. These beliefs are shared by the Umbaia and Gnsuni, but the latter hold that women have no mounia, or spirit part, consequently spirit female children, though they exist, do not take human form. The Bimbingsa hold that one totemic ancestor was the founder of a group, and left Uljani spirits which eminated from his own body.

5. In the Arunta tribe at the present day a man marries a woman of his own or any other totem; in the other tribes totemic exogamy is enforced. Tradition says that in the Alcheringa times men invariably married women of their own totem; the classes, too, were originally non-exogamous, and the present regulations came down from the north. It is obvious clear that the knowns of the Tjingu are from north to south corresponds with the facts; but there is much division of opinion as to the value of the remainder of the myths. They are treated as mere atiological myths by Andrew Lang and others, as genuine historical traditions by Spencer and others. It seems clear that some part of them cannot be historically true; for the totem groups are represented as living exclusively upon their totems; and some of these, such as gusubs and plants, are not in season for more than a portion of the year.

**LITERATURE.**—Spencer-Gillen, Native Tribes, 1899, pp. 119-127, 387-429, Northern Tribes, 1904, pp. 145-175, etc.; FL xlvi. 493-533, gives the views of the Southern Arunta. For remarks on the Alcheringa legends see Lang, Social, 1903, and Secret of the Torn; Durbridge's art. in ASoc iii. (1903) 50, etc.; we also Van Gennep, Mythes et Legendes d'Australie, 1906, p. xlvii. T. THOMAS.
ALCOHOL.
The use of alcohol in some form or other has been familiar to man from a very early period in his race-existence; in all ages of which we have any record, in all climates, amongst tribes of the most varied degrees of culture, it has been used and still is an agent with marked effects on the individual and the race. This name is an Arabic origin (al-kohl, 'collyrium,' the fine powder used to stain the eyelids).

Alcohol, as we know it in ordinary use, is properly named 'ethyl alcohol,' and is one of the series distinguished in their properties from one another by their boiling point, their specific gravity, and their poisonous effects—consisting of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen. The difference between their names and chemical forms are—Methyl alcohol (CH₃OH), ethyl alcohol (C₂H₅OH), propyl alcohol of the type C₃H₇OH, butyl alcohol (C₄H₉OH), and amyl alcohol (C₅H₁₁OH). Methyl alcohol is obtained from distillation of wood, and, being nauseous in taste, it is added to ethyl alcohol, so that the latter may be sold for industrial purposes without tax as methylated spirits. Fuel oil contains anil and ethyl alcohol as well as other by-products of fermentation, and is usually present along with other analogous substances in distilled alcoholic liquors; but as their amount is small and their action subsidiary, they will not be further referred to.

Alcohol is formed from sugar by the action of the yeast-fungus, a unicellular organism which excites fermentation in saccharine solutions. A molecule of sugar is thus split up into alcohol and carbonic acid (along with some collateral products). The general limit of the alcoholic liquor which is thus formed (apart from the amount of sugar present) when alcohol reaches a strength of 16 p.c. by volume, it stops further fermentation. Most 'natural' wines, such as those called only from 8 to 12 p.c. alcohol, as it is rarely that the grape-juice is sugary enough to allow of the formation of alcohol to the highest possible extent. Stronger wines, such as port and sherry, are 'fortified' by the addition of alcohol. It should be noted that mankind has in all ages made naturally fermented drinks from any available material. By more complicated processes, beer or ale is produced either from barley-malt or some substitute, the strength in alcohol varying from 3 p.c. or less up to 8 or 9 p.c. The strongest drinks, such as brandy, whisky, rum, gin, and liqueurs, are manufactured with the aid of distillation.

1. Physiological effects of alcohol. Alcohol is a stimulant in a dose proportional, that is, for the soft plastic material which is the essential constituent of every one of the minute cells that make up living organisms, whether animal or vegetable. Its poisonous effect in very dilute solution is easily shown on animals in the form of the experiment of Kohn, 1898, 'Pathology of Alcoholism.' In Kelyneck's 'Drink Problem,' pp. 52-66, and the more finely organized cells are most susceptible (Overton, 'Studien über die Narkose, Jena, 1901'). Let us briefly trace the effects of alcohol when taken into the human body in moderate quantity.

(1) With the feeling of warmth in the stomach, there is an increased secretion of gastric juice such as is produced by any irritant. Of the two constituents of the gastric juice, pepsin as the hydrochloric acid that is thus secreted, and recent research indicates that the digestive quality of the secretion depends very largely on the nature of the stimulus. Hence it is probable that the gastrin is but an auxiliary and digestive aid. By quickening the movements of the stomach and intestines, it helps the expulsion of gases. If taken in concentrated form or in too great quantity, it decidedly retards digestion, and frequent repetition of such doses is apt to bring on gastritis.

(2) Alcohol passes in about 15 minutes into the blood and lymph vessels, and is thus rapidly diffused through the various tissues; it forms a compound with the colouring matter of the blood which takes up and gives off oxygen less readily (Woodhead, Lc. p. 57). Hence the normal changes in the tissue cells are interfered with, and this is one of the causes of the accumulation of fat in certain alcoholic states. The waste products are apt to be retained too long by the cells.

(3) The nerve-cells of the brain, the most highly and delicately organized, are also early affected. Largest numbers of pyecnometric experiments under conditions of the greatest accuracy prove that alcohol in small dietetic doses exercises a distinctly paralyzing effect on the working of the brain. Some mental processes are quickened for a short time, and then a retarding effect shows itself, which is prolonged and much more than cancels the apparent beneficial result. With the early facility there is apt to be loss of accuracy (Horsley, 'Effects of Alcohol on the Human Brain,' Brit. Journ. of Inebriety, 1905; Pflüger, 'Arbeiten, ed. E. Kraepelin, 1901-1905; Neild, 'Psychometric Tests on the Action of Alcohol,' Brit. Journ. of Inebriety, Oct., 1905). The greater the demands made on psychic activity, the more alcohol is needed. The invariable result is that the person experimented on has the delusion that he is doing better with alcohol than without it. The depressing results of a slight intoxication may last from 24 to 36 hours (Fùrner, 'Zwickau, hist. des alkohol. Congress, Basel, 1906). The effect of the regular consumption of alcohol—say 1 to 2 litres of lager beer per diem—is distinctly prejudicial to all kinds of intellectual effort (Kürz and Kraepelin, 'Psychol. Arbeiten, 1900); and in general the more difficult mental operations are more impaired than the easier. As for the idea that habituation produces a certain immunity to alcohol, this is probably due to a blunting of the nerves. Such a result is apt to be associated with a dangerous tendency to augment the dose in order to experience the agreeable effect, just as with morphine (Kraepelin, 'Münch. Med. Woch.,' 17th April, 1906).

Experiments on the sensory functions (sight, hearing, touch, etc.) show, from the first, diminution in accuracy and rapidity of the motor functions of the body are generally influenced favourably by alcohol at first (Frey, 'Alcohol und Muskelermuđung,' Leipzig, 1903; Schynder, 'Pflüger's Archiv, 1903; Destree, 'Journ. Med. de Bruxelles, 1897); the amount of work is increased, and is more easily performed; but after a brief period extending at most to 20 or 30 minutes, there comes a prolonged reaction, so that the total effect is distinctly disadvantageous. The popular belief that alcohol is not so much a loss as a gain in working capacity is accountable for a vast amount of drinking among the working classes.

(4) The effect of alcohol on the circulation (Monro and Findlay, 'Critical Review of the Blood Alcohol and the Cardio-Vascular System,' Med. Temp. Rev. 1905-1906; Abel, 'Pharmacology of the Action of Ethyl Alcohol,' Med. Temp. Rev. 1904-1905) is to cause a first a dilatation of the small vessels, especially of the skin, shown by flushing of the face and a feeling of warmth. A slight acceleration of the pulse is frequently but not always produced by small doses, but the average for the whole day may be lowered. If the pulse tension is low to begin with, alcohol will not raise it. On the whole, experiments show that alcohol does not
strengthen the heart, but rather the reverse. There may be a short stimulating effect through reflex action just after its administration. Large doses are strongly depressive.

(5) The tissues, we have seen, have their oxidation interfered with by alcohol. There is, further, increased loss of heat from the body, with lowering of the temperature through the dilatation (paralysis) of the blood-vessels. Hence comes quickened and deeper respiration, so that alcohol is indirectly a respiratory stimulant (Binz, Therapie d. Gegenwart, 1899). 

The nutritive value of alcohol is still the subject of keen discussion (Rosemann, Pfäger’s Archiv, 1901, vol. 86, also vols. 94, 99, and 100). All admit that large quantities of alcohol are poisonous, and it would seem that the most minute doses that have any demonstrable effect act prejudicially on the nervous tissues. Still it is conceivable that in other ways alcohol may be serviceable to the body. In small doses, from 90 to 98 p.c. is oxidized; heat is thereby produced, and alcohol, it is said, can thus take the place of other materials, such as fat or carbohydrate, in the work of nutrition, and may be said to have a nutritive action on Metabolism of Matter and Energy, Washington, 1892). The same may be said about glycerine, or fusel oil (amyl alcohol), whose total effect is distinctly poisonous. Alcohol can neither build up new tissues, nor add any favourable effect that it has in producing energy, probably so closely balanced by its poisonous effect, either directly or by means of intermediate products, while the tissues are dealing with it (Schäfer, Textbook of Physiology, vol. 1. p. 882). This conclusion of physiological science is in harmony with the experiences in actual life of army leaders, travellers, climbers, employers of labour, etc. The good effects of alcohol are similar to those obtained from other more or less dangerous stimulants and narcotics.

2. Acute alcoholism (Intoxication).—When enough alcohol is taken to produce intoxication, judgment, self-control, perception, and the other higher faculties are affected first. With greater facility in thought and speech, there is a certain disregard of the environment; a quiet person may become lively and witty, un wonted confidences are given, and there may be assertiveness and quarrel some ness. Singing, shouting, and other noisy disturbances indicate the free play of the emotions; then comes motor impairment, shown in the speech and gait, incoherent and staggering gait; drowsiness, muscular paralysis, and even coma may supervene; the temperature may become dangerously low, and in the worst cases respiration and circulation may be paralyzed. Short of this, after 6 to 12 hours the man awakens from his drunken sleep with a enjoined tongue, loss of appetite, thirst, flushed face and eyes, headache, and mental confusion. These phenomena vary according to the amount, strength, and character of the liquid, and to the condition of the body in consuming it, and the stability or resisting power of the person imbibing. Persons with a special cerebral susceptibility may develop wild maniacal excitement with a comparatively small dose. Such persons may suffer from a neurasthenic or alcoholic heredity, epilepsy, injuries to the head, or antecedent insanity. An automatic dream-state, in which complicated, it may be criminal, actions are performed quite unconsciously, is sometimes induced by acute alcoholism (Sullivan, Alcoholism, pp. 41-43).  

3. Chronic alcoholism.—Excess has been defined as anything over that amount of alcohol which the body can completely dispose of in 24 hours, but a complete definition must include cases where any permanent mischief is produced during a lifetime. Since 1864, when Anstie declared 1/2 oz. of absolute alcohol to be the physiological limit, the tendency amongst scientific writers has been steadily towards reduction of this. Abel (l.c. Sept. 1905, p. 275) concludes that the ‘moderate’ or average permissible quantity of alcohol is represented by one, or at most two, glasses of wine (10 p.c.) in the 24 hours; that is about half an ounce of beer, the technic of the outside. Other writers, Max Gruber, quoted by Woodhead, Brit. Journ. of Inebriety, Jan. 1904, p. 166) hold that as soon as such a small quantity may impair function, it would be rash to assert that this would be harmless to the vast majority of mankind if taken habitually and indefinitely. The ordinary signs of chronic alcoholism are due to the habitual taking of much larger quantities. Such are loss of appetite, especially for breakfast, foul tongue, bad breath, with often a peculiar easily recognizable odour; morning vomiting, expectation of yellow tough mucus, dyspeptic and intestinal disorders. Very fine tremors, most marked in the morning, are present in tongue, fingers, and lower limbs. Sleeplessness is frequent; speech shows a loss of crispness; memory, especially for names, is defective; there is difficulty in decision or in concentrating the attention, and a disinclination for bodily or mental exertion. The victim of alcohol shows a want of initiative, and may give promises with the intention, but without the power, of keeping them. The speech is impaired, and by so much, neglect of wife, children, and other dependants, loosening of self-control and want of truthfulness, the moral deterioration is signalized.

Dyspomania, or periodical inebriety, is more frequently shown in women than in men. After an interval of abstinence, complete or relative, comes an overmastering impulse to drink. The time of recurrence may be quite irregular, in other cases it may be every day, fortnight, month, or at even longer intervals, and the duration of the attack is also variable. We are all subject to periodicity, even in regard to our brain force, and in dyspomaniacs there is usually a more than average instability of nerve. They show a close analogy to the condition found in epileptic alcoholism.

Delirium tremens is a form of acute alcoholism supervening almost invariably on a chronic condition. There may have been a period of specially heavy drinking without taking food, or the onset may have been precipitated by some shock to the nervous system, such as pneumonia. A frequent early symptom is distaste for drink, whilst hallucinations, with restlessness, nervousness, and insomnia, become more and more marked. The hands are constantly at work, picking at the bedclothes, going through the actions of some occupation, etc. Tremors become coarser, and are present all over the body. The mind is incessantly active, talking incoherently, seeing horrifying visions, hearing whispers, plot tings, insults. Terror and suspicion are constant; the bodily functions are all deranged, the temperature is raised, and complicating diseases are apt to supervene. After an acute stage of 3 or 4 days the patient usually falls into a refreshing sleep, and awakes a different man. But the risk of a fatal result increases with each succeeding attack. Delirium tremens is comparatively rare in women, and is much more common amongst drinkers of spirits than amongst those who take wine or beer. Closely allied to delirium tremens is a form of continuous alcoholic delirium (delirium alcoh. mania a potis), which often sends patients to asylum. Alcoholic dementia is not uncommon as the final state of chronic drinkers of alcohol; the symptoms point to an exaggeration of the ordinary mental state, developed by alcohol, as described above. Loss of memory, irritability, lowering of
mental tone, and loss of self-control may become so marked as to require asylum treatment.

Besides those definite forms of alcoholic insanity, alcohol may bring about a number of mental disorders. It is probably the most powerful predisposing factor, after syphilis, in causing general paralysis of the insane. Kraepelin (Munch. Med. Woch., 1898) states that 80 p. c. of cases of paralysis would not occur if alcohol were banished from the world. The exact percentage of asylum inmates due to alcohol is a matter of some uncertainty, owing to varying ways of compiling statistics, and difficulties in getting at the facts of the patients. In a series of 20 p. c. of the insane are so through drink, and in recent years this percentage has tended to increase, especially in large cities (Clouston, Mental Diseases, p. 26). The percentage of women to men thus afflicted in Italy 1 to 11, in Germany 1 to 16, in Austria 1 to 5, in New York City 1 to 2, in Paris and Edinburgh about the same. Taking Great Britain as a whole, the proportion of nine men to one woman, or 1 to 2½, significant evidence of the amount of drinking amongst women in this country (Hoppe, Tabatiden, etc., p. 274). Bowntree and Sherwill, Temperance, Problem, Appendix, p. 464). Allowance must be made for the likelihood that many who succumb to alcohol would in its absence break down mentally in some other way, in virtue of their unstable nervous system, and it has been noted that the habitual inebriates of the London police courts rarely become certifiably insane (Cawresw, Scottish Med. and Surg. Journ., 1898, ii, p. 386). Genuine epilepsy may be produced by alcohol; if once acquired, it is invariably made worse by drink. Not seldom one sees cases of epileptic convulsions coming on after a long course of inebriety; they are less likely to be produced by a specially severe bout. Not the brain only, but other divisions of the nervous system, are very apt to be damaged by chronic alcoholism. Most characteristic is multiple neuritis, and this may result from the feet and hands and advancing upwards if the cause persists, till a fatal result occurs. Evidence in this respect is afforded by such terms as 'needles and pins,' pains, great muscular tenderness, diminished sensibility to touch; there is loss of power going on to complete paralysis, and there is mental deterioration. The disease may be brought on by alcohol in any form; it is often associated with the secret drinking of women. It is most aggravated by small quantities of arsenic, as was shown in an epidemic which occurred recently in Liverpool, Manchester, and other towns in the north of England. The cause here was the excessive drinking of beer manufactured from invert-sugar, in which arsenic was present as an impurity. Several other neurologic and spinal-cord affection may be caused or aggravated by chronic alcoholism.

4. Tissue changes caused by alcohol. — Most of the disorders that we have been describing are associated with pathological changes, easily recognized through the microscope. The various parts of the body are able to recover from the poisonous effect of even a large dose of alcohol. And, so far, the functional disturbance in the cell eludes the best methods of examination that we have. However, when the toxic dose is repeated indefinitely, there comes a time when organic changes occur, and these are usually irre- mediably. Thus degeneration, indicated by changed microscopic appearance, may be found in the cells of the liver, of the spinal nerves, in the brain, in the muscle, the walls of the blood-vessels, the liver-cells, etc.; and at the same time there may be an increase of fibrous tissue, 'the lowest structure in the body' (Woodhead in Kelyanck's Drink Problem).

5. The effect of alcohol on morbidity. — Besides the purely alcoholic forms of disease, such as cirrhosis of the liver and alcoholic neuritis, a large proportion of the illness found in hospital and in the population in general is directly or indirectly due to alcohol. According to Jacquet, Prisee Med., 1899, p. 338. Not only are the diseases directly damaged, but the resisting power of the body to disease is greatly lowered by excessive drinking.

Pneumonia, for instance, is more apt to occur, and more likely to be fatal, in alcoholic persons. If the body is weakened in its resisting power, by starvation, by chill, or by a poliomyelitis, microbe infection in the system must necessarily follow. Pneumonia in drinkers is about 2 times as fatal as amongst the temperate. So also with choleras, plague, yellow fever, malaria, and even cancer in the presence of friends. In these cases, the state of present-day medical opinion is opposed to the view that alcohol lowers the resistance of the host. When the liver system is lowered in tone, alcohol greatly helps the development of the disease. This is proved by the death-rate from phthisis in alcoholic insanity (B. Jones). Amongst tradesmen, in which the tubercle is from 14 to 3 times more frequent in every organ of the body liable to it than amongst persons following other occupations (Dickinson, Treatment, 1887, p. 529). When one further takes account of the unhealthy conditions in which chronic alcoholics live, one cannot doubt that

drink is largely responsible for the wide-spread prevalence of tuberculosis. Venereal diseases are very frequently acquired in the intoxicated state, when the lower passions become supreme, and the alcohol lowers the resistance of the soldiers than among non-abstainers. In their treatment, abstinance from drink is the first thing to be insisted upon. Syphilis is more than a mere destructive among chronic drinkers: in the plainest point of view, the worst cases for operation are those of chronic drinkers. They take anesthetics badly, their cases are severe, they are liable to septic complications. Clinical experience is confirmed by numerous experiments on animals; rabbits, guinea- pigs, fowls, etc., have been shown to die of phthisis if fed on alcohol in even moderate doses, to be much more susceptible to the various forms of tetanus, cholera, tetanus, diphtheria, etc., than non-alcoholized animals (Abbot, Delardure, Laitinen—work summarized by Woodhead in loc. cit.).

6. Alcoholsm and mortality. — The mortality returns of the United Kingdom give a very imperfect idea of the number of deaths due to alcohol (Vacher, Practitioner, Nov. 1902). Seeing that certificates of death are not treated as confidential by coroners, or by the clergy, or by the local authorities, it is usually attributed to the diseases of the liver, kidneys, lungs, or nervous system, instead of to their primary cause — alcoholism. The Swiss returns of mortality, on the other hand, are reliable, and they show a death-rate from alcoholism in the 1891 and 1892 returns of 381. It is estimated that in this country alcohol accounts for 100,000 to 120,000 deaths per annum (Kerr, Inebriety, p. 381).

7. Alcoholism and crime. — There is universal testimony as to the close relationship between excessive drinking and breaches of the moral law and the laws of the State. This is a direct consequence of the paralysis of the higher faculties, intellectual and moral, and the resulting free play given to the lower inclinations. Alcohol is not only a direct cause of crime, but it acts powerfully along with other conditions, such as hereditary nervous weakness, sickness, or instability of the brain, or it may be due to loss of work, poverty, and starvation, so often the results of indulgence in alcohol. A distinction has rightly been drawn between the lighter and the graver violations of the law which are due to drink. It is fortunately true that the great majority are of the former class. To them, however, — in order to give some idea of the degrading effect of excessive drinking, — we must add the vast number of cases where similar offences are committed with impunity, escaping the notice of the police through the sheltering influence of friends. There is no doubt that there is a disposition on the part of the police, magistrates, the public generally, at a trial, to view the drunken offender with utmost leniency. The large proportion of habitual inebriates charged with due time after time shows that many, perhaps most, of the drunken offenders are not drunk at the time of the crime, but somewhat about than usual. In 9 cases out of 10, the drunken of our police courts figures also as the wife-beater, the beggar, the drunk in the gutter, the grave robber of the county, in which crimes of acquiescence are not connected with alcoholism. On the other hand, alcoholism is probably the cause of some 80 p.c.
of homicidal offences, and of a smaller, though still considerable, proportion of crimes of lust. Nearly always in homicidal crimes, and very frequently in sexual crimes, the alcoholic condition with which the delinquent is chronically intoxicated and not casual drunkenness. (Sullivan, Alcohohism, 1806, ch. IX.)

8. Alcoholism and the future of the race. — Alcohol is specially dangerous to children, as their delicate systems are highly susceptible to the poisonous effects of alcohol. Most disastrous results follow its administration in the early years of life—a practice which is far from uncommon amongst the ignorant. Besides the direct effects, such as stunting of growth, blunting of intellectual and moral faculties, and organic changes, which are directly attributed to the multiple and various evil influences of the social environment in drinking families. Hence the incidence of sickness and mortality in the families of parents who are one or both given to drink is extremely heavy.

The Report on Physical Deterioration (1866) draws attention to the incidence of drinking amongst women of the working-classes, with consequences extremely prejudicial to the care of the offspring, not to speak of the possibility of children being born permanently disabled. If the mother drinks heavily during lactation, the quality of her milk is much impaired and there may be present in it a certain amount of alcohol. Still more serious for the child is drinking on the part of the mother. Not only is the child badly nourished but alcohol is found to pass freely into the blood from the mother's. Hence we find in such conditions a great predisposition to abortion. Alcoholism decreases the weight and size of the infant and the infant is apt to be the subject of disease or deformity. There is passed on many cases not only a nervous excitability, but a tendency to give way sooner or later. While it may be true that 80 to 85 p.c. of all children are born apparently healthy, whatever defects they may have is highly probable that the first 10 or 15 years of life, even under the best conditions, would reveal diseases tendencies that were present in a latent condition.

Notwithstanding the ancient and widespread belief that the condition of intoxication in one or both parents at the time of conception has a malign influence on the offspring, this cannot be said to be scientifically proved. The prevailing scientific view is that no acquired characters can be contributed to the germ to child; but when polonium is circulating in the blood, such as the alcoholic or alcoholic, it is practically certain that they have a modifying effect on the germ cells (Sa法律s, p. 78). On the other hand the tendency to degeneration through alcohol would be at once arrested by the removal of the cause, and civilised races would rapidly improve in physique. Races that have been accustomed only to their own fermented drinks, such as the North American Indians and the West Africans (Kühl, Archiv für Rassen-und Gesellch. Biologie, ii. 1905), have shown a tendency to die out when habitually taking imported distilled liquor. Previously there was no race of alcoholics under conditions which had lasted for hundreds of years, their relatively weak drink being obtainable only at special seasons of the year, and on special occasions. The degenerate community in this and other countries is largely due, according to the best authorities, to alcoholism. Mckaye and Johnson (Poison and Insanity, London, 1806) have clearly shown that those who become insane in this way have their balance upset by an amount of alcohol much less than can be taken without injuring organs of the nervous system. In such cases alcohol reveals some latent defect, just as in other cases the imbalance, the epileptic, or the degeneracy, or alcohol to join the criminal classes. Suicide (Sullivan, Alcohohism; Prinzing, Trümpelzelt und Selbstmord, Leipzig, 1805) becomes more frequent in recent years in almost all civilised States, its rate being specially heavy amongst persons who are exposed to alcoholism. Great Britain has a larger proportion of women suicides than other lands, this being connected with the greater amount of female drunkenness. 80 p.c. of all cases of attempted suicide in England, while only 30 p.c. of cases of completed suicide are so classified. Alcoholic suicide may result from mental disease, such as morbus dementia, melancholia, idiopathic depression, or simply the condition associated with hallucinations; or it may come from the poverty, squalor, and indigence which is the result of alcoholism. The association of alcohol with accidents of all sorts is brought home to us by the daily newspapers and otherwise, but the statistics can vastly number of cases where the lowering of the mental functions by alcohol without admitted excesses. Many railway companies in America have an absolute rule against drinking on part of their officials, and more or less strict measures of this nature amongst companies. Comparatively little has been made public about the official, the impairment of attention, presence of mind, and efficiency in the railway servants may endanger hundreds besides himself. The moral strict the rules against drinking—such a rule the more free it is from accident. Again, accidents are much more common on Saturdays and holidays; any hospital can prove this, and also that alcohol is largely associated with them. Many insurance societies often give abstainers a discount of 10 p.c.

9. Alcoholism and poverty.—Drink, according to Cuvier and the Endowment of Old Age, is the most prolific cause of pauperism, and it is the least necessary. From one-third to one-half of those who receive poor relief owe their position directly to drunkenness as the principal cause. (The total cost of poor relief in England and Wales annually is about £12,000,000). To this should be added a large percentage in which drink is the indirect cause of pauperism, through disease or injury; and besides this, just above the pauper class is the enormous amount of comparative poverty from mispent earnings, loss of working time, and general impairment of efficiency. It is calculated that at least half the taxes accruing from drink are consumed in the population of children. Hence amongst those who take drink to mislead the expenditure is enormous, and means such a deduction from an income which is little better than a living wage, that not enough is left for food, clothing, good housing, etc. Here we are face to face with the most serious problem of all.

As the average drink expenditure per head in England was £3, 15s. 11d., and per family of 5 persons £18, 10s. 9d.; but it must be remembered that millions of adults drink no alcoholic liquor, and that over 15,000,000 of the population are children. Hence amongst those who make the expenditure is enormous, and means such a deduction from an income which is little better than a living wage, that not enough is left for food, clothing, good housing, etc. Here we are face to face with the most serious problem of all.

10. Treatment.—In dealing with acute alcoholism, the skill of the physician and attendant is often severely taxed. Apart from purely medical measures, the main reliance is placed in complete withdrawal of alcohol, administration of liquid nourishment in abundance, and the procuring of mental and bodily rest. Neither treatment, however, the patient may be helped by full explanations of the action of alcohol on the body, by appeals to his better nature, by any measure that will strengthen the will power, whether religious or moral, or by placing them in tone society, or by being removed for a sufficiently long time (at least three years) from temptation. In the way of prevention much is to be hoped for from the wider diffusion of scientific knowledge, along with the spread of education (see 'The Teaching of Temperance,' by E. Claude Taylor in Kelynack's Drink Problem [a good bibliography of teaching manuals is given]). Improvements in housing and domestic cookery, higher rates of pay, and the consequent bettering of bodily, mental, and moral health, all favour temperance. The influence should be enjoined on certain classes: those who are sedentarily predisposed, through inebriety in parents or in grandparents, or through want of nerve stability; those whose occupations are closely associated with the heavy drink mortality; those who have given way to drink, A. P. (who have suffered from diseases of the brain or nerves, or injuries to the head; and all children and juveniles. See also artt. DRUNKENNESS, INEBRIETE ASYLUMS.

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J. MACKIE WHYTE.
ALEUTS.—1. The religion, mythology, and
folk-lore of the natives of the Aleninl Islands—
the ‘stepping-stones’ from Alaska to Kamchatka
—and of the much narrower group of southern
Aleut of Alaska as far as the river Ugashik, are
especially important, since their long isolation in
a peculiar environment has caused them to de
velop in particular directions more than any other
known race. Many of the ritual practices of the
island Eskimos still remain, the variation being
especially evident in their language, religious exercises, and certain details of
handicraft, such as embroidery and grass-fibre
weaving (Dall). The language is rich in verbal
forms and has many peculiarities of vocabulary,
but is, nevertheless, undoubtedly Eskimoan in
type, not ‘transitional between Samoyed and
Eskimo’ (Henry). The harpoon attains in the
southern portions of the Aleutian area a ‘fineness
in structure and appearance nowhere else seen’;
they are used ‘delicately’ and‘inexorably’.
white and black beautiful; and the ‘exquisite weaving’ displayed in
the Aleutian beach-grass work ‘will compare
with that of any basketmakers in the world’
(Mason). The kuyak, the characteristic skin-boat
of the Aleuts, remains intact and is seen even to
anese and brought, perhaps, from the adjacent
American Indians, and primarily confined to the
female sex. Dall reports the practice of wearing
labrets as having ‘died out within two generations’
(ante 1878). Besides labrets, the Aleuts possessed
many forms of ornament, both figured in their dances and religious
and ceremonies, and were also placed on the faces
of the dead. In physical type the Aleuts differ some-
what from the Eskimos proper, being rather brachy-
cephalic and of darker complexion; in facial ex
pression also some difference has been noted.

Their constant use of the kuyak and the cramped
position they are forced to assume for long hours
have affected their gait and the condition of their
limbs. In the management of these boats the
Aleuts have been very skilful. Veniaminov, the
Russian priest who was among them in the early
part of the 19th century, writes, ‘the Seals skakas,
rider of marine mares’; they were bow-legged,
too, like the famous horsemen of the Czar.

The Aleuts have been in their present environment,
into which they came from the interior of Alaska
the probable scope of the primitive dispersion of
the Eskimo race, or, at least, of a considerable
part of it), for a very long time. Dall’s investiga-
tions of the ancient village-sites, shell-heaps,
mummy-caves, etc., of the Aleutian Islands demon
strate the continuity of occupation of the region
by this people, and their apparent progress through
three periods of culture (hittoral, fishing, hunting).
The earliest forms of some of their art-objects (e.g.
labrets) are preserved in the burial-caves and shell
heaps, and their variations may be traced down
the times of the modern Aleuts and the advent of
white influences, in consequence of which their
ancient culture has tended more and more to dis
apper.

Like the Eskimos of continental Alaska, the
Aleuts seem to have been influenced in several
ways by the peoples of north-eastern Asia. To
such contact Dr. Franz Boas attributes the use of
ornaments of arrows, harpoons etc., something as
yet unrecorded of the Eskimo tribes
outside of Alaska (Amer. Anthrop. vol. i., N.S.,
1899, p. 613). By inspection of the harpoons in a
dead, stranded whale, it is possible to discover the
character of the weapon which killed it, and who,
when notified, takes possession of the animal, dividing it
with the finders. These property-marks ‘occur
almost exclusively on weapons used in hunting,
which, after being despatched, remain in the
hands of large game’, and in each village the
natives of a certain group—a boat’s crew, family,
house community, or any other social unit—use a
 certain decoration for their weapons, which, in
connexion with certain lines, forms their property
mark.’ From the Russians, through the Siberian
natives, and northerly, next, from the Aleuts, the
Alaskan Eskimos acquired the knowledge and use
of tobacco, according to Murdoch (Amer. Anthro
p. vol. i., 1888, p. 328). The modern Aleuts ‘use
nothing but civilized methods of smoking,’ and are
not current smokers. The minimum in size
connected with the use of tobacco among the
Aleuts, is another evidence of the non-American
mode of its introduction. On the other hand, the
Aleuts have adopted something from the American
Indian tribes, as, e.g., in all probability, the habit, just
mentioned, of wearing lip-ornaments, some art
matifs, etc. The institution of slavery prevailed
among them as it did among certain Indian tribes
of the North Pacific coast.

2. The burden outside the and marriage-customs of
the Aleuts are of special interest. When a girl
reaches the age of puberty, she is isolated from
the rest of the community in a small barrabara,
or, but, and no one except her slave, if she possesses
one, is permitted to visit her. The ceremonial
lasts seven days, and the breaking of the tabu
by a man is the theme of one of the most wide-spread
tales, which has many variants.

The couple concerned are often brother and sister, and some
times the woman is forcibly ravished, while at other times
she yields consent readily enough. After the discovery of
the offence the two young people flee, pursued by their parents
and others (who resist the interference of the tale as an
unanswerable crime), and ultimately buri themselves from a
cave into the sea, becoming the first two sea-cotters, or (in some
versions) hair-seals. In one version of the tale the girl, who is
ravished in the dark, after the fire has gone out, cuts the sinews of her assaulting’s legs as he escapes.
through the roof. The man, who dies from a fall on the rocks, turns out to be her own brother. She finds him,

... among the Aleutians. The dances in which the sexes took part together are reputed to have been more decorous. The ir...
remarkable performance of this sort, however, was the great moonlight dance held in December, which had considerable religious significance. In connection with these dances, wooden figures or images were set up, one for the women and one for the man. The sexes danced apart from each other, masked and masked, on the snow under the moonlight. The huge masks employed on these occasions were so made that the wearer could look only at the ground, since to see or look at the images, upon which the spirits were believed to descend during the ceremonies, was death to the individuals so doing. After the dance was over, the images and masks, which seem generally to have been made for the particular occasion, were broken in pieces and thrown into the sea. Although mention is made of wooden figures carried from island to island, and associated with certain ceremonies, permanent 'idols' and 'temple' hardly existed. There were, it appears, certain 'sacred' high places, or rocks, where, with mysterious ceremonies, old men, or men only (women and youths not being allowed to approach these spots), made offerings. Events like the casting up of a whale on the beach were the cause of dancing and other festivities. In some of the dances the participants put on all finery and finery, while in others they danced naked, except for the large wooden masks, which came down to their shoulders, and often represented various sea-animals. The masks used in the ordinary dances were different from those used in the religious ceremonies, the former being evidently copied from the Aleut type of face, while the others, when human faces are represented, seem to differ much from it. The dancing-masks are often grotesque. Some of the carved masks used in certain ceremonies were deposited in caves. Masked ceremonies were also connected with the spring-time festivals.

6. Besides their religious dances and like ceremonies, the Aleuts had others of a dramatic and educational nature. Myths and legends were acted out in pantomime and dance by the members of one village, who would invite the inhabitants of another to witness the 'play.' On such occasions special songs would be composed and sung. In these 'plays' men and animals alike were imitated and represented. Similar events on a smaller scale took place in individual huts, the larger ones in the 'village-house.' Veniaminov and Golder give an account of a performance called lemas, or 'play,' the appearance of the devil, the object of which was to frighten the women into obedience and 'keep them under' properly. The essentials of the performance were as follows:—When it was thought necessary to impress the women and girls, certain of the men left the village on a pretended hunt. At night, after they had been gone a few days, the men at home made believe some calamity was about to overtake the community, and, by pretending great fear, made their way in the huts. While they were thus frightened, strange noises were heard, and the 'devils' arrived, against whom the men made the show of a violent defence. After the 'devils' had been driven away, it was found that one of the villagers was missing, and a woman, previously agreed upon, was carried out as a ransom for him. By and by both were brought back, the man apparently dead. He was gradually revived by being beaten with inflated bladders, addressed with invocations, etc., and was given to the man who had taken him. The lost hunters then came in and expressed surprise at what had occurred. This 'play' is clearly analogous to the 'Mumbo Jumbo' ceremonies of the Negroes of West Africa and to the initiation rites of the Australian aborigines.

7. The early Aleuts had very many stories and legends and much folk-lore. According to Veniaminov and Golder, their tales and legends were chiefly of three kinds: purely narrative, satiric or moralizing, and mythological. Comparatively few of the stories of the Aleuts have been preserved.

According to Veniaminov (1820-1840), and Golder at the close of the last century.

One of the Aleutian ancestor stories tells of the adventures, so disastrous to the people, of Ch'oneg, grandson of Aegir, the son of the sun, and son of Raylonich. Another is concerned with the doings of the son of 'the woman fond of intestines.' One of the origin-legends describes the beginnings of the Aleuts, who came down from the sky in the form of a dog. Another version of this myth of canine ancestry, found and belies that of the Eskimo territory, makes the Aleuts descend from a female dog belonging to Unalsakin and a great dog which swam over to her from the island of Kadiak. Still another one of these being attached to the dog-mother, Mcnakh, and an old man named Fraglidakish, who came from the north to visit her. Another legend makes the gods of the Aeukins return to their homes on the islands of Kadiak and Kodiak. Golder calls attention to the fact that the Aleutian stories are very realistic, there being, as he says, 'not a single story that could not have happened in real life. Supernatural incidents occur, to be sure, but they come in only after the main narrative is over.' It is, as Golder remarks, 'as if the gods were called in to help out the story-teller, when he gets into a tight place.'

8. As may be seen from their religious ceremonies and other practices, as well as from the evidence in their tales and legends, the Aleutians had much spirit-lore. The shamans were able to obtain the assistance of spirits by their incantations, and the spirits (mganas) of power descended into the 'idols' during the course of the ceremonies. The Aleuts believed that their dead relatives acted as guardian spirits, helping them out in all dangerous situations and trying conditions. They also relied much upon these spirits in their schemes of revenge, etc. Belief in amulets of various kinds was common,—the warrior, e.g., wore a belt of sea-weed with magic knots. Mention is also made of the khimkoe, a marvellous pebble, which all animals were unable to resist when it was thrown into the sea. The Aleuts of Cook's Bay, to whom Veniaminov had access, have preserved much of the rich mythology and folk-lore of their ancestors, the conversion to the Greek Church, which took place in the time of Veniaminov, and the course pursued by the Russian priesthood having resulted in the passing away of institutions, ceremonies, and customs, and habits of the olden time. To this process the Aleuts appear to have taken some what readily, a fact which further hastened the disappearance of what was purely national and racial.


ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.
ALEXANDER OF ABONOTEICHOS—ALEXANDER THE GREAT

ALEXANDER OF ABONOTEICHOS in Paphlagonia owes his fame to a treatise of Lucian, who was his contemporary. The piece is full of the minutest details of Alexander's life. But Lucian makes no concealment of the contempt and hatred which he felt for one whom he regarded as a venal and impudent impostor, trading on the selfish sympathies of a people in great want of some one to lead them to new prosperity. In his war against the credulity of his age, Lucian has evidently exerted all his art to blacken the character of one who seemed to him to represent its worst excesses of superstition. Yet, apart from the fact that Alexander was a vociferous impostor, Lucian's life of Alexander is probably more trustworthy than his life of Pergurinus.

Alexander was a Greek of Abonoteichos, with splendid gifts of mind and body, and a charm of manner which, Lucian admits, left on casual acquaintances the impression of a high and simple character. He began his career with a wizard physician connected with the circle of Apollonius of Tyana. On his death, Alexander formed a partnership with a Byzantine adventurer, and dabbled in mediaeval means. He chose the passion of the time for any means of forecasting the future, determined to exploit its hopes and fears by founding an oracle which should rival the fame and wealth of the old seats of prophecy. They managed, with a.fair serpent, to get in the precincts of Apollo at Chalcedon they buried two tablets, predicting that Alexander would come to Pontus with his father, and make his home at Abonoteichos. Alexander knew his countrymen. The promise of the epiphany soon spread, and the people of Abonoteichos at once began to build a temple for the coming god. Soon Alexander appeared among them, with white tunic and purple cloak, and a scimitar in his hand, reciting an oracle which proclaimed him 'the seed of Perseus, dear to Apollo.' Fits of prophetic frenzy still further raised the general excitement. One morning at dawn, almost naked and scimitar in hand, he bounded into the market-place in all the orgiastic excitement of a votary of the Great Mother, leapt upon the altar, and with a handful of Hel-rew or Chaldean phrases, announced the coming of the god. He then rushed to a ditch which ran round the foundations of the new temple, fished up a goose's egg in which a young snake had been secretly enclosed, broke the shell, and displayed to the awe-struck crowd the nascient deity.

Multitudes thronged to Abonoteichos, and Alexander, sitting on a divan, held a lewé, in which he displayed, coiled about his shoulders, the trained serpent from Macedonia, to which a very simple art had attached a human head. Crowds poured through the darkened room, jostling one another to see the new god so miraculously mature, so human and so divine. The great miracle drew crowds from Bithynia, Thrace, and Galatia, and even beyond the frontiers of the Roman province, flocked to the spot to express the likeness of the new deity in colours, or bronze or silver, 'Glycon the third of the seed of Zeus, a light to men.'

Alexander had studied the system of the older oracles, and he determined to make a new one, while he carefully displayed a reverence for the ancient seats of Claros or Didyma. For a small fee of 2 obols he received on stated days sealed packets, which he ceremoniously returned apparently unopened, with the sealed answer. A hot needle and a delicate hand concealed the fraud, although Lucian by means of an obsolete seal once exposed the fraud. The oracle, like so many of the time, was mainly of healing, and, skilfully managed, with an army of officials and interested envoys and missionaries to spread the fame of its efficacy throughout the Empire, it gathered in a revenue of nearly £7000 a year. Its fame spread to Rome, and great nobles like Severianus the governor of Cappadocia, and Rutillianus, one of the most experienced statesmen of the age, were drawn into the net. Alexander had many questions of a dangerous political curiosity put to him, which would not bear disclosure. Rutillianus, at the mature age of seventy, proposed to marry Alexander's daughter, his boast being that Alexander had been captivated as by another Endymion.

In the great plague of A.D. 167, a memorial verse, dictated by the high Roman envoy, was inscribed over the doors of houses throughout the Roman world. Even the circle of the philosophic Emperor yielded to the imposture. When the Marcomannic war was at its height, an oracle from Abonoteichos was received at headquarters, ordering two lions to be thrown into the Danube. The ceremony was followed by a disaster to the Roman army, which was glibly explained by classical precedent.

Alexander, with all his daring and ingenuity, was scrupulously conservative in adhesion to ancient forms. He could not live without the temple, the oracle, and the gods. He renewed the mysteries on the approved model, from which Christians and Epicurean freethinkers were excluded under a solemn ban. The ceremonies lasted for three days. Scenes from old and new mythology were played before the Macedonian, or a representation of the labours of Leto, the birth of Apollo and Aeklesius, the epiphany of Glycon, and the celestial origin of Alexander himself. Lucian believed that the new religion was tainted with the foulest immorality. Alexander had many enemies, and there is no doubt that he was surrounded by a gang of confidence-hawks who, like Lucian, scorned and derided the superstition of the time. They openly assailed the new oracle, and strove to convict it of deceit. For his own scurrilous incredulity, Lucian once nearly paid with his life. And Alexander, by the command of the god, ordered that the blasphemies of the atheists should be punished by stoning. He finally triumphed over all opposition, and rose even to divine honours. His statute was an object of worship at Peumum in the time of Athenagoras. Inscriptions of Dacia and Asia, show the wide extent of his influence. In the third century, the religion of Glycon still flourished at Ionopolis, the new name which Alexander had given Abonoteichos, and which still survives under altered form. Coins of Nicomedia bear the device of the serpent with a human head.

LITERATURE.—Lucian, Alexander; Athenagoras, Logique pro Christianis, ch. 28; O. H. iii, 1021 f.; Ephem. Epicr. in C. L. suppl. ii. 531; Renan, L'Eglise christienne (1870), 481 f.; and, A. Aurre (1880), 80; Gregorovius, Hadrian (1886), x. 15.

S. INY.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (his place in the history of religion and ethics).—1. Synopsis of his reign.—Alexander III., afterwards surnamed the Great, was born at Pella, in Macedonia, in 356 B.C. He was the son of Philip II., king of Macedonia, and Olympias, a Molossian princess. In 338 he succeeded to the throne, and two years afterwards set out on his Eastern expedition. S. W. Asia was subdued by his victories at the Granicus (B.C. 334) and at Issus (B.C. 333). His attention was then turned to Egypt, and in the course of the expedition an opportunity occurred for a visit to Jerusalem, which may perhaps be regarded as historical. Alexandria was founded in B.C. 331. Campaigns against the northern provinces, the destruction of Sogdiana, and the subdued, and gradually all the districts over which the kings of Persia exercised sovereignty were subdued. Alexander then forced the Kyber Pass, or, more probably, another pass 80 miles to the north-east, crossed the Indus, and occupied the Panjāb; but his further designs were thwarted by
the discontent of his army, and in 323 at Babylon his brief and meteoric career was brought to a close.  

2. Preparations for Alexander’s work.—Alexander’s greatest work was the spread of Greek influence, less from set purpose than as a result of the method of recruiting his armies and organizing his conquests, and in ways that made this influence permanent and controlling. The conception of such spread may be found before his death as a part of the political theories of men who were feeling the defects of the various kinds of autonomy prevalent within Greece, or were eager for a fuller and richer life than was possible there. Isocrates in his letter to Philip of Macedon transcends the limits of city patriotism, and contemplates the spread of Greek culture, possibly also of the Greek race, by means of conquest. The school of Socrates was familiar with wide views, and impatient of parochial strife and politics. Xenophon was one of his disciples, who never ceased to be a Greek, but yet considered travel and military service agreeable; and a Pericles in Athens, whilst amongst these soldiers poor Greeks formed the more numerous section, there were included also adventurers from the leading cities, who were men of parts as well as enterprise. Whatever their motives at first, they in the days of Alexander to be regarded merely as means of defending a weak satrap or adding to the dominions of a strong one. To Cyrus and his associates and successors they were friends to be courted. Bearing the Lamentations of Greek settlements coincided with the increasing Greek demand for expansion. Emergence from the narrow area and narrow interests of the little native cities was becoming a necessity. Agesilaus might have effected it but for the dissensions and rivalries that showed the impossibility of Greek overlordship on any large scale. And in political theory on the part of thinkers, both as a practical means of escape from the imposse to which the affairs of Greece were brought, the whole spirit of a process that had been going on for several generations, a preparation for Alexander’s schemes of conquest was laid long before he was born.  

3. Policy of Alexander, and its general results.—The practical life of Alexander was his greatest achievement in the establishment of a fully organized administration in the districts which he traversed and subdued. At first he appears to have appointed merely a military governor and a fiscal agent, who were supported by a small band of veterans capable of acting as minor officials in the maintenance of order, in the collection of the taxes, and in the training of recruits. As opportunity served, this temporary arrangement was supplemented by effective increase in the number of settlements or cities, each of which was designed to serve as a centre of defence or influence. Seventy such cities, ranging from Kandahar to Alexandria, were founded by Alexander himself, and claim in various dialects to perpetuate his name. The inhabitants were partly Macedonian and partly Greek, veterans, discontented troops, camp followers,—with natives swept in from the neighbouring villages or transported from remote and unmanageable lands. Some of these cities were an ancient foundation, to be outdone by others, others were placed as convenient marts upon the great trade routes; but all were invested with the privileges of partial autonomy. In military affairs the Macedonian element predominated, whilst the Greeks were put in charge of the local administration, and made themselves felt supremely in matters of thought and culture. A similar policy was followed by Alexander’s successors, with the difference that the distinction between Macedonian and Greek gradually disappeared. One result was that Greek became the language of politics, trade, and intellectual intercourse from Macedonia to Persia and from Bactria to Egypt. Before his birth Greece had supplied Macedonia herself with the standard of excellence in taste and civilization; and at his death the joint Greek-Macedonian influence was the rising factor in the whole evolution of private life, and strengthened the bond of union supplied in the Eastern world by a common language.  

4. The philosophical schools, and their relative influence.—Amongst the changes of position in philosophic thought and its estimation during this period, two are of special importance in the history of the process of Hellenization. (a) On the one hand, the philosopher, though neither ceasing to indulge in abstract speculation, nor allowing himself to be drawn into the thick of political strife, becomes the adviser of all parties, and the person to whom appeal is addressed in emergency. Aristotle was one of the teachers of Alexander, but does not appear to have been consulted by the king on any political question. The dialogue of one hundred and fifty political constitutions, was conceivably an object of amusement to the practical man. Yet two philosophers were selected to rouse the king out of the gloom and remorse into which he had been plunged by the murder of Cat. Xenocrates took no active part in the faction strife of Athens; yet the Athenians more than once chose him as their emissary to Philip, just as afterwards they used him in a similar capacity during the Lamentations. The policy of Alexander continued. The leading philosophers thus became a class or group of men outside the political arena and above it; they were consulted in practical emergency as well as in speculative perplexity, and their influence in spreading the culture they represented was both detached from dangerous entanglements and quickened by association with general human interests. (b) The period of Alexander witnessed a considerable change in the relative estimation of the two great philosophic schools. After the passing of the period Aristotle’s authority was felt to be decayed, and considerable progress was made by the followers of Epicurus. Metaphysics for a time yielded the ground to ethics. Plato and Aristotle proved less attractive than men who were inferior to both in range and keenness of intellect, but who touched more nearly that which the practical man could appreciate. The retirement of the princely thinkers was but temporary, and before many centuries passed they re-emerged in new guises or relationships, of which the number is not yet exhausted. They were both theorists and transcendentalists; and what the Greek world wanted at a time when it was busily engaged in spreading and rooting itself everywhere was not so much speculation as experience, a law of duty rather than a golden rule. As soon as the conditions of life became more tolerable and for Aristotle alike a splendid revival was fated; but the philosophy of Hellenism in its first progress eastwards, as in its later subjugation of Rome and Italy, was of another type.  

5. Pyrrhonism, Stoicism, Epicureanism.—Pyrrho is said to have taken part in Alexander’s expedition to India (Diog. Laert. ix. 63), but it is not until afterwards that traces of his teaching can be found to any extent in Greek thought. The rise of the new Academy, which to the time of Plato was equal to the old, is quite the contrary of the rise of Plato and Pyrrho, in reality the date when the Greek mind began to take refuge in conclusions that were other than positive; for the appeal of scepticism is of necessity met in a practical age with a tardy response, and the discomfort caused
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by the disturbance of earlier beliefs is an unwelcome diversion when the mind is bent on activities. Pyrrho's influence in this period is twofold. He scattered seed, of which the fruit was late in appearing; but, when it did appear, the crop was plentiful; and the sceptical or captious inquirer, interested in every form of thought but captivated by nothing because of it, was a not infrequent product of Hellenistic genius. And he illustrates the reflex influence upon Greek culture of the beliefs of some of the districts which Alexander traversed or visited. That Pyrrho learnt his theories in Persia or India rests upon the statement of an inquirer, whether the latter is later or not, is probably incorrect (Diog. Laert. ix. 61). With more confidence it may be asserted that his natural equanimity was raised by his Eastern experiences into the worship of imperturbability. The Greek joyousness was transformed into a careless immobility, upon which in part may well be based alike the fatalism of various later creeds and the independence of external circumstance which the Stoic coveted and the Cynic mingled with bitterness.

The Eurasian city remained the centre of only schools of philosophy that could be regarded as of appreciable present value were the Stoic and the Epicurean, of which the former, especially, gradually became identified with the extension of Greek culture. Epicurus was a dozen years younger than Alexander, but his teaching was so considered that he was entered seriously upon his philosophical studies at the age of fourteen. He claimed to be independent of his predecessors, but was certainly influenced by the teaching of Democritus, and he articulated in a system conceptions and tendencies that were floating in the air and creating the intellectual climate of the Greek world in Alexander's days. Zeno, too, was probably a little younger than the great king; but his teaching also links itself on to that of Socrates and the Cynics, and, as developed by his immediate successors, it soon became the standard of Greek ethical thought in its spread among the nations. Both schools indulged but little in abstract speculation, but endeavoured to teach men how to secure the happiness which was, in their view, a better and more natural end than knowledge. Epicureanism denied the existence of anything like Providence, declined to anticipate a judicial readjustment of experiences after death, and bade the sage carefully balance all possible pleasures and choose the path of prudence. Stoicism, on the other hand, had an elementary theology as well as an ethic. Other knowledge was held to be attainable than that given by the senses. The so-called gods were manifestations of a Supreme God, who ruled over human lives and ordained for each man the part he should play in the world. Happiness was to be reached indirectly by the discharge of duty, without much consideration of conditions or consequences. Wisdom and peace lay in keeping in tune with the divine will and plan of life; in which case a man became, whatever his outward circumstance, royal and free. Such a philosophy, unlike the Epicurean, involved the fusion of all distinctions of creed or race or country, and consequently pointed to a people with civilizations also were fusing, and a rule of life was in request that could survive national decay and still serve for guidance in any change of fortune. Stoicism may be regarded as the leading philosophy in the Greek culture that became cosmopolitan, but separated itself at length on the banks of the Tiber, and penetrated even through the thick shell of Hebraism, affecting the thought and the phrases of St. Paul himself.

6. Alexander and the Jews.—Though Alexander possibly visited Jerusalem, according to the tradition preserved in the Talmud as well as by Josephus (Ant. ix. viii. 3-4), and though he enrolled Jews in his armies, granted them special privileges, used them as an intelligence department, and settled many favourably in his new towns and colonies, there are no indications of any direct or immediate influence upon their creed or practice. Indirectly, they opened or reopened the channels of communication by which the East and the West were brought into contact both with one another and with Egypt and Cœle-Syria. Along those roads, in subsequent ages, came teachers from India and Persia as well as from Greece; but the Hebrew did not really assimilate any writer, whether Hellenistic or other. The cause is to be found in the strictness of his monotheism as well as in the exceptional solidarity of the race. The Greek language was tolerated and even adopted in the course of time, but Greek culture was regarded with abhorrence in the inner circles where Jewish traditions were most sacredly preserved; and the complete coalescence of Hellenism with Hebraism proper has not yet taken place.

LITERATURE.—Freeman, Hist. Essavs, 2nd ser. (4th ed. 1892). Essay 6 discusses the sources of Alexander's history. For the Rabbinical traditions see Dersenough, Hist. de la Pal. (1891).—R. E. = Hamburger Beitr. (1899).—B. = 68. (1900).—D. = Droysen, Gesch. Alex. des Grossen (1877) and Gesch. der Hellenis. (1879) are of special value, and so also is von Karrntes (1894), in brilliant for some of the philosophical tendencies. Add Mahaffy, Gr. Life and Thought (1896).—Preuß, Geschichte von Alexander's Ehrenr (1900), and Seeley, Eng. with His Enemies (1904); and Durm, All. d. Alexanderzeit (1895).—R. W. Moss.

ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY.

[W. R. INGE.]

Scope of the Article.—Some of the best-known histories of 'Alexandrianism,' or 'the School of Alexandria,' have been really histories of Neo-Platonism. This is a mistake. Neo-Platonism, which will be dealt with in this Encyclopædia under its own name, is the latest stage in the development of Greek thought. Its connexion with Alexandria is less than is commonly supposed. In this article the local limit will be observed. Secondly, this article will deal with theology, not with philosophy. Although Neo-Platonism was essentially a religious philosophy, and Alexandrian theology a philosophical religion, it is possible to maintain the distinction. And we may speak of an Alexandrian theology, though not of an Alexandrian philosophy.

Thirdly, the Hellenic schools of religious thought which flourished at Alexandria are omitted, as belonging rather to the precursors of Neo-Platonism than to our present subject. The justification for omitting them lies in their subordination of positive religion to philosophy, which was almost an axiom among the Pagans; e.g. Galen expresses surprise that some Christians, who cannot follow philosophical arguments, ' have progressed as far in self-directed parallel with the genuine philosophers.' Moreover, in spite of the resemblance in metaphysical and especially in ethical principles between these Hellenic schools and the Judeo-Christian Alexandrians, their attitude towards the Greek tradition and culture is decisive. There is a great cleavage in this respect even between Clement and Plotinus. In reformed Pagan circles it seems to have been a matter of good taste not to mention Christianity, and Judaism was regarded with equal contempt. It is very doubtful whether the Jewish-Alexandrian theologians had any direct influence upon Neo-Platonism. In fact, national and, still more, religious prejudices counteracted the cosmopolitan tendency of thought which began under the successors of Alexander. In spite of the common parentage of many ideas, and the parallelism of development under similar conditions, the separa-
tion is sharp between the three forms which religious philosophy assumed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries: (1) Jewish and Christian Platonism, both of which stand on the basis of Jewish monothelism; (2) the Hellenic religious philosophy, of which the best representative is Platonism; (3) the barbaric Platonism of the Gaonics. In each of these there appear the following characteristics, though often qualified by other tendencies: (a) an abstract notion of God as the transcendent, absolute Unity; (b) a tendency to call in intermediary powers (the Logos, spirits, etc.) to bridge the gap between God and the world; (c) a tendency to connect matter with the evil principle, (d) self-discipline as a means to clearer vision of Divine truths. But the emphasis, which was laid on these several doctrines differed widely in the three classes above named.

This article deals only with the first—Jewish and Christian Platonism, as developed at Alexandria. And the three representative names, round which our discussion must range, are Philo, Clement, and Origen.

1. Precursors of Philo. It was inevitable that the Judaism of the Diaspora should diverge further and farther from the Palestinian tradition. Egypt especially, where the Jews comprised nearly half the population of the capital, and were numerous throughout the country, a vigorous independent life was sure to appear in all departments of mental activity. The Egyptian Jews could not maintain an attitude of aloofness from the secular culture of the world around them. To say that they were Hellenized is only to say that they were not self-excluded from the civilization of the period, for Hellenism was a factor in all the religions, philosophy, and ethics of the lands where Greek culture penetrated. But when we speak of the Hellenizing of Judaism, we mean more than the pervading influence of the secular civilization. There was a definite attempt made by the Jews to interpret their own religion in a form acceptable to the Greeks, from which cannot be separated an attempt to interpret Hellenism to themselves by stretching it upon a framework of Jewish orthodoxy. This was a result of the rapid decay of faith in the statutory Judaism among the educated, a decay which was exhibited both by the increasing inwardness and spirituality of the really religious, and by the increasing exteriorization of the popular religion. In the Diaspora, a liberal Judaism sprang up which was merely a cultured Unitarianism with strong ethical convictions. The old dream of a theocracy was forgotten, and Messianism aroused no interest. The Greek doctrine of immortality was given a moral turn by conceiving of the future life as primarily the scene of rewards and punishments; and the national hatred of Rome (after the Roman conquest of the East) was gratified by the belief in a day of universal doom, and ushering in the great assize. The statutory basis of this religion was furnished by the Old Testament, which was asserted to contain the sum total of all Divine and human wisdom. The 'books of Moses,' in particular, were treated with unlimited reverence.

The Septuagint is perhaps our earliest specimen of Jewish-Alexandrian literature, for the traces of Greek influence in Sirach are very disputable. Dahe has shown that the translators frequently modified the 'from the Philhellenism of the Old Testament, substituting, e.g., the 'power' for the 'hand' of God, and His 'glory' for His 'robe' in Is 6'. In Gn 2* they seize the opportunity to introduce the Platonic distinction of matter and form, and in Ps 40 the Greek ùμετερωμα του'seems itself. The third book of the so-called Sibylline Oracles, which probably dates from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C., is a remarkable proof of growing respect for Greek thought and religion, since the main object of the composition is to support Jewish monotheism and Jewish national hopes, under the form of heathen prophecy. But the characteristic features of Alexandrianism, even among the Jews, are not more marked than they are among the Gnostics. Neither allegorism, nor ecstasy, nor asceticism, can be found in them. In the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, though the form is that of Hebrew poetry, the matter is far more Hellenic. The 'reason here is identical with Philo's Logos, and the 'Spirit' is also half-personified, being, indeed, only the Wisdom itself under a slightly different aspect. The 'Word,' on the other hand, is used, as in the Old Testament, as the vehicle of the truth of God; there is no approximation to the Philonic use of 'Logos,' even in 18:18, where there is a poetical personification. On Messianic hopes the author is silent, like the other Wisdom-writers; and the book was not written for Palestinian Jews, but not accepted by them as Scripture. The influence of Greek (Platonic and Stoic) philosophy appears chiefly in the conception of a harmonious order of the world, directed by an immanent principle (Wisdom). The most striking deviation from orthodoxy is to be found in the doctrine of pre-existence, which is clearly stated in 8:12: 'I was a child of comely parts, and had obtained a good soul; or rather, being good, intruded into an undefiled body.' This can only mean that the soul has displayed goodness in a previous state of existence. The body is thus no essential part of the personality, a view which leads easily to the notion that it is, if not the source of moral evil, yet the 'muddy vesture of decay' which presses down the soul. The eschatology is vague. There will be no bodily resurrection; but the souls of the righteous will be rewarded, at the inspection, with everlasting felicity, and those of the wicked will be excluded from their true life, and cast into eternal darkness.

2. Philo. Passing by the Letter of the pseudo-Aristeas, a manifest forgery, and the fragments of Aristobulus (a Hellenist who lived in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.), which have also been suspected, we come to Philo. Philo (born about 20 B.C.) was a member of a well-known Alexandrian family, being brother of Alexander the Alabarch, the head of the Jewish community of the capital. Philo himself lived a life of retirement and contemplation, until an outbreak of anti-Jewish fanaticism, fomented by the Roman governor Flaccus, led to his being sent to Rome with a deputation from the Jewish community (A.D. 38-40). He was then elderly, and had already written most of his books.

Philo believed himself to be, and was accepted by his contemporaries as being, an orthodox Jew. He is an apologist, who defends Judaism against atheism, polytheism, and scepticism. More particularly, since Judaism for the Alexandrian Jew was a book-religion, he was concerned to prove that the highest forms of revelation and of human wisdom were contained within the compass of the Old Testament. Disrespect to the sacred text is in his opinion a crime of the deepest dye; he knows of an impious man who, after laughing at some story in Genesis, soon after hanged himself for no particular reason—a manifest judgment (de Mut. Nom., 8). His theory of inspiration is that God speaks through the prophet, who is merely a passive instrument. This inspiration takes place when the instrument is in a kind of trance, such as Philo himself has experienced. His mind suddenly becomes full of images, and ideas pour forth from it, while he is insensible to all externals (de Migrat.}
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Abrah. 7). The description resembles Böhme's account of his manner of writing. At the head of all the prophets is Moses, who alone had seen God face to face. In his writings the sum of human wisdom is contained.

This conception of revelation, as given once for all to a single individual, led Philo to great difficulties. If he had been content to argue that this was the more spiritual faith of his day, it was contained implicitly, in germ, in the Pentateuch, he might have made out a good case. But the doctrine of development, even in the limited application afterwards made by St. Paul to the Greek Church, he can admit of no inferiority in Genesis as compared with Isaiah. And since the OT, understood in its natural sense, contained many things which could not but shock the conscience as well as the intelligence of a cultivated Alexandrian acquainted with Greek philosophy, the expediency of allegorism was necessary (see ALLEGORY). This method was no invention of Philo, or of his contemporaries. Greek moralists had long treated Homer in this way, quoting lines from him as quo verses from the Bible, to enforce moral lessons. This system was elaborated by the Sophists, and still more by the school of Anaxagoras; but it is rejected by Plato, who will not admit unifying myths into his State, 'either with or without allegories.' It may be said that to a certain kind of exposition is justified.

In the higher kinds of literature, the perception of some sort of allegory or double meaning is almost necessary. The mere literal or grammatical sense cannot satisfy the student of any poetry or imaginative prose. But when Homer is made by the Stoic to prove such philosophic theses as that virtue can be taught, or that the sage is 'apathetic;' by the Pythagorean to teach that silence is golden, and by the Epicurean that pleasure is the guide of life; and when Moses is made by Philo to indicate the eternal motion of the heavens under the figure of the cherubim's flaming sword, we have a right to protest. So arbitrary and unscientific an exegesis is a fatal obstacle to understanding the religious books of mankind—a task in which we cannot succeed unless we realize that the thoughts of the past are relative to the past, and must be interpreted by it. Philo himself calls it the method of the Greek mysteries. In these rites everything was represented as being at once a thing and the covering of a thing, an outward sign and an inward truth.

Allegorism, then, is simply the sacramental method applied to history and literature. It was becoming the common property of all the higher religions, and was the easiest refuge for educated men who wished to belong to an established religious body, without forcing themselves to accept immoral or absurd beliefs. The general view was that all revelation is a Divine cryptogram, which serves the double purpose of concealing the truth from those who are unworthy to receive it, and of magnifying it, for the choicer spirits, by an indirect and mysterious mode of presentation (ἡ κρυφὴ ἡ μυστικὴ συμπεριφέρεται ἐν διαφοραῖς).

The following summary of Philo's principles of exegesis may give some idea of the method in practice. (1) When nouns are repeated, a hidden meaning is indicated. In "νεφελής, μαθηματική σχόλη," "νεφελής" means that Abraham was made clear from the transcendent nature of the flesh. There can be no tautology in Scripture, and no change of a word without a meaning. If Moses says "shepherd" in one place and "keeper of sheep" in another, he between a good and a bad kind. (2) Plays on words are frequent, e.g., "θεός is the most commonly used word for God in the Greek Bible, and is frequently used for the adjective, not corresponding with its English equivalent. (3) Double meanings of words often give the clue to the higher meaning, e.g., since "rib" is sometimes used for "strength," the word "Adam's rib" means that the almighty God compasses things forth out of the void. (4) Numbers are always important; one is the number of God, two of the creature, three of the body, four of potential completeness, five of the sensible life, and so on. (5) Animals are symbolic: the camel of memory, the ass of the irrational nature, the snake of lust. Inanimate objects are treated in the same way. (6) The proper names in the Pentateuch are allegorized according to their affinities. Philo speaks of allegorism as the 'moral,' as opposed to the 'natural' interpretation.

It is plain that the principle of allegorism offered great temptations to evade the letter of the Mosaic law. This misuse of the method is condemned by Philo, who protests against those who thus 'spiritualized' the ceremonies enjoined in the Pentateuch (de Migrat. Abrah. 16). He also distrusts the symbolic study of nature, as raising more problems than it solves. We shall learn more by studying our own minds, and the sacred literature.

In considering Philo's theology, we must expect to find the Greek and Hebrew elements imperfectly fused. It would surpass the genius of any man to harmonize the logical, analytic thought of Greek theism, with the vague, indefinite intuitions of Hebrew prophecy. But the way had been prepared for him by approximations from both sides. The Jews of Alexandria had universalized Jahweh till He had lost the characteristics of the tribal God of the Hebrews; and, on the Greek thought was now more favourably disposed to the transcendence of God than when Stoicism reigned supreme. Philo has no difficulty in explaining the anthropomorphisms of the Pentateuch as more accommodating God, in truth, not a Being who can feel anger, jealousy, or repentance. He is without body, invisible, the most universal of beings, above goodness, above knowledge, above even the absolute Good and Beautiful. We apprehend His existence partly by analogy: as we have an invisible mind, which is sovereign over the body, so must the Universe be guided by an invisible mind, which is God (de Mundi Opif. 33). Also, the world shows traces of design, but the principle of causality cannot reside in matter, which has nothing noble in itself, but only the potentiality of becoming all things (de Mundi Opif. 5).

A higher mode of apprehending God is by spiritual intuition, which under certain conditions culminates in knowledge of Him. But, since like cannot be known by like, we are prevented by the limitations of our finitude from forming an adequate conception of the mind of the Universe. We cannot get out of ourselves, and understood existence is incomprehensible to us. 'We must first become God, which is impossible, in order to be able to comprehend God' (Fragm. ii. 654). We approach most nearly to the truth when we strip off from our idea of God all that is characteristic of finite existence. This process still leaves Him with the attributes of goodness, freedom, and activity. Creative activity (τὸ τραοῦ) is characteristic of God as receptivity (τὸ πάθειον) is of the creature, and God 'never ceases working.' The φυσικὴ νοηματικὴ logically leads to a God who is without qualities (ἀρνητικόν*); but Philo here takes refuge in agnosticism. 'God has revealed Himself to us, and we cannot say that the First Cause is material or immaterial, with or without qualities' (Leg. All. iii. 73).

The bare fact of His existence (ἦν ἦν ἄρχων ἡμίτοιο Ἰσραήλ, Καὶ Ἰδοὺ ἐπέλειμ. 11) the mind can apprehend, but no more. He was revealed to Moses as the Nameless Existing. Nevertheless, we cannot, without contradiction ascribe to God the attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, and the like, which can be applied only to the Supreme Being; and such attributes, according to Philo, in their full meaning can be applied only to Him. 'Those things which among men are called truth and justice, are symbols only; but those which are

* But properly acrētikos means not 'having no attributes,' but 'incapable of being classified': God does not belong to any class or order of being, but is above all classification, being unique.
so with God are prototypes or ideas,' God is 'the most generic' as excluding nothing; but He transcends even the highest genus, τὰ λογικά. He is 'older than the monad;' by which Philo means that the unity of God is not merely the negation of plurality, but that His nature is the archetype of the monad's unmediated concept.

One of the most difficult parts of Philo's system is the doctrine of the Divine 'Powers.' These Powers could be fully apprehended only by pure Intuition; to us they are revealed in their action. They exist, however, in the external world, for they are infinite, like God Himself. Their function is to give to matter those forms in virtue of which we are able to say that things exist. In themselves, the Powers are the eternal forms of God's thought; their activity is stamped on the whole order of nature, which in the regularity of its changes reflects the persistence of the creative ideas. These Powers, or ideas, are not of equal rank. The highest of them is the Logos, which stands nearest to the Godhead, even as the reasonable soul of man is that part of him which reaches most nearly to the Divine.

It has been usual with critics of Philo to condemn with great severity this conception of 'Powers.' It is said that he uses them as an expedient to mediate between two irreconcilables, God and the world, and that the contradiction reappears, in no way disguised, in the mediators assigned to the mediating agents. The Powers are sometimes identified with God, and sometimes separate from Him (it is said) as a transparent device to bring God again into contact with the finite, from which He has been jealously excluded by another line of argument. It is perhaps worse, for the whole system without regard to God as something more than a finite spirit among other spirits, has succeeded in explaining how an all-pervading, omnipresent, and eternal being can really act in space and time. Philo is possibly not more successful than others who have attempted to do so; but a fair estimate of his teaching may be that he acquired him of the puerile expedient of creating substitures to act in God's place. 'God, being outside creation, has none the less filled it with Himself,' he says in one place (De Leg. Alleg., 5); and this is not an isolated acknowledgment of the Divinity. He 'extends' His Powers in creation just as man is said to 'extend' the energies of his soul to God. It is true that we read that 'the Blessed One must not come into contact with indeterminate matter;' and this is why He used the immaterial Powers, whose real name is ideas, that every genus might be taken possession of by its proper form. But surely this is merely to assert the transcendence of God, without denying Him immanence. The notion of the Powers as substrata for logos or fountains of mind and creative potential may be even be discussed without wandering far from his standpoint. Discordant records a very opposite parallel from Athanasius: 'The Father said, "to all creation, outside of the whole of His essence, but in all things by his powers... containing the whole of things and not containing, being wholly and in every respect, Father and author of all things, but only."' Both in Philo and Athanasius the phrases denoting spatial externality and its opposite externalization are to be metaphors. In the same way, when the Powers are symbolized as the agents and ministers of God, the poetical form ought not to have been misunderstood as a literal statement of fact. Philo is extremely fond of personification: e.g. for him 'all the virtues are virgin,' just as, par revocem, the wives of the patriarchs are 'not women but virtues.' Nothing can prove more strongly that Philo did not sacrifice personality to the Powers, than the fact that he everywhere distinguishes them from the angels (in spite of Zeller and others). The angels are incorporeal souls, created, finite, and localized: they are 'powers,' no doubt, doing God's will in ways different from the 'Powers' of Jewish Ideas. These latter are the active manifestations of the energy of God, which is His creation in the reality, as well as all the outward and beautiful, which it possesses.

In the hierarchy of Powers, the Logos of God is, as already remarked, second to God Himself (Leg. Alleg., i, 21). The name Logos comes from Stoicism, but for the content of the word Philo is more indebted to Plato. The Stoical notion of Logos as active and quickening force is less prominent than the Platonic expressions 'idea of ideas' and 'archetypal idea.' The Logos of Philo, in fact, coincides with the Logos of Mos. This Jewish recultified word is used in the mode which he assumes in creating: 'in the Logos are inscribed and engraved the constitutions of all other things.' As the principle of orderly differentiation in the natural world, he is called the 'Cutter' (ραμεύς). The inferior ideas, gathered up in the Logos, constitute the multiplicity in unity of God's creation. A difficult question is raised by the distinction between the inward (ἰσχυρός) and the uttered (ῥητός) Logos in man, which corresponds to a distinction in the universal Logos. The Logos is double both in the universe and in the nature of man (Vit. Mos. iii, 13). The 'seal' of the Logos upon matter is the expression of the thought of God—is not called the 'uttered Word'; but the distinction in the universal Logos seems to be between the thought of God in itself and the same thought made objective.

Another problem is the relation of the Logos to the personified 'Wisdom' of the early Jewish-Alexandrian literature. Philo disliked the gender of 'Wisdom'; and though he explains that 'its nature is masculine, not feminine,' he found the word less dignified as well as less plastic than Logos. 'Wisdom' is chiefly used by Philo of the Logos as informing the human soul, hardly ever of God's creative power. The word 'Spirit' is sparingly used of the Logos or Wisdom inhabiting the soul of man. The question as to the personification of the Logos is better undiscussed. Neither Philo nor any Greek cared to define personality, a concept which has no name in the Greek language. He sometimes speaks of Logos in the plural, with no more hesitation than when he uses 'reason,' differently of 'the law' or 'the laws' of nature. For this very reason he employs poetical or mythic personification quite freely. The Logos is the constitutive principle of human individuality; he is not himself individual. The doctrine of Philo is therefore nearer to what, in Christianity, became Monarchianism than to the Arianism with which it has been compared, or to the Athanasian orthodoxy. See, further, the article LOGOS.

As the Logos of God is the archetype of human reason, the mind of man is nearer to God than any other created thing. The human soul is the only worthy temple of God; those in whom God dwells may justly be called His sons. Knowledge of God, gained by imitation of Him and likeness to Him, is the highest good for man. Evil consists in separation from God, and ignorance of Him; the soul of evil, the end of moral evil is sinfulness (ἁμαρτία), especially when combined with arrogance and conceit (λαύτρυπα). 'To speak, like Ésaú, of "my birthright," and "my blessing," is proof of boundless ignorance, and of a mean, servile disposition;' for God alone is called 'Mine' (Leg. Alleg., iii, 70). Philo does not identify evil with ignorance; for he clearly teaches that sins committed in ignorance are pardonable; but he is careful to distinguish between the Ignorance which we cannot help and that which is due to pride or selfishness. The corruptible body always tends to press down the soul; not that it is evil in itself, for matter has no moral significance, good or bad, apart from our use of it; but, as a matter of experience, the bodily needs and appetites are a clag upon spiritual progress. To those in sense, though Divine gifts are, irrational, urging us to their own gratification without thought of consequences; but to make this gratification our object is wrong and ruinous. The passions (ψύχη) for the most part operate in opposition to reason, and are therefore bad; but the good man is not destitute of such μετανοίαν ψύχη as pity and love.

The great helper of mankind in the ascent to God is the Logos; and here Philo tries to unite the Logos with the Godhead. The Logos is the mediator between God with his Platonic idealism. His description of the virtuous life is on the whole very modern in sentiment. Self-discipline is not an end in itself. Such exercises as fasting, abstinence from the bath, and sleeping on the ground are useless and unprofitable labours, which injure the soul as well as
as the body (Quod. det. pot. 7). It is true that we
have a war to wage, the most difficult and trouble-
some of all wars, against our bodily appetites, and
that in practice we must often regard our bodies
as by nature evil; but Philo advises neither ascetical austerities nor withdrawal from the
world. Power, as he sees, does not lie in the
wilderness; it is safer to live in the world, to
accept responsibilities and dignities, and show how
such a career can be followed without contamin-
ation and to the good of others. Those who
assume a solitary and melancholy appearance, and
say that they escape the gaiety of the world, as
the most difficult ... between the
Eucharist and the Agape. In contrast with this
primitive organization, there grew into importance,

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Alexandrian theology

This page contains a discussion of Alexandrian theology, focusing on Philo of Alexandria. The text mentions the difficulty of distinguishing between religious practices and the world, and the role of Philo in attempting to reconcile these. It also touches on the importance of truthfulness in speech, the avoidance of oaths, and the contrast between Philo's view of the world and that of resurrection. The text references various commentators and scholars, including Jerome and Zeller, and mentions the importance of Philo's work in the development of Christian thought. The text concludes with a discussion of the influence of Philo's writings, particularly his Logos doctrine, on later Christian thought and literature.
ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY

in the later half of the century, the remarkable Catechetical School, the earliest διδακταλίον in close relation to the Church. (The schools of the Apologists—Justin, Tatian, etc.—were private ventures.) The oldest Gnostic schools for the study of religious philosophy were in Egypt, and the Christian Catechetical School may have been modeled partly upon these and partly upon the Jewish high schools (cf. Euseb. HE v. 10, εἰς ἀρχαίον ἑταῖρ διδακταλίων τῶν τειχων λόγω πάντι συνεργίας). The school emerges from darkness under Pantaenus, but its teaching came to light (Pierius, ad Sen.), and the management either under him or under Clement. There were no class-rooms or collegiate buildings. The head of the school gave informal instruction in his own house, sometimes by lectures, sometimes by conversation classes (Orig. c. Cels. vi. 10). The usual course was three years ( Const. Eccl. Eyp. iii. 42). No fees were charged. The lecturer was supported by free gifts from rich students. The education was on much the same lines as that advocated by Philo. The aim was the acquisition of γνῶσις—the higher theology and religion. The preparation consisted partly of moral discipline and partly of the study of philosophy, to which must be added the art of expounding, in accordance with the principles of allegory which contain the special revelation. The Christian teachers placed Greek philosophy and the Old Testament Scriptures side by side as pedepedaleutic to the higher knowledge; and among philosophers, though the Platonist and Stoics were most studied, none were excluded except the 'godless Epicureans.' The commentators of Origen show that Biblical study held a very important place in the course. The list of Heads of the School is given as follows: Pantaenus, Clement, Origen, Heraclus, Dionysius, Pierius, Theognostus, Seraphon, Petrus, Marcarius! ... Didymus, Rhodon. (Arius, according to Theodoret (HE i. 1), was catechist; but it is very unlikely that he was ever Head of the School). The Catechetical School lost its importance during the Arian controversy, and was further weakened by the attacks upon Origen's orthodoxy. It was destroyed in the unhappy struggle between Theophrastus of Alexandria and the barbarous orthodoxy of the Egyptian monks.

(a) Pantaenus, the first Head of the School, is said by Eusebius to have been a Stoic, by Philip of Side to have been an Athenian, a Peripatetic. In accordance with his study in Greek philosophy, he is said to have been an adherent of the Platonic and Stoic schools. He was a student at Alexandria before his appointment at Alexandria. The notices of his teaching indicate that he led the way in the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. His work seems to have been more catechetical than literary, and the most interesting fragment of his teaching has been preserved in the form of question and answer. 'Pantaenus, being asked in what manner Christians suppose God to know reality, replied, He neither knows sensible things by intelligible things by intellect. For it is not possible that He who is above the things that are should apprehend the things that are according to the things that are. We say that He knows things that are as acts of His own will (οὐ θεατηρία, Maximus Conf., Schol. in Greg. Nys.).' Clement was almost certainly a hearer of Pantaenus (not vice versa, as Philip of Side says); and it is highly probable that Pantaenus is the 'Sicilian bee' whom Clement discovered 'hiding himself' in Egypt, as he 'found rest.'

(b) Clement of Alexandria.—Titus Flavius Clemens was born about A.D. 150, not at Alexandria; perhaps at Athens (Epiphanius). After many years of leisurely travelling in Italy, Greece, and the East, he came to Alexandria, where, about 200, he succeeded Pantaenus as Head of the Catechetical School. In 202 or 203 he was compelled by the persecution under Severus to quit Alexandria, probably for Palestine and Syria. He was still living in 211, but dead in 216. We do not know at what period of his life he embraced Christianity, or what were the stages of his conversion.

The works of Clement are as follows:

(1) The Ἀργυροὶ Προτάττομοι παρὰ Εὐαγγελῆς, an exhortation to the Greeks (not 'Gentiles,' as Jerome mistranslates it) to abandon paganism. This treatise is probably too little known about. (2) The Παθητάκτης, written after the last-named, a practical instruction dealing chiefly with the conduct of social and personal life. The Tutor little abounds in wisdom, and is for the most part a commonplace manual. (3) The Στρομάτων (title in full κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Φιλοσοφὸν τοῖς ἑρμηνευόμενοι στρομάτων, Strom., i, 20), Miscellanies, a much longer treatise, in seven books. It contains a great many books. (The fragment of a logical treatise called Book viii, does not seem to belong to the Στρομάτων, and the end of Book vii promises another treatise rather than another Book: οι Αργυροί προτάττομοι εἰς τὸ πρώτον.)

The Miscellanies, which are issued in a uniform shape, are a set of knowledge may not be made too plain to readers who are not sufficiently informed as to the understanding of Clement's theology. (4) Τα άραιά and the Excerpta ex Theodoto, have been discussed with different results by Zahn, Ruben, von Armin, and Faye.
it is seldom necessary to read between the lines in Clement. He was not a profound thinker, but a well-read and able man, who accepted in an intelligent manner the syncretistic philosophy popular in learned circles at Alexandria. He has been called cloudy and rhetorical, and has been accused of taking his quotations from anthologies and apocrypha. But the obscurity is rather of arrangement than of thought, and the rhetoric is not often obtrusive. In Clement an ardent and impetuous imagination is joined to a serene soul and a clear intelligence. In fact it is worth observing in view of the criticism that is leveled against him that rhetoric, the 'evil genius of Greece,' infected Greek Christianity, that Minucius and Tertullian are much more 'rhetorical' than Justin or Clement. Clement, as a Christian philosopher, is aware that he has to encounter prejudice and mistrust. Gnosticism, at this time, was much more drenched in the Church than fifty years earlier, when it was really a formidable intellectual force. At the end of the 2nd century, the Christians were better educated, and the growth of rationalism and speculation in the Church severed them from the schools; since, therefore, Clement may be trusted to have been influenced by that, his 'theses philosophorum' (Ie Præscript. 7) should be banished from the Church; and Clement is well aware that the majority agree with him. 'Philosophy,' he says, 'is a goblins who runs in the blood of us, as the vulgar think' (Strom. vi. 10). It is not the privilege of the few; 'with us, philosophers are those who love Wisdom, the Author and Teacher of all things' (Strom. vi. 7). But he feels that the obstinacy, with their cry of πάντως καὶ ὑπόλογοι πάνω (Strom. i. 43), are formidable; he must even vindicate his right to publish a book at all! Must literature be left only to pagans and atheists? he asks. Must teaching be only by word of mouth? His doctrine is not his own, but handed down from the Apostles; and, lastly, people are not obliged to read him. Such a defence throws much light on the Christian distrust of culture even at Alexandria. To turn to Clement's theology. God is a Being (ὁ Θεός), but above space and time, 'beyond even the One and the Monad,' and strictly nameless, though we are obliged to give Him names. In a doubtful fragment (on which see Bigg, Bampton Lectures [1886], p. 64) he has been thought to deny to God the consciousness of the world; this, however, probably Clement only means that God knows reality not as external to Himself. He certainly does not teach that the Father has no consciousness except through the Son. God takes pleasure in our salvation, and in that only (Strom. viii. 3; Protrept. 94, 95, 116); His nature is profoundly moral: He is good because He wills to do good, not like fire, which radiates heat automatically (Strom. viii. 42, and esp. Strom. vi. 104, εἰπὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ἡμᾶς ἁγιάσας ἐκεῖ, παρακάτω μὴ μαχαιρεῖς καὶ καθαρίσου... τοῖς ἐνσέφανίσθαι, καὶ θέσω σε καὶ παρθένι ἁγιάσῃ ὑμᾶς). Such passages must be considered as well as those in which he tries to outdo Plato in emphasizing the transcendence of God. Nor need we insist that no man cometh to the Father except through Christ, the Logos. He rejects the Stoic pretension to 'resemble God' (cf. however, Strom. vii. 113, quoted below), and quotes very pertinently the words of Christ Himself: 'Heareth for the disciple to be as his master.' His Logosconception in his Christology, is less metaphysical and more religious than that of Philo. Although the direct dependence of Clement on Philo, as regards his conception of the Logos, is less than in his principles of allegorical interpretation, established by Siegfried, it is plain that, while Philo is mainly preoccupied with the desire to explain the formation and government of the universe, Clement is much more interested in religious psychology. In the 150 years which elapsed between the two writers, the centre of gravity in 'philosophy' had changed from metaphysics and cosmology to religion and ethics (ὅς ἐστιν... διακοσμίων μετὰ τῶν τῶν Ἐρωτικῶν τῶν Ἀρχέων Ἀρχέων, he says). The immanent Logos of the Stoics was now more thought of than the Platonic. 'Idea of Ideas.' Clement's attempt to combine the two conceptions may be the excuse for Photius' charge that he taught 'two Logoi.' Or perhaps Clement was perplexed about the Father's consciousness while the Son was incarnate. But the 'two Logoi' do not appear in his extant treatises. The Logos in Clement is the instrument in creation (He is often called 'creator'); he introduces harmony into the universe, of which He is the 'pilot.' He created man in His own image. He is spoken of as 'the Will of God,' 'a power, or energy, of God,' and in particular as 'Saviour,' a term to which, we think, there is no parallel in Philo. He was a 'lover of mankind' from the beginning (I. 26). In vain does he strive with the Church; and Clement is well aware that the majority agree with him. 'Philosophy,' he says, 'is a goblin who runs in the blood of us, as the vulgar think' (Strom. vi. 10). It is not the privilege of the few; 'with us, philosophers are those who love Wisdom, the Author and Teacher of all things' (Strom. vi. 7). But he feels that the obstinacy, with their cry of πάντως καὶ ὑπόλογοι πάνω (Strom. i. 43), are formidable; he must even vindicate his right to publish a book at all! Must literature be left only to pagans and atheists? he asks. 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are necessary to each other, and closely related. Faith is defined as 'a voluntary anticipation (προληπτικής) of things unseen,' an unifying assent to an unseen object, the foundation of rational choice.

Voluntarily to follow what is useful is the first condition of understanding it. Unless knowledge is based on faith, it remains merely intellectual assent, and is neither stable nor effective. The motive powers of faith are hope and filial awe. 'God is just, because He is merciful.' Faith, however, must go hand in hand with inquiry (προερωτημένοι): it is the nature of living faith to develop into knowledge (γνώσις). The perfect Christian, therefore, is the 'Gnostic,' a word which Clement will not abandon to the sectarian s who at last monopolized it. The portrait of the Gnostic is given in Strom. vii. It is of supreme importance for the understanding of Clement as a teacher, because it anticipates the final part of his scheme, which was never executed. He does not expand his Gnosticism, but he does show us its fruits. The Gnostic is the man whose character has been formed by the complete religious philosophy for which the earlier books of the Stromateis are a preparation only.

The aim of the Gnostic is to 'become like to God.' Origen is not afraid, speaking as a Greek, to say that he μετατρέπει εις θεόν (Strom. vi. 118). The Divine attribute of which he is thinking in such expressions is the higher knowledge, that which has for its object the 'intelligible world.' In his view (Strom. vii. 47) the Jewish language that the highest contemplation is knowledge of God, which is inseparable from likeness to Him. In Stoical form he says (Strom. iv. 20) that Gnosis is the purification of the ruling faculty of the soul; and hence the necessity of moral even more than intellectual training is insisted on. In the seventh book the 'canons' of the Gnostic character are said to be 'gentleness, kindness, and noble devotion,' and the 'achievements of the Gnostic faculty' are 'to know what is right, to do what is right, and to help others to do it.'

'The is the true athlete, who in the great stadium, this beautiful world, is crowned for the great victory over all his passions.' He is persuaded that the instruction that has been given is always towards something better, till they are brought to the Great High Priest, in the vestibule of the Father.' Exceptional prominence is given to the two words δύναμις and δύναται, the former of which is the equivalent of power, the latter of which the passions are no longer even felt: εἰρεται ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δύναται (Strom. vii. 79); and still stronger Strom. vi. 75): and the latter is the climax of the whole Christian life, the end which, like the beginning, faith, is not matter of teaching (τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀκα- κείτα). The statement that Clement exalts the intellect above the affections is untrue. The words κυριοτάτη πάσης ἐπιστήμης ἐπίστημα (Strom. vi. 68) are typical. The 'intellectual love of God' affords peace to all our faculties, and unites the entire personality. 'Conduct follows knowledge as surely as the shadow the body.' The will is not neglected. Faith in the first instance is an affair of the will, and is the necessary foundation of knowledge, the superstructure (Strom. ii. 11, v. 2, vii. 55): 'but both are Christ, the foundation and the superstructure too.' Faith exists in a higher and a lower form—πιστείᾳ ἐπεισιμοϊκῇ and προδεσιακῇ (Strom. ii. 48).

As a thinker, Clement is most important as the author of a consistent philosophy of religion, fusing Platonism and Stoicism in a Christian mould. In Stoicism he found a natural religion, rationalism, moralism, and a predominant interest in psychology and apologetics, in Platonism a cosiology, doctrines of revelation, redemption and salvation, and contemplation as the highest state. 'In Clement,' says Hort, 'Christian theology in some important respects reaches its highest point... There was no one whose vision of what the faith of Jesus Christ was intended to do for mankind was so full or so true (Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 93).

Lertorat.—The best edition of the text of Clement is in Stahlin, Gr. christl. Schrifsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderte (1906). Important for the study of Clement are Zahn, Vorstudien zu Celsus und den Auslegungen des Celsus, etc., vol. iii. (1884); Bigg, Christian Platonism of Alexander (1886); P. M. Barnard, Isis Dieses Saeculit (1857); de Faye, Clement d'Alexandrie (1898); Capelle, Die Moral der Clements von Alexanria (1903); Hort and J. B. Mayor, Clem. of Alex. Miscellanies, Book vi. Clem. also dedicated by the present writer in Church Quarterly Rev. for July 1902.

(c) Origen (Origines Adamantii—the latter a real name) is said by Epiphanius to have been 'an Egyptian by race,' which probably does not mean a Copt. Porphyry calls him 'a Greek,' and his father, the martyr Leonides, has a Greek name. He was born about 185, was carefully brought up as a Christian, became a pupil of Pantaenus and Clement, and already in his 18th year occupied informally the position of Head of the Catechetical School, the older teachers having been scattered by the persecution under Severus. For many years he was occupied in laborious study and teaching, mainly on the Bible; but he took the name of Ammonius Saccas, and was himself consulted by many non-Christians. In 215 he was driven from Egypt by mob-violence, and taught for some time at Cesarea, even preaching in the churches, though still a layman, in more Christian language than Demetrius. He became the矜ane if the Saccas, and was himself consulted by invitations to visit Palestine, Greece, and Asia Minor (about 227). In Palestine he received orders from the bishops there, without the consent of Demetrius. That prelate resented his action as contumacious, and Origen left Alexandria for the last time in 231. The Egyptian Synod condemned him, and even declared his priesthood invalid; but the sentence was disregarded in Palestine, where Origen laboured (at Cesarea) for the last twenty years of his life. He was again summoned to the Ecumenical Council of 235, and was recalled by the Cæsarea; but the Decian persecution (250), and, broken in health, died at Tyre in 253.

A complete list of Origen's works would occupy too much space here. The following are the principal dates of publication, when various editions have been published.

235-239. Commentaries on St. John, Genesis, etc.; Miscel-
naries; de Principiis.
239-243. Commentaries on Isaiah, etc.
240. Letter to Julitta Africanus; Commentaries on Canticles (10 books).
246. The eight books contra Celsum.

Of these the most valuable for an understanding of Origen's theology and philosophy are the de Principiis, the Commentary on St. John, and the contra Celsum; to which may be added the beautiful treatise On Prayer (date uncertain; before 231), and the collection of extracts from his writings called Philocalia, made by Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil.

Principles of exegesis.—Allegorism in Origen is an instrument of apologetics, and at the same time a device to gain freedom of thought. He insists that no word or letter of Scripture can lack meaning, and that every historical text has a body, soul, and spirit, i.e. a literal, moral, and spiritual sense. History is compared to a ladder, of which the literal facts are the lowest rung (in Joh. 1. 20).
This metaphor would bind us to do justice to the literal meaning first. But Origen, like Philo, at times expresses almost contempt for the literal narrative. ‘What man of sense,’ he says (cf. Philo, frag. 1 and second and third day, and the evening and morning, existed before a sun and moon and stars? Or that God walked in a garden in the evening, and that Adam rose a tree?” Or that the devil took Jesus into a high mountain, whence He could see the kingdoms of the Persians and Scythians and Indians’? (de Princ. i. 16). All such passages, for their higher meanings. ‘All things are some passages,’ he says, ‘which are not literally true, but absurd and impossible. (ibid. v. 18).’ So ‘some of the laws of Moses are absurd and others impossible.’ Moses orders the sacrifice of an animal (the θυσία) which does not exist in nature. Moses deduces from this some of the laws of Moses. ‘Scripture contains an unhistorical element, inwoven with the history. And in such a case the worthlessness of the latter may drive us to seek the spiritual meaning.

We may wonder that Origen did not make more use of the theory of a progressive and gradual revelation, which he asserts in several places. But his main object was to save the OT (which was attacked and ridiculed by the Gnostics) for the Church, while at the same time repudiating the obligation to obey the Law, which was still pressed on the Christians by the Jews. The allegoric method at both ends also be remembered that the ‘homily,’ as established by custom at Alexandria, necessitated a very plastic treatment of the text. The preacher or lecturer was expected to go straight through some book of the Bible, or even something from Genesis in a chapter. What could he say about Joshua but that the Canaanite kings were ‘non tam reges quam vitiorum nomina’? The tone of these interpretations is often half-ironical, though the moral lesson is present here with a seriousness. His treatment of NT difficulties shows even greater boldness, and is quite startling. The discrepancies between the four Evangelists are, he thinks, fatal to their credit unless we look for their truth in the ‘spiritual sense.’ There is (so Jerome makes him say) an Eternal Gospel, of which the actual Gospel is only the shadow. We must separate the αὐθεντὸς ιεραγῆναι from the συντόνω καὶ συναγωνίζοντο. He judges the Fourth Gospel as a symbolic treatise, much as Loisy and others do now. But in his eyes all this nonsense was not worth the hours of human ingenuity, but the gift of the Holy Spirit. Much of it was traditional: Clement seems always to copy, not to invent, his allegorists. Origen, without making any boastful claim, believes himself to be literally correct.

**Doctrine of God.** — As ‘Spirit’ and ‘Light.’ God is a simple intellectual nature, in whom is no greater nor less, higher nor lower, the Monad, Unit, Mind, and Fountain of all Mind (de Princ. i. 1). As against the Christian Stoics, he asserts that God is incorporeal, and he is more careful than Clement to avoid Stoical phrases savouring of materialistic pantheism. God is spaceless and timeless, ‘everywhere and nowhere,’ ‘natura simpliciter et tota mens.’ Being unchanged, He cannot feel anger, hatred, or repentance. Punishment is not His work, but the necessary consequence of sin. And yet He is long-suffering, merciful, and pitiful: He has ‘the passion of love’ (in Ezech. Hom. vi. 6, Bigg. p. 158). God is not infinite, but self-limiting (in Matt. xii. 569): His all is limited by the wise and good. Thus the wisdom (c. Cels. iii. 493). Origen has not solved the problem of reconciling these moral attributes with the Platonic transcendence; for a fine but vague passage on the subject see in Num. Hom. xiv. 21. His method is to limit the wisdom to the vita negativa as a path to reality; the most intimate knowledge of God is gained not by abstraction, but by direct revelation; grace is implanted in the soul μεν τόν θρόνον εὐθυμον. On this side he is much more Clementian than Origen. But he emphasizes the attribute of Goodness (καλότερος) rather than that of self-existent Being, he gives the idea of God a richer and more ethical content.

But the doctrine of God in Origen involves at every point the problem of the Trinity. The Son or Logos is the centre of his theology. He is co-eternal and co-equal with the Father. There never can have been a time when Wisdom, the Word, and Life were not. (de Princ. ii. 6.) But we must distinguish between those attributes (τινῶν) which belong to the Son essentially, and those which are assumed for the purpose of redemption. To the former class belong Wisdom, Word, Life, Truth; to the latter, Firstborn from the dead, Propitiation, Light, Shepherd. The former class are σώφρον, the latter ἀλεθρόν. ‘Happy are they who need the Son of God no longer as Physician, Shepherd, Redemption, but as Wisdom, Word, Justice, and the other perfect attributes’ (in Joh. i. 22). He is willing to identify the Logos with the Platonic αἰθιόπης (in Joh. xix. 5; c. Cels. vi. 63), only protesting against subjective idealism (de Princ. ii. 3, mundum in sola plantas et cogitationum lurbo consistentem). The Son is therefore essentially eternal and unchanging, not merely by nature, but by participation in the Word of God. He is absolutely Good. Prayer may be addressed to the Son or to the Spirit, but the highest prayer is that which is addressed to the Father in Christ’s name.

The charge of subordinationism in Origen’s Christology cannot be maintained. It is unlikely that he used the word ἱεροσόλυμον, in the Nicene sense, of the Son, because for a Platonist it is hardly correct to speak of the θεία of God, who is ἱεροσόλυμον; but words like ὃς καὶ μεγαλότερον ἀλλὰ ὡς θεών ἔστιν (Scil. in Psalm. 115) should have been enough to establish his orthodoxy on this side. The doctrine of τρούμα (see above), varying with the grade of spirituality attained by the believer, explains some apparent inconsistencies of expression, and his reverence for Scripture (e.g. ‘My Father is greater than I’) explains others. The sonship and filiation, which he teaches is one of person and office, not of essence. ‘The Son is less than the Father, as reaching only to rational beings; while the Father, holding all things together, reaches to everything. The Holy Spirit is less (than the Son), as extending to the saints only’ (de Princ. i. 3). In the Incarnation the Son united Himself with a soul which had remained absolutely pure in its pre-existent state (de Princ. ii. 6). Like other souls, it was eternally united to the Word. It was free, like other souls, but so perfectly and inseparably did it cleave to the Word from the beginning, that the union of the two is like a molten mass of metal always radiating a white heat. By this union it was saved from all possibility of sin. His body was also pure and perfect. It was real flesh and blood, but of transparent beauty to those whose spiritual sight was purged. He rose from the dead, not in this flesh, but with that *spiritual body* of which St. Paul speaks. ‘Origen’s view of the God-Man—a term which he first employed from Clement—was that of an ideal type of the nature and office of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity. He is co-eternal and co-equal with the Father and Son. ‘The Spirit of the Father and
the Spirit of the Son is one and the same' (in Rom. vi. 13). He understood St. Paul well enough to observe that no distinction is made by him between the action of the Spirit and of the Son (de Princ. i. 3). But in one remarkable passage (in Joh. ii. 6) he raises the question whether the Spirit came into being through the Word (διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος), or whether He has no separate essence (τρίγυς οὐίας) from the Father and the Son. These speculations are so inconsistent with the strong Trinitarian doctrine elsewhere maintained, that they cause surprise. They show how fluid dogma still was when Origen wrote. But the influence of his teaching (in spite of the charges brought against him) certainly operated against subordinationism. With some hesitation he pointed to the true view that the sources of Essence, of Revelation, and of Inspiration must be completely equal—must be God in the same degree. The opposite view removes the supreme God from life and experience, and makes Him finally unknowable. Other significant dicta about the 'trinity and development' of the scheme, as designed by perfect Wisdom. God created the world 'out of nothing': matter, the lowest of the creatures, was created by Him immediately after the 'fall of the souls,' to prevent the 'world from being diabolic' (de Princ. ii. 1). God is neither the whole nor a part of the whole: the former conception contradicts His simplicity, the latter His sovereignty. His Spirit is no all-pervading subtle element, like the Stoic ψεύζων. The world is distinct from God; it is His creation. It is eternal in the sense that it had no beginning in time; the entire scheme that we know is only a brief phase in an innumerable series of worlds. The original creation, Origen teaches, was of innocent spirits, designed 'according to the perfection which God possesses essentially.' Their fall from perfection was voluntary. Some (the angels and the stars, to which Origen attributes souls) remained in their first estate; others (the evil spirits) fell in various degrees, and can be restored only through the discipline of suffering. This world is constructed as the appropriate scene of their training, affording scope for the treatment proper to every degree of guilt. The fall of the souls was thus antecedent, but Origen teaches no metempsychosis. The story of the Fall in Genesis he is disposed to treat as mere allegory (c. Cels. iv. 40). The most succinct statement of his doctrine is in de Princ. ii. 5, ending νῦν πας οὐ· χάρις ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ὀκτώμενος, which throw light on his psychology. 'Soul' is 'mind' in a fallen state; it is an adventitious principle, intermediate between 'flesh' and 'mind' or 'spirit.' In reality his psychology is dichotomous, though not of respect to St. Paul he preserves in words the distinction between 'soul' and 'spirit' (see esp. in Joh. xxxii. 2; in Levit. Hom. ii. 2).

The discussion as to whether Origen teaches the immateriality of the soul has been conducted on wrong lines. The soul for Origen is certainly immaterial, but it implies the body. Thus he says, 'is with the soul as a master and director, associated with it to remind it of the good, and to accuse and punish it for its faults. If the soul is disobedient and obstinate in revolt, it will be divided from the spirit after it leaves the body' (in Rom. ii. 9). The soul which is exalted by following the spirit, and not only following but being transformed into spirit, must put off its nature as soul, and become spiritual (de Orat. 10). Here the 'spirit' resembles the impersonal ρῆς of Neo-Platonism; but the question whether it belongs or does not belong to our ego can be answered neither for Origen nor for any other mystical thinker. It is an essential part of his teaching that the existence of God and other fundamental truths of religion are 'sown in the soul' as matters of immediate apprehension (deprinc. ii. 2). So long as we keep them, the Logos never leaves us' (in Joh. xix. 3). This σήμερον is made to cover such sensuous experiences (of sight, hearing, smell) as the later Catholicism accepts under the name of mystical phenomena (c. Cels. i. 48); but such communications, though from a Divine source, are only externalized by our minds; 'God never speaks to us from outside' (in Psalm. xxvii. 1). From these 'seeds' spring the flowers and fruits of Divine knowledge. Origen, revealing Himself under various aspects as the soul is able to receive Him. Corresponding to this psychological dispensation is the historical economy which, after the partial theophanies of OT, culminated in the Incarnation. The two are parallel aspects of the same plan; it is meaningless to ask whether the historical Incarnation is the 'cause' of the soul's restoration. At the same time it must be admitted that Origen has a less firm grasp of the ideas of progress and development; and not the least incoherent point, is his indifference to the 'fall of Adam,' and in consequence his philosophy of history is both gloomier and less scientific than Clement's. His view of secular culture is also less sympathetic.

Eschatology.—Clement had represented men in the future life as placed in different grades according to their moral deserts. The wicked will be subjected to disciplinary punishments till they are forced to own their guilt. Origen developed further the notion that all punishment must be disciplinary, since 'God can hate nothing,' and it is no part of His nature to render evil for evil. Moreover, immortal spirits (εἰμπατοι ψεύζων) cannot be consigned to perdition or predestination, or to the perfection which God possesses essentially.

Here it is plain that Origen encountered great difficulties in reconciling his philosophy with the traditional Church teaching about the resurrection, last judgment, heaven and hell. He says, that the Gospel must not be understood literally. The 'saints' could not 'fall from heaven upon the earth, which is much larger than the earth.' Our material bodies, which are dispersed among other organisms, cannot be reconstituted in the future resurrection. Can we suppose that the disciples 'grasped their teeth'? No, he says; it is the 'spark,' or vital principle, which survives, and will make a new abode for itself, the resurrection body. Even when the soul becomes pure spirit, it will need a kind of body, for God alone is incorporeal spirit. Punishment must continue after death: 'even Peter or Paul must come into that fire.' But will any remain in torment for ever? Origen hopes and thinks not, but will not dogmatize; he remembers the guest who was cast into outer darkness, with no promise of pardon. There are passages in Origen which imply at least a passport dimissary never to be made good; but he would hint at any degree of punishment. He must have dreamt that the doctrine of the resurrection, the last judgment, and eternal punishment is consistent with the idea of salvation, as a spirit made in the image of God, through, as devil, he would be destroyed (in Rom. v. 2). The final consummation is complete likeness to God; 'God and all'; i.e. he will be all in each individual (de Princ. v. 6). Then there will be no more diversity, when all shall have reached the highest degree of perfection.

Esoteric Christianity.—Origen believes that the Logos enlightens all men according to their capacities. Current Christianity is the best that the average man can assimilate. It includes mythical stories, which exist both in OT and NT. But rewards and punishments as inducements to virtue, and communicate truths in veiled forms and images. But it is not a matter of indifference what symbols are presented to the 'common man;' it is the religion of Christ alone which must be accepted by
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all, though under different aspects. The Gnostic
learns that the objects of religious knowledge have
only a supramundane history: the 'eternal' or 'spiritual' Gospel 'places clearly before men's
drives all things concerning the Son of God, both
the mysteries shown by His words, and the things of
the world that were not yet made' (in Joh. i. 10).
Such passages have been harshly interpreted as implying that the
Gnostic has no further need of the historic Christ; but this is
true only in the same sense to which it might be said of St.
John—in other words, the statement is quite misleading. The innate
knowledge of God, which he asserts, is the work of the Logos-Church.

The first fully disclosed Himself in the historic Incarna-
tion. On the actual effect of the death of Christ, as a transaction,
Origen suggests various views, already current, in a tentative
manner, in order to discuss the idea of a ransom paid to the God
which was popular at this time. He certainly did not regard
the historic work of Christ as a mere appearance or exhibition,
though, for the Gnostic, Christ is us is far more important than
Christ for us.

Apostle of Origen.—The double achievement of
Origen (carrying on what Clement began) was to
destroy Gnosticism, and to give philosophy a recog-
nized place in the creeds of the Church. The
second was the price which the conservatives had
to pay for the first. Henceforth the Church pos-
sessed a God and a plural who were far more attractive to the
educated mind than the barbaric Platonism of the Gnostics. It was,
indeed, another possible nor desirable to teach the
philosophy to the masses, for whose benefit the Church
had combined with imaginative wonder at
miracle, and sensuous symbolism, was developed
side by side with the progress of scientific theology.

In their relation to tradition, the Alexandrians
mark a stage in a conflict which ended in a com-
promise. The great Gnostics of the 2nd cent. could
be maintained to maintain their footing in the Church.
Clement succeeded in doing so, though not without
suspicion; Origen, after much hesitation, was con-
demned. The Cappadocians endeavoured to re-
concile faith and knowledge by mutual concessions,
while the process was completed, after a fashion, by
Cyril of Alexandria and by the theologians of the
6th century (Harnack, Hist. of Dogma, iii. 5).
The first conflict in which Origen's theology
was deeply involved was against Sabellianism.
Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in attacking
the Monarchians fell under the charge of Tritheism,
The Roman see pronouncing against him, and laying
down a via media between the Alexandrian and the
Sabellian doctrines. This condemnation had not
overthrown; and Arianism, which flourished
unaccounted till the end of the 3rd century. Modifications, however, were intro-
duced, involving a doctrine of subordination in the
Trinity of the Neo-Platonic type, and upholding
the notion of the Logos as the great original con-
tribution of Christianity to ethics. Gregory Tha-
smatargus (who is said to have called the Son a
krisis) taught the Trinitarian doctrine of Origen
in a form nearer to Monarchianism than to Tri-
theism.

The first serious attack on Origen was that of
Methodius, who, however, in spite of his bitterness,
seems only to advocate a compromise between his
friends and the rule of faith. In the controversies
that followed in the 4th cent., which need not
be described in detail, we mark a gradual hardening
and crystallizing of theological thought under the
chilling breath of authority. Origen's teaching
was disintegrated, selections being made from it
without regard to consistency, and he himself was
at last condemned as a heretic. After Athanasius,
the Logos-doctrine began to decay in importance,
as the notion of an economic and relative Trinity
gave place to that of an absolute Trinity. The
identification of the Logos-Christ with the spirit of
the cosmic process fell into disrepute. In this
change may also be described as part
of a transition from Platonism to Aristotelianism
in the Church. The school of Antioch led a revolt
against the Alexandrian exegesis of Holy Scripture,
and founded a more critical method, in which the
literal sense was always at least considered, and
the Messianic allusions in OT very much curtailed.
Origen's idea of pre-existence had still many sup-
ports in the 4th cent., but was more and more
discredited, till it was finally condemned at
Constantinople in 533. The rival theories—that the
soul is begotten with the body, and that God
creates souls and plants them in the embryos—
were left to contend with each other.

The doctrine of the Fall of Man, based on the
idea of redemption, was discredited, till the
theory of an extramundane Fall was excluded. The question whether Christ
would have become incarnate if Adam had not
sinned is never, we think, discussed at length
except by those who answer it in the negative.

But in the long Arian controversy the name of
Origen played a curious part. The Adoptionist
theory of a Jesus who gradually becomes God
was totally at variance with Origen's doctrine;
but Arians found in the Neo-Platonic cosmology a
support for his theory of a mediating Logos,
between the inaccessible Father and the world.
In denying to the Logos any essential
unity with the Father abandoned decisively the
Arian Christology. 'With Arians, Christ belongs
in every sense to the world of created things'
(Harnack); with Athanasius He belongs in
every sense to God, the essential aspect being virtually
preserved. Arabianist theologian,
and the restatement of Alexandrian theology,
necessitated by his labours, fell to the Cappa-
docians, of whom Gregory of Nyssa is most in
sympathy with Origen. This writer avoids some
of the most obnoxious speculations of his master,
but on the whole reproduces his teaching, which in
this way has found and maintained a footing in
the Catholic Church, for Gregory of Nyssa has
never been condemned.

But the growing power of tradition had already
begun to kill religious philosophy, and the regres-
sive degradation of Christianity into a religion
of cultus affected Christian Platonism in precisely
the same way in which Neo-Platonism suffered
between Plotinus and Jamblichus. Dionysius
the Areopagite is the representative of this application
of Alexandrian allegorism to ritual and dogma.
The first vogue of this extraordinary writer co-
incided with a reaction in favour of Origen.
Among later developments of Christian Platon-
ism, one of the most influential of their inspiration to the
Alexandrian theology, it is necessary to mention
not only the philosophical mysticism of Eckhart
and his successors, the 'Cambridge Platonism' of
the 17th cent., and in our own day the theology
of P. D. Maurice, Westcott, etc. Among philo-
sophers, Leibniz has many points of resemblance to
Origen.
Permanent value of the Alexandrian Theology. — With the attempt of the Alexandrians to Christianize the current philosophy of their age legitimate? The question has been very diversely answered. Writers like Deissmann, Wernle, and Hatch, and the Ritschelian school generally, regard the "Hellenizing" of Christian doctrine as an alien graft upon the enthusiastic revivalism of primitive Christianity, and deplore, with Harnack, the 'secularizing' and 'depotentiation' of the religion which ascribe to the influence of Alexandria. On the other side, it has been pointed out that, unless we ignore St. Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Fourth Gospel, there is much of 'Hellenism' in the NT; and also that philosophy in the first two centuries had ceased to be 'secular' and had become religious. The later Stoics and Platonists were 'not far from the kingdom of God,' and were by no means inclined to undervalue strictness of conduct. Moreover, the fusion of Greek and Jewish thought was so inevitable that to deplore it is to take a pessimistic view of intellectual development. "Secularization" is in its nature a brief phase; an intellectual system must follow it, or the whole effects of the movement must disappear. The Alexandrians satisfied the legitimate need of their age by providing 'a scientific doctrine of religion which, while not contradicting the faith, does not merely support or explain it in a few places, but raises it to another and higher intellectual sphere, namely, out of the province of authority and obedience into that of clear knowledge and inward intellectual ascent emanating from love to God' (Harnack, History of Dogma, Berg. transl., vol. ii., pp. 334 f.). This recognition, from a writer whose view of religion is strongly anti-intellectualist, is remarkable, and it does no more than justify to the great constructive effort of Clement and Origen, by which the best of Platonism and Stoicism was incorporated in Christianity. The permanent value of their syncretistic schemes will always be differently judged while men continue to be 'born either Platonists or Aristotelians'; those who would cast metaphysics from theology can have but scanty sympathy with the Alexandrians. But if speculation on Divine truths is permissible or even necessary, no Christian theologians deserve a higher place than Clement and Origen, who made a serious and not unsuccessful attempt to combine in their creed the immanence and transcendence of God, universal law and human freedom, the universal and the particular in revelation, a lofty standard of practical ethics and worldly-mindedness, and, what is most to be desired, a Christian contribution to Christian theology has been quoted. Westcott says of Origen, 'We have not yet made good the positions which he marked out as belonging to the domain of Christian philosophy' (Ibid. Thought in the West, 222), W. R. INGE.

ALGONQUINS. (Eastern.) — I. Divisions. — The existing representatives of the Algonquin or Algic race may be separated linguistically into three divisions: the Blackfeet of the extreme western part of North America, whose idiom differs most from that of all the other Algonquin tribes; the Cree-Ojibwas of the middle west, whose language embraces a number of closely allied linguistic variations; and the so-called Wabanaki races of the north-eastern American coast, with whom the present article is especially concerned.

The term Wabanaki or Ohebanaki means both "land of the dawn east" and "man or person from the east." The name is at present applied to five distinct clans; viz., the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, Canadian Abenakis or St. Francis Indians, Micmacs, and Delawares or Abnaki. All of whom are plainly descended from one common family which probably first established organized tribal relations along the Canadian and New England north-eastern coast. There is no reason to consider that the term Easterners-Wabanaki has any meaning going farther back than this into the origin of these peoples, who, in all probability, came eastward at a comparatively early date from some unknown western habitat. "Unless modern Americanists are to accept the theory that the eastern tribes crossed from Europe by way of some long since vanished land-bridge, the theory of a western origin for all the Indian coast-races is literally forced upon us. It will be seen, therefore, that the name Wabanaki-Easterner must have for us a geographical rather than a racial-historical significance.

(1) The Passamaquoddy Indians of Pleasant Point, Maine, now numbering about 500 in all, are identical with the Micmacs or Etchemins of New Brunswick, the so-called Chipewyan Abenaki. The name Passamaquody is a purely local term, meaning 'speakers of pollock-fish' (problástum). The correct form is Pestumokakedownyik, which has been corrupted by the whites into Passamaquoddy. These Indians are by far the most interesting remnant of the Wabanakis, as they still retain an unusually extensive oral literature, including love poems, legends, and historical tales of considerable value. It should be stated that the nucleus of the material relating to the primitive religious conceptions of the Wabanakis has been collected by the present writer from the Passamaquoddies primarily, and secondarily from the Micmacs.

(2) The Penobscot Indians of Maine now number not more than 350, most of whom live on the Indian village of Biddeford on Penobscot River near Bangor, Maine. These people still speak a characteristic Algonquin language, which is more closely allied to the idiom of the Abenakis of St. Francis, near Pierreville, Quebec, Canada, than it is to that of the Passamaquoddies. The language of the Penobscots, the Passamaquoddies. In short, there can be no doubt that both the Penobscot and the Abenaki dialects are sister idioms which have sprung from a common original at a very recent date (cf. the present writer in Kulóskap the Master, p. 30).

(3) It is well known that the Abenakis of Canada are the direct descendants, of course with some admixture of French and other blood, of the majority of those who escaped from the great battle of the Kennebec in Maine when the English commander Bradford overthrew their tribe on 3rd December, 1679. Many of the survivors at once fled to French Canada, where they established their habitat at their present village of St. Francis, near Pierreville, Quebec. Others again, who wandered into Canada at a slightly later date. There can be no doubt that the Indians now called Penobscots, from their residence near the river of that name, are the descendants of those of the Wabanakis who eventually submitted themselves to their English conquerors. The Canadian Abenaki is the only one of the Wabanaki clans which calls itself generically by the comprehensive name Wabanaki (Kulóskap, p. 31).
(4) The Micmacs are the easternmost and by far the most numerous to-day of the Wabanaki remnants. They are to be found in various places in the Canadian provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and Newfoundland. Their grade of Intelligence is much lower than that of the other members of the same family, and they are still poorer in a vast store of folklore, legends, and poems, which is perishing for want of interested collectors. Their language differs so greatly from the dialects of the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Abenakis, that the Micmacs themselves use French or English when communicating with their Miacmac neighbours, while an intelligent Passamaquoddy can understand without difficulty be understood by a Penobscot or Abenaki, if the dialect is pronounced slowly.

(5) The story of the enforced westward wanderings of the ill-fated Delawares or Lendape has been told in detail by a distinguished authority, the late Dr. D. G. Brinton, in his comprehensive work, The Lendape and their Legends, pp. 122-123. At the present day, this famous tribe, around which a century of romance has been woven, is the only lit by the well known American author, Fenimore Cooper, in his Leatherstocking Tales, is scattered literally to the four winds of heaven. The three Delaware clans, the Minsi, the Unami and the Onunatchi, who are the prominent Christian race in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and parts of New York State, are now represented by a few bands living in Indian Territory, in Western Canada, and in Ontario, Canada. The Delawares of Indian Territory, numbering about 500 persons, have quite lost their tribal identity, as they have been incorporated by the Cherokee nation, by whose chief and council they are governed. In Ontario there are only about 500 in all: 100 situated at Hagersville on the Reserve of the Six Nations (Iroquois), 100 at Muncetown, and the same number at Moraviantown, which is the seat of a Moravian mission.

2. Religious conceptions. — All the Wabanaki clans at present existing, save only the Delawares, are, with very few individual exceptions, of the Roman Catholic faith, a fact which is most fortunate for students of comparative religion, as the Catholic priests have made little if any effort to stifle the ancient ideas regarding witchcraft and spirit worship, which formed the elements of the earlier shamanistic faith. For this reason, nearly all our material, upon which this and other studies of Algonquin religious ideas are based, comes from the Catholic tribes, and not from the Delawares, who are all Protestants, belonging for the most part to the Church of England or to the Moravians.

The religious system of the primitive eastern Algonquins was, as already indicated, purely shamanistic, viz. a faith which, although admitting in a vague way the existence of a Supreme Being, laid its chief stress on individual exceptions, of the Roman Catholic faith, a fact which is most fortunate for students of comparative religion, as the Catholic priests have made little if any effort to stifle the ancient ideas regarding witchcraft and spirit worship, which formed the elements of the earlier shamanistic faith. For this reason, nearly all our material, upon which this and other studies of Algonquin religious ideas are based, comes from the Catholic tribes, and not from the Delawares, who are all Protestants, belonging for the most part to the Church of England or to the Moravians.

In the lore of the Wabanakis, the general principle of good may be said to be represented by the rather clear division to the Passamaquoddy as Kulaskop and to the Penobscots as Klubshk, who, as Mr. Leland has aptly put it, personifies the principle of good nature rather than of goodness. Kulaskop's twin brother, Malemum the wolf, was the type of the Indians, and it may perhaps be called the Ahriman of the Wabanakis, although this is almost too dignified a term. It is highly interesting to notice that these twins were born from an unknown divine mother, and the evil Kulaskop in the natural manner, and the evil wolf through the woman's side, a method which he maliciously chose in order to kill his mother. In spite of his name, which means 'the liar,' the tendency of Kulaskop was a general benevolence, and he, contrary to accepted opinion, is very highly developed.

In the end, owing to the evil ways of man, Kulaskop sailed away over the water, the shining waves of Minas; and they looked in silence at him, until they could see him no more. Yet when they had
cessed to behold him they still heard his voice in song, the wonderful voice of the Master! But the sounds grew fainter and fainter and softer in the distance, till at last they died away. Then over them all was silence, till a wonder came to pass: for awhile, which had not been used but on common language, now talked in different tongues!

Here again we seem to have a perverted echo from the missionaries. After Kulóskap had left the land, the bird which had loved him most, the Great Snowy Owl, ‘went far into the North, into the deep dark forest, where to this day his children sing to the night “Kúktúskúta,” which meaneth in our language “sorrow, sorrow, sorrow.” And the loons who had been his hunters go back and forth over the waters, seeking in vain for their master, the lord whom they cannot meet; ever wailing, wailing sadly, because they find him not’ (op. cit. p. 216). Micmac tradition in various forms still associates Kulóskap (or Gloscaap, as he is there called) with Cape Bretonian, a bold headland projecting into the Bay of Minas, Nova Scotia.

It will be evident even from the above very brief sketch, that Kulóskap, as he at present exists in the memories of his former children, is a mixture of traditions. The element that Christianity has entered very markedly into this lore, curiously compounded with what are undoubtedly native elements. For example, it is quite clear that all the stories of the exploits of the demi-god are based on the conception that he was a supernatural Indian and the father of all the conjurors, a class which still exists among the Catholic Wabanakis. This same culture-hero appears in the legends of the entire Algonquin family, although often under another name. It is highly probable, therefore, that the idea of a great Divine man was brought by these eastern Indians from their primitive western home.

The Wabanakis saw a spirit in every tree and water-fall, and a malignant or benevolent influence in many animals; and, in order to propitiate these beings, the class of sorcerers became, of course, a positive necessity. These people, who are called by the Passamaquoddies of the Greenland coast ‘brave magic men,’ who by their methods of exorcism, had very peculiar powers. We see from the tales that the conjurer could transform himself into an animal at will; that he could cast a spell on an enemy, even though the latter might also be a módélici; that he could make the lame to walk in hard ground, sticking up to the ankles or knees at every step; and, finally, that the wizards could communicate with each other telepathically. One need hardly comment on the first two or the fourth of these wonders, as they are common among all shamanistic conjurors; but the third phenomenon, the power to sink into hard ground while walking, seems to be characteristicly Micmac. Rink states that this is not an unusual feat among the conjurors of the Greenland Eskimos, who frequently sink into rocky or frozen ground ‘as if in snow.’

The trick is probably done by some peculiar method of stooping, or else is merely suggested by means of hypnotic influence. Leland compares here, however, the Old Norse statements regarding their wizards, who occasionally sank into the ground, and who had power to pass through earth with the same ease as through air and water (Algonquin Legends, p. 342). It seems hardly permissible to draw a parallel between the ancient Norsemen and the northern Indians on this account, as the case Leland cites is that of a conjuror who disappeared into the ground head downwards when stabbed at by a foe. The present writer has been told by old Passamaquoddies that they had personally seen conjurors ‘soften the ground’ without any apparent means of performing the wonder. On this account, the theory of suggestive hypnosis seems the most acceptable one.

Religious cannibalism appears also to have existed among the Wabanakis. In one tale, the High Wizards eat the murdered comrade, evidently with the idea of absorbing into themselves some or all of his power. As is well known, the Fijia and the New Zealand Maoris often ate their enemies with the same object in view; viz., to become as brave as the fallen foe had been. All authorities tend to show, however, that cannibalism was extremely rare among the American races, and was resorted to only in isolated cases such as the one here noted. In one Delaware tale, the wizard, who is also an evil spirit, desires to devour a very old worn-out man. This seems to be a relic from primitive times, when it was probably not unusual to devour the aged, perhaps for a double purpose: both to get rid of them, as was the case until recently among the islanders of Tierra del Fuego, and also possibly to absorb sacramentally into the living members of the family the essence of the dead parent, whose soul is thus prevented from becoming entirely extinct.

Especial attention should be called at this point to the remarkable prevalent among the Wabanakis regarding the cohabitation of women with serpents (Kulóskap, p. 225). Such a conception may seem strange, coming as it does from a land where there are no evidences large enough to warrant such a superstition. Although involving the risk of seeming fanciful, the present writer deems it not impossible that we have in these hideous tales some relic of far distant pre-historic days when human serpents were not unknown. It should be added, moreover, that in every case of such sexual relations between serpents and human beings among the Wabanakis, the serpent was always a wizard in disguise,—a fact which shows that, in the later superstition at least, the unusual character of such monstrous serpents was fully appreciated.*

It will appear evident from this sketch of the religious ideas of the Eastern Algonquins, that the legends of these people are well worthy of preservation, from the point of view of poetry and of science. Mr. Leland, in his preface to Kulóskap the Master (p. 14), remarks on the very common reproach of Europeans, that Americans have a land without ancient legends or song. He adds: ‘Nature so far from impeding, rather aids when we had in our lap a basket full of treasure which we would not take the pains to open.’ The fact is that almost every hill and dale of New England has or had its romantic native legend, its often beautiful poem or curious myth. Many of these fancies have disappeared for ever through the deliberate ignorance of the average white settler, who even to-day, when the Indian has almost vanished from the land, is inclined to preserve the old Indian Eskimo as if he were a dead Indian.’ Rand’s Legends of the Micmacs (New York, 1894), Leland’s Algonquin Legends of New England (Boston, 1885), Kulóskap the Master, and the present article must perhaps suffice, then, to present to the English-speaking public a few interesting and characteristic specimens of the religious traditions of the rapidly disappearing race of the Wabanakis,—a race which, fifty years hence, will, in all probability, have hardly a single living representative who shall know its language or lore.

*It may be noted that similar marital relations between serpents and mankind, though generally with a different motif, are found not only among other stocks of North and South America, but also in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Polynesia (cf. MacCurleoch, The Childhood of Fiction, London, 1905, pp. 263-259, 264-257).
ALGONQUINS (Prairie Tribes, viz. the Kickapoos, Pottawatomies, Sacs, and Foxes). These tribes, with their Algonquin allies, the Chippewas, and their Siouan friends, the Osages and Iowas, have their strongest bond of union in their return, between the years 1830 and 1884, to their ancient beliefs. Many of them had been, in name at least, Roman Catholics, but they were Presbyterians and Methodists, though all, except the Pottawatomies, revered the clan totems as saints, and all continued to wear their medicine-bags, and to guide their actions by their dreams. Those who remained heathen in name, we deemed to have forgotten the old gods, and merely showed a superstitious faith in the power of their "medicine," as their fetishes were called, the incantations of their shamans or wizards, the "warnings" of their dreams, and a vague impression that somewhere, above the firmament or in the bowels of the earth, dwelt a company of immortal, gigantic animals—the totems, or ancestors—from whom the various clans of the tribes were descended.

As early as the middle of the 17th cent., the Jansenists endured every sort of hardship and danger to convert these peoples, who, at that time, were living at the head of the Green Bay of Lake Michigan (Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, p. 34), and they had some reason to believe that they had succeeded. In 1673, Father Marquette wrote that, when he and M. Joliet went among the tribes of the Green Bay Indians, he was rejoiced to find in one of their villages a great cross set up, adorned with white skins, red girdles, and bows and arrows, as votive offerings (Marquette, A Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America, printed as an appendix to Hennepin's America, p. 323)—a proof to him of the success of the mission of Alouez and Dablon, established in 1669-70. Hennepin, the Franciscan friar, had, however, not much confidence in these conversions. He aver's that these 'salvages' would 'suffer themselves baptized six times a day for a Glass of Aqua Vite or a Pipe of Tobacco' (America, pt. ii. p. 56), and adds this statement as to what they really did believe: "Some of that, if they were acquainted with the Sun for their God... Others will have a Spirit that commands, say they, in the Air. Some among'em look upon the Skie as a kind of Divinity, others as an Otkon or Manitou, either good or evil. They think there is a Bone oppresed with such defects, and serve instead of Prophecy, Inspiration, Laws, Commands, and Rules, either for undertakings in War, Peace, Trade, or Hunting. Nay, they are a kind of Oracles in their Eyes. You would say, to see'em at their Devotion, that they were of the Sect of the Pretent Insipid. The Belief they have in their Dreams imposes upon them a kind of Necessity of believing likewise, that they are forewarned by an Universal Mind of what they ought to do or avoid. Nay, this Infatuation, or superstitious Delusion, which is supported by their People, was surprized by the Sioux and exterminated. From the setting of the sun till its rising all lay dead, but when its beams fell on the Woman—her name is too sacred to be spoken—she revived, and heard a voice saying to her, 'Get up and take the drum.' When this command had been four times repeated, she rose up and found a drum and twelve drumsticks beside her. She took a stick and began to beat on the drum, and immediately the other beads began to beat it also, and they played the drum. At once her strength was restored, and her scalp-lock, which had been torn away, was renewed, a most important miracle, as the soul is supposed to be in the small bulb which lies at the roots of the scalp-lock, and one is a slave in the spirit land to the holder of the scalp. Then the voice...
spoke again. 'Go to the other hand of the Chippewas and to all who will be my friends;' so she set out, travelling night and day, feeling no need of food or rest, and listening to the instructions of the Voice. Thus she travelled for eighty days, at the end of which time she reached her people, called them together by the roll of her drum, and told them that Geechee Manitou wished them to take leave of the gods of the white people, politely, and turn again to him. He desired a dance house built for him, and a dance, to be called the Remembrance or Religion dance (One-wom-een-ee), to be performed in it by strong young men, without physical blemish, who had practised, prayed, and denied themselves all pleasures for eighty days. This dance was to continue four, seven, or twenty-one days, to the accompaniment of the drum and songs of praise to the Manitou (pronounced 'mani-toh' by the Indians), while all the people feasted and made offerings of the smoke of tobacco and the steam of cooked food, beginning with the offering of a white dog. In addition, all the old customs were to be revived, and an effort was to be made to induce all other Indians to conform to them again. When the people had purified themselves by fasting and by being sweated in the sweat-lodge, they were given to drink a potion which is heated and then drenched with cold water to produce a vapour in which the devotee stands naked to have the devils that produce disease or wickedness sweated out of him while he recites his prayers. At this time, she had taught the Gechee Manitou by prayers and praises, she taught them the Religion dance, put them in mind of some forgotten beliefs, and then disappeared, no one knew where; nor did she return to the world, according to the custom of her people. As a result, there was a great revival of old practices, to which they invited their relatives the Pottawatomies, who in turn proselytized the Kickapoos and their friends and neighbours, the Osages, Sacos, and Foxes. A little later the Sacos won over the Iowas and Otoes, but in spite of strenuous efforts they have never been able to add any other Siouxan tribes to this coalition.

Besides Geechee Manitou, these tribes believe in other great gods. He is the first, the creator, and he lives in a golden boat, which we call the sun. Meechab Manito is the god who lives in the cold, wet, slippery cavern in which the souls of the wicked wander and shiver for ever. He is the beneficent god in this life, he is the father of an innumerable number of devils that produce war, pestilence, famine, aches, pains, quarrels, and all other ills of body and soul. Some of these are the offspring of witches with whom he has consorted; others sprang from his breath, his sweat, his saliva, even his words and the scent of his footsteps. The Brothers, 'twin sons of the woman who fell down from heaven,' spend their time, one in ruling over the happy hunting-ground, or place of the happy devil; the other in sailing in the moon through the sky and the month, et cetera, at the year in which he divides his business being to show the good their way to the happy hunting-ground, and the bad their way to the cavern of Meechab Manito. These Brothers lived a long time on earth, destroyed many devils and wizards (some tribes were in the world before these two gods, and had become very wicked), received additional physical and spiritual power from the totems, founded the Fox tribe, and then took their way—one to the spirit land, the other to the road that a man clothes having a white face. The reason the world was this: on account of the good works of the Brothers, the devils and wizards endeavoured to destroy them, and succeeded in killing the younger, Cold Hand; but when the elder, Hot Hand, mourned so terribly as to flood the earth with his tears, and draw it, which had hitherto been flat, into hills and valleys by his sobs, the devils and wizards, terrified by the commotion, worked four days and nights with their enchantments to 'make the dead alive.' When he was made alive, he went to his brother, but Hot Hand was not pleased. He said he was ashamed, because he had been heard to mourn so terribly, and he went into his wigwam and shut Cold Hand out. Presently he thrust forth a kettle, fire-sticks, tobacco, and a whistle to call ghosts. Cold Hand took these things and went away. He sat down on the edge of the world to dream. When he came out of his dream, he 'made a place for good souls. Before that they had no place; they blew about in the wind. Since that time, death has been better than life' (M. A. Owen, Folk-Lore of the Musquaque Indians, p. 15).

The totems are patron saints. Each clan or subdivision of the tribe is named from the giant animal from which it is supposed to be descended. Judging from the old legends told by tribe historians, all the tribes at one time had many clans, each with its clan Secret Society which did homage to its totem, as its shamans or medicine-man directed; but so many clans were exterminated by their wars with white ances, that the totem system is only a memory, and in others there are many more sticks to the sacred drum than there are drummers to hold them—each clan having but one drummer playing at a time.

The hereditary chief is the high priest of the faith, nominally, but he does nothing without first consulting the shamans, who are presidents of the special societies, prophets, physicians, and exorcists all in one, besides filling some other offices (referred to by Hennepin as sacs) as well. A shamans is much like our ministers, and is supposed to possess an infinite number of malignant devils and sprites, as well as vampire ghosts, which are always on the alert to do mischief except when rendered torpid by extreme cold, and as only the shamans know the secret of casting them out or spell-binding them, it will be readily comprehended that, so long as the ancient beliefs prevail, the shamans will be the real autocrats of the tribe. Generally speaking, a son succeeds his father, as the heir-apparent in the totemship, but sometimes the son is not clever enough to be a shamans; in that case, any boy in the clan may be selected to be trained, thus keeping the succession in the family, as everyone in the clan is related. Some day, a boy is found in another clan, the shamans takes possession of him, and, in rare cases, a boy has been brought from another tribe. In the latter case he is adopted by a member of the shamans's tribe who has lately lost a son of about the same age.

The white witches of the tribe are the 'women-with-spots-on-their-faces.' These spots are round dabs of vermillion, and each one stands for a Religion dance given for the man with spots-on-the-face, or puberty, by her father. These dances and the severe usage to which she is subjected from a very early age, make her a healer and a bringer of good fortune. She insures safe delivery to women in childbirth, not by being present, but by chanting and praying at a distance, or refusing to hear all entreaties to be present; she names the newborn infants after something that belongs to the father's clan (this is the real name, not much used, not the nickname given from some exploit or peculiarity); and that most important, she indicates that in some cases the safety of the woman; any one with whom she is friendly is lucky, any one with whom she is unfriendly may look for misfortunes.

The ceremonial of the faith may almost be described by a word—'dancing.' There are fasts,
prayers, and hymns before dancing, and feasts, prayers, and hymns during dancing; these are parts of the same thing. There are dances for planting and dances for harvest, dances to bring rain and to cause it to cease, for peace, for war, for puberty, to restore health, and to honour the dead, totem dances, and dances for every great event in the life of a person; and the Kickapoo has kept birth, marriages, and the too frequent divorces.

Kickapoos.—The Kickapoos consider themselves foreigners. ‘This is the only tribe among all our Indians who claim for themselves a foreign origin,’ says the Rev. Father Allouez, of the Indian Department, Washington, U.S.A., speaking of the Shawnee tribe, of which the Kickapoo is a division.

‘Most of the aborigines of the continent believe their forefathers ascended from holes in the earth; and many of them assign a local habitation to these traditionary places of the nativity of their race; resembling, in this respect, some of the traditions of antiquity, and derived, perhaps, from that remote period when barbarous tribes were troglodytes, subsisting upon the spontaneous productions of the earth. Their father had no name; nor ancestor the name of a foreign land, which, for some unknown cause, they determined to abandon. They collected their people together, and marched to the seashore. Here various persons were selected to lead them, but they declined the duty, until it was undertaken by one of the old men of the tribe; he was the head of the procession, and walked into the sea. The waters immediately divided, and they passed along the bottom of the ocean until they reached this “island” (M’Kenney, North American Indians, vol. ii. pp. 293–294). This writer goes on to state, what the traditions of the Kickapoos confirm, that the Shawnees were, in their days of power, divided into twelve tribes, and these again into ‘families,’ such as the Eagle, the Turtle, etc., each named from its totem or ancestral animal; but two of the tribes were annihilated, six were merged, and four kept their names and tribal government. These four were the Kickapoos, Pickaways, Chilicothes, and Makostakes.

It is not known exactly when these people were driven, by the Iroquois, some of whom were as far back as the Savannah river, nor is it known when they left that region and separated the tribes. In 1673, Father Marquette found the Kickapoos on a river which passed into the Bay of Puans (the Green Bay of Lake Michigan, as it was then called, the Lake of the Illinois), and he refers to Father Allouez as having a mission among them. He adds that, in comparison with their neighbours, the Miami, they are boors (Marquette, A Discovery of some New Countries and Nations in the Northern America, in Hennepin’s America, pt. ii. p. 323). On Hennepin’s map, published in 1698, they are north of Lake Winnebago, but, in his account of the retreat of Tonti when he was endeavoring to land his large party at La Salle after the destruction of Fort Crèvecoeur (A.D. 1680), he speaks of their home as being on the west side of the Bay of Puans (America, pt. i. ch. 75, headed ‘The Savage Kickaupou muturvh Father Gabriel de la Rihet, A Recollect Missionary’), though bands of their young men were wandering in the south-east in the hope of surprising small companies of their enemies, the Iroquois. Hermann Moll’s map, published before 1716, shows them on the west side of the bay. In 1763, when they were engaged in the conspiracy of Pontiac to form a federation of all the Indian tribes with the intention of preventing the encroachments of the whites or destroying them, they were living on the Miami and Scioto rivers (Parkman, Conspiracies of Pontiac, vol. ii. p. 188 and map). Colonel Bouquet reported, when he had forced the Indians to sue for peace (1764), that the ‘Kickapou’ had three hundred warriors and a total population of fifteen hundred. He placed them on the ‘Ouabache’ (Wabash) river (19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 1108). On May 22, 1804, Captain William Clark, of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, wrote as follows: This tribe resides on the heads of the Kaskaskia and the Wabash rivers, on the other (east) side of the Mississippi, but occasionally hunt in Missouri’ (Elliott Coues, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, vol. i. p. 7); but this could have been but one band of them, for, in 1808, the Po’or and Kickapoos, led by Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, a tract of land in Indian, lying along the Tippecanoe river. These two most distinguished Kickapoos, Tecumseh, or Flying Panther, and the Prophet Ten-skwataw-waw, endeavoured to form a confederacy like the one Pontiac projected, and, in 1811, became engaged in a war with the whites, which terminated disastrously for the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe, much to the surprise of the red men, who had believed that the incantations of the Prophet would assure them the victory. In the war of 1812, Tecumseh and his people joined forces with the British (Eggleston and Seelye, Tecumseh, chs. xxii.–xxxiii.). Catlin visited the Prophet and his people in Illinois in 1831, but his map, printed in 1840, shows them on the west side of the Mississippi river. During the Civil War, one band, with a contract of Pottawatomies, went to Mexico, but have since returned. Smithsonian Report, pt. ii. p. 185, states: ‘Kickapoos at Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, in Brown County, Kansas, August 20, 1885, 235. Kickapoos, Mexican (mixed band with Pottawatomie), Indian Territory, 346.’ The numbers are at this time much smaller, so that the report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs for 1901 gives the number of Kickapoos in Kansas as 199, and of Mexican Kickapoos in Indian Territory as 221. It is a dying people.

The Kickapoos are sickly, melancholy, and severely religious. In addition to a dance house, they have a ‘house of silence’—a wooden structure which was built, as a chief was commanded in a dream, in silence and fasting. It is used for prayer and praise, but not for dances. Another revelation of late years causes them to flog their children for misdemeanours—something unknown in others. It was originally applied only at puberty as a trial of endurance. A flogger is chosen once a year by lot, and his duty is to make the rounds of the wigwams every Saturday with a mask over his face. In consequence, no one is at home on Saturday but the culprits; the rest of the family sit in the bushes on the river bank and weep. The culprits do not weep during this (supposedly) religious exercise. These people have but one council-fire and one set of totems. This refers to the Brown County Kickapoos, not to the Mexican, who are considered Pottawatomies. They pay more reverence to the Rain Serpent than other Indians, and this may partly account for their sickness, since their reservation is so infested with venomous reptiles as to render cattle-raising almost an impossibility; in consequence of which their staple flesh diet is pork. (It is well known that the bite of a serpent has no effect on a hog). As an antidote for themselves and their ponies, they make use of a tea and wash of infused leaves, roots, and blossoms of the arrow-leaved violet (Viola sagittata). It was once a maid, sister to Rattlesnake, and as good as he was wicked; whomsoever he poisoned, she healed. In rage at this he killed her. Geechee Manitou, compassionating her and those she could befriend, changed her into this healing plant. It grows wild
Another cause of their inferior physique may be their marrying in the clan—something contrary to the religious scruples of most other Indians. Their tribal name means 'smooth,' and undoubtedly runs in some stream by which they have lived, and not to their tempers.

Pottawatomies.—These people have no legend of ever having lived anywhere but in the north-west. The French missionaries and fur traders found them, during their first explorations, in what is now the state of Michigan. Early in 1600 the Pottawatomies were occupying the lower peninsula of Michigan, in scattered bands, whence they were driven westward by the Iroquois, and settled about Green Bay. The French acquired much influence over them, whom they joined in their wars with the Iroquois (Smithsonian Report, 1885, p. 135). The Jesuit Relation, 1655, refers to them as being the nearest tribe to the settlement of St. Michael, near the head of Green Bay. A band of the Pottawatomies joined Marquette when, in 1674, he set out to found a new mission, the Immaculate Conception, at the principal town of the Illinois; and it was the Ottawas, the elder branch of this family of Indians, that, in 1676, carried the bones of Marquette to St. Ignace. Early in 1678, thirty canoes, and took part in the funeral services (Parkman, La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, pp. 68-71). It is evident, therefore, that the Pottawatomies are considered Christians; but when they joined in Pontiac's conspiracy, many a hundred years later, reliable witnesses declared that they ate the bodies of their most valiant enemies. Again, in the war of 1812, they were guilty of the same practices. One of the best attested instances is that of Captain Wells, who was killed in the capture of Chicago in 1812. This man, who had been a long time among the Indians, having been taken prisoner by them at the age of thirteen, had acquired a great reputation for courage, and his name is still mentioned as that of the bravest white man with whom they ever met. He had almost become one of their number. . . . At the commencement of hostilities . . . he sided with his countrymen. Wells was killed. . . . His body was burned, and his head was the most certain spell for courage, and part of it was sent to the various tribes in alliance with the Pottawatomies, while they themselves feasted upon the rest. . . . Mr. Barron has seen the Pottawatomies, but were defeated the following year by the whites, and their wars continued until the end of the century. . . . Among some tribes cannibalism is universal, but it appears that among the Pottawatomies it is generally restricted to a society or fraternity, whose privilege and duty it is, on all occasions, to eat of the enemies' flesh; at least one individual must be eaten. The flesh is sometimes dried and taken to the village. Not only are the members of this fraternity ended with greatest care, but it is imparted to them, by means of spells, to any individual they wish to favor (W. H. Keating, Keating's Narrative, compiled from the notes of Major Long and Mesers. Say, Keating, and Calhoun, vol. 1, pp. 102, 103).

Since Keating's narrative was written (1825), missionaries have again laboured among these people, and with considerable success. Among those who still cling to tribal life there are Methodists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, as well as worshipping the Manitou in a form possibly impossible for them to be the reason the tribe did not increase in numbers more rapidly, for their adversaries quickly retaliated. The Outagamie or Fox town was almost deserted (Carver, Travels, pp. 46-49). Both tribes were too busy fighting the Sioux and Chip-
pewas to take part in the war of the Revolution, but the Foxes and part of the Sacs were on the side of the British in the war of 1812. The same division took place in the Black Hawk War (1831–32), when the band of Sacs under Keokuk refused to fight the U.S. There are at the present time between four and five hundred Sacs in Indian Territory, who recognize Keokuk (Keokuk) died in Aug. 1903, and about two hundred in the Pottawatomie and Great Nemaha Reservation, in Kansas, under Margrave, a Pennsylvanian German, to whom they gave the place of the war chief, deposed for drunkenness. The Foxes are at Tama, Iowa; a small, rich tribe, numbering scarcely more than three hundred, if we exclude visiting Pottawatomies. As to this division, the agent wrote, August 1855: 'Our Indians, the Sac and Fox of the Mississippi, disclaim any connection whatever with the Sac tribe, and claim most earnestly that they are Foxes only.' Later, the Sacs expelled the few Foxes in their midst. The Sacs are more agreeable than pious, the Foxes more pious than agreeable. The Sacs are also more fun, the Foxes the last affectionate to their dignity. The Sacs are stalwart, and with a leaning towards civilization; the Foxes sickly, and with a profound regard for the wisdom of their ancestors.

The Sacs have eight totems from which they are descended. The Foxes have ten totems from which they are not descended, since they trace their lineage to a boy and girl, one of whom came from the shoulder of one of the Brothers, the other from the side of his twin. Saukie is said to mean 'yellow clay,' while o-saukie means 'mouth of the river,' and O-ke-gan means 'red clay.' Musquakie, the name by which the Foxes call themselves, means 'fox.'


MARY A. OWEN.

ALALLAH is the proper name of God among Muslims, corresponding in usage to Jehovah (Jahweh) among the Hebrews. Thus it is not to be regarded as a common noun meaning 'God' (or 'god'), and the Muslim must use another word or form if he wishes to indicate any other than his own peculiar deity. Similarly, no plural can be formed from it, and though the liberal Muslim may admit that Christianity is a religion 'upon Allah,' he could never speak of the Allah of the Christians or the Allah of the Jews. Among Christians, too, a similar usage holds. In the current Arabic Bible versions, 'God (الله) is used singular, and 'The God' (الله) occurs, it is rendered ar-rabu-l-Illah, 'the Lord, the Ilah,' where 'the Ilah' is an uncompressed form, retaining its force of a common noun with the article, from which Allah has been derived. The Muslim usage, the Muslim, too, who usually derives and explains Ilah, 'worshipped,' uses it and its plural Allah in the broadest way, of any god, explaining that such is possible because worshippers believe that their god is Allah alone, to which many, almost all, asnām, āthān, refer. The origin of this goes back to pre-Muslim times, as Prof. Nöldeke has shown below (Art. ARABS [RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT]). Muhammad found the Meccans believing in a supreme God whom they called Allah, thus addressing their god. With Allah, however, the chiefs worshiped other minor deities, some evidently tribal, others called daughters of Allah. Muhammad's reform was to assert the solitary existence of Allah. The first article of the Muslim creed, therefore, —La ilāh āthān—all Muslims, according to God's teaching, there exists no god except the one whom you already call Allah.

Naturally, this precise historical origin is not clear to the Muslim exegetes and theologians. But that Allah is a proper name, applicable only to their God, is more or less universally admitted, mostly recognizing that its force as a proper name has arisen through contraction in form and limitation in usage. At-Tabari (d. A.H. 510 = A.D. 923), the greatest commentator on the Qur'an, divides the consonants are a little on the word. He gives only one derivation, namely, that it means 'the worshipped,' the second meaning of the contraction of the Syriac ḥādh (i.e., 'the worshiped'), proving the existence of such a root in Arabic, and the possibility of the contraction of the Arabic āthān to Allah (Tafsir, i. 40). The Syriac derivation is apparently neither the etymological nor the paleographical, and this question had become important for his time. It is very different in the next greatest Qur'an commentary which we have, that by ar-Razi. The great systematic theologian (d. A.H. 583 = A.D. 1209) he deals with it twice, in one passage considering whether God can have a known proper name (Muqaddas al-Dawlah, i. 61), and in another, the meaning, derivation, etc., of Allah (i. 35 ff.). The first position, he says, the earlier theologians desired. The objection is then raised, the thing named from other things; but if the thing named could not be known, as in the case of the peculiar essence of God, there was no use for the name, it signifies knowledge of Himself to some particularly chosen beings. He might have a name for them. As this name, then, would be the greatest of all names, which know no division, things and beings, material and spiritual. It would be, in fact, the Most Great Name of God, the ineffable name of the Jews, by which miracles could be wrought, and of which Muhammad had evidently heard. That such a name exists ar-Razi believes; traditions from Harun, that of true God and also, is well known, though not in the Arabic in the time of Muhammad as a plain Arabic word, and as such much accepted. Of the others, who say it is a name used in religion, and those who derive it are of two schools, on which reference to Lane, Lexicon, pp. 889ff., will suffice.

4. Broadly, Allah is used most frequently in the first instance, al-āthān; but the latter can by extension be applied to any god, as Allah Himself applies it in the Qur'an. Thus, of course, is a complete reversal of the historical fact.

5. Certain peculiarities of this Divine Name which distinguish it from all other names or gods: e. g., it is the only name, it remains continuous significant for God, and the formal confession of the Muslim faith consists not in applying only to this name, and not through any of the descriptive epithets, such as the Merciful One, 'The Holy One,' etc. With the Qur'an commentary of Balbawi (d. A.H. 685 = A.D. 1288) we reach a serious step. In the hadiths, e. g., for example, in the name of the Prophet, az-Zamakhshari (d. A.H. 538 = A.D. 1148) —a combination of rationalism and precise grammatical and lexicographical interpretation—it has no room for a priori theories or dreams of a wonder-working name. Allah is a contraction of al-āthān and has come to be used as a proper noun did not have this in origin. A number of possible derivations are given with examples of such transformation. It is shown that God's existence in itself, taken in most respects, real or imagined, is unintelligible to mankind, and so cannot be expressed by a separate word, even though especially revealed to His saints, as ar-Razi suggests; nor does it involve 'shir' in the theological sense, one thing having part in another; it means names have part in a common idea and formation. The Syriac derivation is mentioned without criticism.

Other commentaries give modifications only of the two atti
tudes of ar-Razi and al-Baidawi. Thus Abu-s-Su'ud (d. A.H. 982 = A.D. 1574) paraphrases and elucidates al-Baidawi. The following statement from him (margin of Miftāḥi al-shabāb, i. 19) shows how far such interpretation could attain: 'Know that what is meant by the negation in the first article of the creed, I.e., He is the rightly worshipped One, and the sense of that article of the creed is, 'No right worshiped individual exists except that rightly worshipped One. In this way only we are to regard the gift of the god for his name (Plutarch, which

monuments been

Ganges sacred

Hiuen-Tsiang,

branches,

the holy

sacred

confluence

trees.

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demon.

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cf.

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Lavatera—Cunningham, Archaeological Reports, i. 596 ff.,
abstracted and supplemented by Führer, Monumental Antiquities
and Inscriptions of the Provinces and Oudh, 157 ff.; Imperial Gazetteer of India, etc.

W. Crooke.

ALLEGY, ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION.—The word 'allegory' is derived from the terminology of Greek rhetoric, and means primarily a series of metaphors ('Iam cum fluctuerunt plures tralationes, alla plane fit oratio. Itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant 'Doragwlos' a Dio, Orea, iii. 166). Seeing that the later classical poets studied in the schools of rhetoric, it is not surprising that Horace, in the ode in which he compares the State to a ship (Od. i. 14), had an allegory in view, as is recognized by the rhetorician Quintilian (viii. 6, 44). Thus we see that the conception of allegory as formulated in rhetoric, and, owing to the close connexion between ancient rhetoric and hermeneutics, as used also in explaining a work of literature, has a rather narrow range. The meaning of the word 'allegory' has been extended to mean a wide sense which it has to-day when we speak, for instance, of allegorical figures in art. On the contrary, we must keep in view that allegory is a form of representation which a reader or hearer of the work is invited to bring to his mind, and his part is to do with the actual truth of the matter, and for the most part springs from the natural desire to conserve some idea which, owing to its age, has come to be regarded as sacred.

These remarks are necessary for the proper understanding of allegory among the nations of antiquity. It is a misuse of the word to find in Homer and the poets of the subsequent period unconscious allegorical ideas, as is done, e.g., by Decharme (La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque, xvii. 94; of these plays see in Homer (II. ii. 426), in Archilochus (Fragm. 12), or in Sophocles (Antig. 1907) of ἤφαιστος for fire is neither allegory nor a conscious substitution of the gift of the god for his name (Plutarch,
ALLEGORY

Quom. adol. poet. and. deb. p. 2Zab), but a direct identification of the god with his earliest form of earthly manifestation. Hephæstus is here, to adopt Ússer's terminology, the 'divinity of the moment' (Gotternamen, p. 270 ff.). A similar explanation must be given of the Cyclops—Brontes, Steropes, Arges (Hesiod, Theog. 140), and of Scaenius, Scaeus, and Scaenius Dionysus in Homer and stream, as well as of Uranos, Gaia, Demeter, Chaos, etc. There are figures, which in the later evolution unite themselves to the elementary divinities, whose names and natures are identical, e.g., Íris (Hesiod, Theog. 761 ff.), Hesper, Hesperides at Ephesos (Hesiod, Op. 16, 24, 28, 804, Theog. 225, etc.), Phobos, Deimos, Kydnos (Ili. IV. 440, xiii. 299, xiv. 119, v. 593, xviii. 555), Zelos, Nike (Hesiod, Theog. 384), and others. Only the most superficial consideration, however, can call such a usage allegorical. It is simply owing to the difficulty we have in analyzing such a pantheon of abstract conceptions and such a theology, and for want of a better term, that we call them personifications. It is quite impossible in such cases to speak of an allegorical explanation of the word itself and the gods it dealt with in the allegorical reinterpretation of such a figure as the personification of the birth of Zelos, 743, 5-54), Diomedes, Ode 11, 20; and cf. C. Pfleger, Stüd., p. 209, 25), it may be mentioned in passing that in the person of Crates of Mallus this method of explanation is saved the old tradition, but it is not, properly speaking, allegorical. In the place of a sable fable we find a new and no less silly myth. Such a proceeding, however, is not allegorizing (cf. also Decharme, Lc. 295).

Up to this point we have constantly spoken of 'allegory', as if this expression were found in the philosophes themselves. This is, however, by no means the case. We find a number of writers giving allegorical interpretations, who never use the word itself. For instance, when used till 'allegory' occurs in the 1st cent. B.C. (cf. Cicero, Orator, 94 ; Plutarch, Quom. adol. poet. and. deb. p. 19 f.), it was ἱρώτοαν. Thus Xenophon uses the word in the well-known passage of his Symposium (iii. 6), where he adduces Stesimbratus of Thasos and Anaximander (cf. Plato, Ion, 530 D, who mentions Glaucon by the side of Metrodorus and Stesimbratus) as teachers of Antisthenes in this method of explaining Homer. As a matter of fact, the Cynical school had with conscious purpose reduced the allegorical interpretation of Homer to a system. The writings of Antisthenes were largely occupied with the poetry of Homer and the figures it contained (Diog. Laert. vii. 1, 171) ; and we learn from the fifty-third oration of Dio Chrysostom (p. 278 B), that he distinguished in Homer between ἵππος and ἵππων, and that he allegorized the poet (cf. Schrader, Lc. 387 f.; Dio Chrysost. viii. 283 R; Xenoph. Memor. i. 3. 7; Dümmler, Antisthenes, 22 ff.) in spite of their utter denial of the existence of a plurality of gods, and their emphasis on the rejection of the figures of Homer by the Cynics were quite unable to free themselves from the spell of the Homeric poetry. Plato is the opponent of Homer and Antisthenes; he often treats with playful sarcasm the attempts of the 'great Homer exegetes' to interpret the gods allegorically (Cratylos, p. 407 A, Plut. Phdr. 229 Ö; Repub. 378 D, where again the word ἱρώτοαν appears).

Thus the beginning of a system of allegorizing had been made. The Stoics undertook its completion, and their views passed on later to the Jews and the Christians, and thence more or less directly to our own time. The passage from Dio referred to above mentions the Stoic Zeno as the follower of Antisthenes in his method of explaining Homer, and the pupil of the founder of the Stoical school bear witness to his allegorical point of view (Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, i. pp. 43, 167 ff.). Chrysippos, the head of the Stoical school, has, of course, taken great delight in working out this method. Zeus is for him the Logos, who orders all things; he derives his name from his life-giving activity (ὥς). Male and female virgins do not exist: Ares is the water, the river, the air, the earth, Zeus ether, Heroes reason. Almo-i- t-he all the names of the gods suggest such an interpretation, at ραπαθος comes from poison, Hecate from fire, onie, religious questions excited in Athens in the middle of the 5th cent., how, for instance, Aristophanes ridiculed the new doctrines of philosophy (Nub. 326, 380 ff.), and we remember that the rationalistic historians from Hecateus and Herodotus onwards have stripped the old miraculous legends as far as possible of their supernatural character, it is easy to understand that a related, if not an entirely identical, movement had to make itself felt in poetry as well. Euripides, the pupil of Anaxagoras (cf. Fragm. 487, 839, 877, Naučk), is by no means an allegorist, although he, too, resolves Zeus into ether (Troades, 884 ; Fragm. 941). The true allegorist, as we have seen, has a fixed system. The poet Euripides, moved as he is by doubts, appears now as a believer, and again as a skeptic. In his later years he wrote the Bacchae, in which he gives a purely rationalistic explanation of the birth of Deimos, 733, 3-51) of the Stoics (cf. Chrysippus), but we may mention in passing that in the person of Crates of Mallus this method of
interpretation extended itself to the exposition of Homer as a whole (Wachsmuth, de Gratete Mallota, p. 62). Two unsatisfactory though not uninteresting writings which are still extant, the Allegoriae Homericae of Heraclitus and the Theologia Graecorum compendium of Cornutus, prove to us that the allegorical method of explanation was not only capable, as far as new, of treating Homer, it also had the merit of not exceeding the allegorical method of interpretation is capable. Of the two, Heraclitus is the less annoying; he at least has some feeling; he hates Plato and Epicurus (cap. 4), in fact all those who syncretistic enthusiasm admired of his beloved Greece. Accordingly, he endeavours to meet the old objections raised against the weakness and sins of the Homeric gods.

Thus the chief of Anti-christ (II. iii. 277) is explained as the union of the elements (53); the hurling of Hesiodus through the air (I. 692) signifies the earthy fire, which is weaker than the heavenly flame (thus Hesiodus is πρόως); the wounding of Aphrodite and of Ares (v. 356 f., 358 f.) is to be understood as the defeat of the barbarian army (ἀποτροπὴ = ἀποκλεῖσθαι), which sends forth unceasingly noises (30, 31); the union of Aphrodite and Ares (Od. viii. 208 f.) is in the combination of love and strife in harmony. These interpretations are so general that they even applied this line of thought is Carneades, who practically advocated the views of his teacher, Arcesilas; his attack is contained in the third book of Cicero's de Natura Deorum, and in Sextus Empiricus, adi. Mathem. ix. He regarded the interpretation of the myths as entirely meaningless, and reproached the Stoics for regarding as wise the inventors of such unspeakable stories (Cicero, I. c. iii. 24, 62).

The Epicureans expressed themselves to the same effect; they refuted all these allegorical gods of the Stoics, but not so much by, as much as the great majority of the church. The Wisdom of Solomon is under the influence of Plotinus, and the allegorical interpretation of the Jewish law is found in the letter of Aristides (§ 143 ff.). Just as symbolical explanations occur among the Essenes (Philo, Qum. or. prob. lib. ii. p. 468, Mangey). Philo, however, is the chief representative of this direction of thought. Attempts have been made to trace back his allegorical exegesis of the Scriptures to the Haggada. And this much, at any rate, is certain, that there was before Philo made under the same method of explanation, for he frequently refers to such expositions of the Old Testament.

Those 'physicists' had explained Abraham as the θεός, and Sarah as virtus (Philo, de Aedr. ii. 15, Mangey); again, the king of Egypt was the θεός as ruler of the body (de Jos. ii. p. 63, Mangey); they interpreted the rise of the Passover as referring either to the purification of soul or to the creation of the world (de Sepheon, i. 291); and in this way a number of Scripture passages obtained a moral interpretation (e.g. On 219, Dc 391; Dc 491, de Plant., Sec. i. 237; de Spec. i. 290), though they may have been more definite rules for this exegesis (de Somn. i. 621, 611, 664).

But Philo not merely followed in the footsteps of his predecessors; his aim rather was to reduce the world of the allegorical exegesis to a spiritual one. There is no writer who shows more clearly than he the origin of the allegorical method. Philo tells us often of the different attacks which the opponents of the Scriptures, i.e. the Greeks, made on the Biblical narratives. He reprimands the detestable people who express amazement at God's changing his opinion, and writes against them the pamphlet, Quod Deus sit immutabilis; he is well aware that the same persons mock at the tower of Babel (de Conf. Lang. i. 405), smile at the serpent in Paradise (de Mund. Op. i. 58), explain the swearing or wrathful God of Israel as a monster (Leg. all. i. 129; Quod Deus s. imm. i. 282), and make merry over Joseph's dreams (de Jos. iv. 59). This Greek criticism, which lasted from the days of Philo till the fall of paganism, compelled the Jews, and after them the Christians, to give an allegorical meaning, a τρεπόν, to the sacred Scriptures, just as, at an earlier date, it had compelled the faithful among the pagans. But, besides this, by which the Scriptures are best regarded as an allegory (de Jos. ii. 46; here, again, the term τρεπόν is used); the allegorical exegesis is the soul of the sacred text, the literal meaning only its body (de Migr. Abr. i. 450), a comparison which Origen later adopts (see below). The literal meaning of a passage would, according to Philo, lead to absurdity and impiety,—here, too, Origen is his pupil,—and literal obedience to the precepts of the Law would be the preposterous (e.g. Leg. all. i. 439; de Somn. i. 425; de Somn. i. 391; de Spec. Leg. i. 329; de Agric. i. 324, etc.). We cannot here go on to speak of the reasons which, according to Philo, caused the Deity to give such incomplete representations of Himself, nor is it possible to introduce a large number of individual allegories. The history of allegorical exegesis is tedious enough owing to the want of diversity in the method. Accordingly it may suffice to give a few instances, which any one can easily amplify for himself. The book Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des AT. Pp. 160-272.

Philo recognizes in Paradise the ἀρχαιοτάτος of the soul, in the tree of life the fountain of life, and in the city of Jerusalem the four rivers of Paradise are the four cardinal virtues (de Post. Caini, i. 260; Leg. all. i. 66); Abel is pure without intellect, Seth the virtuous man of fineness (the same kind of plain, in the sand which is imbued with wisdom (Qum. pot. qua. ii. 137; de Sacrif. Ab. et Caini, i. 183; de Post. Caini, i. 341), Enoch hope (Qum. pot. qua. ii. 217; de Prom. and Prom. ii. 410), etc.; Hasar signifies the θεός κατακεκλείσα; Sarah virtus and wisdom (de Cherib. i. 180 f.; Joseph is the type of the statesman (de Jos. iv. 41); his coat of many colours indicates that his political policy is intricate and difficult to unravel (Qum. pot. qua. ii. 192); in the Law (De 219-7) the one beloved is the Scriptur, the other who is hated is virtue (de Sacrif. Ab. et Caini, i. 197) and so on.

Seeing that the allegories crowd in on Philo in such a way, it is natural for him to interpret the same passage in different allegorical ways (de Prof. i. 572); moreover, the same facile hand occasionally changes the text, just when it suits his allegory to do so (Qum. pot. qua. i. 200). The Jewish method of interpretation was carried over into Christian exegesis, although the influence of Philo did not make itself particularly felt till the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Thus St. Paul, as well as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, makes ready use of allegorical exegesis (cf. Gal 4:19; 1 Co 9); and the Epistle of Barnabas, with its search for a spiritual meaning behind the letter, is a product of the Jewish tradition. This need of allegorizing is seen still more plainly in the Apologists.
This is particularly true of Justin Martyr, who interprets a number of Old Testament prophecies in a most daring fashion; thus Gn 49:1, 'he hath washed his garments in wine, and his vestments in blood of my eyes,' means that he will punish the faithful in whom the Logos dwells, with his blood, which, like the juice of the grape, comes from God (Apol. i. 22); when it is said that the servant shall be on his master's right hand (Is 50:10), the meaning is that Christ would be hung on the cross. The Gnostics another day in their Origenian manner not only the Old Testament, but also the New, discovering in the simplest words and incidents ever their 'Demiurgos,' the 'Achamoth,' and their 'Wisdom' (Iren., i. 17. 15; Ch. Influence of Gr. Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church, p. 75).

The simplicity of the syncretism of the 2nd cent. drew allegory into its circle. When we see Greeks and Christians contending with one another, we become quite bewildered with the confusion of terms. The Apologists unite with the Sceptics in their opposition to allegory (Aristides, xii. 7; Seecberg; Tatian, Adv. Grec. 21; pseudo-Clem. Rom. Hom. vi. 17, etc.); but they themselves calmly use allegorical interpretation. Celsus is perfectly justified in his attack on this method, which he designates as a retreat of shame at the immoral stories of the Bible (Cels. i. 17, iv. 48). But again, Celsus is an allegorist himself (Loc. vi. 42), and so both parties, Greeks as well as Christians, tread the same erroneous path.

Allegory had, in fact, become to the men of this time a religious requirement. Although Irenæus and Tertullian repeat the Gnostic interpretations, yet the method took firmer hold, and, along Philo's lines, developed just as luxuriantly as in the Graeco-Judean empire. The language of Clement of Alexandria, revealing as it does in symbolic pictures, at once betrays the allegorist; but it is not worth our while to go into his individual allegorical interpretations here (Strom. i. 3. 23, vii. 94; Past. ii. 8. 62), as they do not essentially differ from those of other Theosophists. Then, Hippolytus is an allegorist, in the full sense of the term, in his commentary on Daniel (cf. i. ch. 13 ff.), and especially in the Canitics, where the interpretation follows that of the Jewish Rabbi Akiba. Origen gave the allegorical method a kind of scientific basis. He also commented on the Canitics, and here we find allegory, as distinct from allegory, in itself, is not the same as allegorical interpretation. Thus the understanding of Scripture stands in the most intimate relationship to human nature. There are, however, in Scripture all kinds of σκέπασμα, πράσωψις, and historical impossibilities. Origen, well instructed in the heathen polemics, agrees that there could have been many days before the creation of the stars, and that God could not, like a gardener, plant trees or take walks. It was also impossible to talk of God's father from whom Christ hid himself. Then the Gospels, as well as the OT law, contain precepts which are not to be literally followed (e.g. Lk 10:9, Mt 5:22; cf. 1 Co 7:1). And there is no lack of stories which are absurd when taken literally, as, e.g., that Satan brought Jesus to the top of a high mountain (Mt 4:3). Now it would be quite false to reject the whole on account of such peculiarities; on the contrary, where the literal meaning is unworthy of the wisdom of revelation, it is the proper thing to look for the ἐνδοτικός. The σκέπασμα, but not the σκέπασμα, goes through the whole of Scripture; in some passages the latter is impossible. Thus the allegorical wisdom received its academical consecration, and it made little difference that Porphyry, the passionate opponent of Christianity, declared himself against the method (Euseb., Ἐφ. vii. 19. 4), seeing he himself, as is well known, did no better (cf. the case of Celsus, above). A more threatening opposition arose from the Apologists, opposed the heathen allegories, wishes to adopt in the interpretation of Scripture a via media between the Apologists, and, above all, Theodore of Mopsuestia, who wrote, among other works, five whole volumes against the allegorists (cf. for him, Kihn, Theodor von Mopsuestia und Juniuss Africaeus als Exegeten). These men, of course, did not think of bluntly rejecting the pneumatic exegesis as unjustified; they only sought, by calling in question the sole supremacy of the allegorical interpretation, to restore the true oral basis, which was destroyed by the allegorists. This they did by attempting to disclose the typical meaning after having ascertained the verbal significance. But they could not in this way really reach consistency. They held that the allegorical method was, after all, more logical than the exegesis of the school of Antioch, which, in recognising typology and in distinguishing a double meaning in Scripture, again came nearer to the allegorical interpretation, and, particularly by accepting Messianic passages in the OT, made its own position untenable. Theodore himself is the best example of this. It is quite refreshing to learn his opinions regarding the Book of Job and the Canitics (Migne, Patrologia Graeca, lixvi. 697 ff.); the former resembles a Greek drama, the latter a love poem, in which Solomon celebrates his marriage with an Egyptian woman. The Psalms, too, were explained historically by Theodore. But then, again, comes the reaction. Although Theodore does not deny that, e.g., Zee 9:23 refers to Zerubbabel, although he expresses himself strongly against those who interpret one passage as applying to him, and another part as referring to Christ, still he finds a kind of mediation in the thought that a considerable part of the prophetic message is to be understood 'hyperbolically,' i.e. its full truth was first foretold by Jesus (cf. Comment. in Zach. i. p. 554 f. 11). Similarly, he interprets Pr 54 as referring to Onias, but, at the same time, as being αἱκαιροφροσυνή (cf. above, Origen, and Theodore himself [p. 555]) of the sufferers of our Lord. Another excellent example (Jl 22:2) is given more fully by Kihn, loc. cit. 137. Theodore's exegesis continued to flourish in the school of Nisibis, and obtained, by means of Julius Africanus, an entrance into the West (Kihn, loc. cit. p. 215 ff.).

The allegorical method was not emphatically enough combated by this new method, which in the place of the one ἐνδοτικός only set another, notwithstanding the vigour with which the champions of the doctrine of Antioch in thoroughly Greek style carried on the contest. It was now no longer possible to overthrow the method, which had already become far too necessary an element in Greek thought. Gregory of Nyssa seems to have quite made up his mind not to reduce the Scriptures to an allegory (Hexameron, i. p. 6. 45, 46); but then, again, he takes a delight in giving new representations, and gives some himself, particularly in his explanation of the Canitics. Gregory of Nazianzus, who, like all the Apologists, opposes the heathen allegories, wishes to adopt in the interpretation of Scripture a via media between
ALL FOOLS’ DAY

The practice of April Fool’s Day (Orat. xlv. 12), but he also declares: "hominis praeceps et filius regum" (Orat. xxxii. 3).

Allegorical interpretation flourished also in the West. Its rules had been taught at an early date in the rhetorical schools (cf. Jerome, Com. on Ep. ad Gal. ii. 4. 24). Alongside of Hilig, and Antichorius, the great name to be mentioned here is that of Jerome, who lays down the maxim (Comment. in Mal. vi. 255, Migne). ‘Regula scripturarum est ut, ubi usque ad servitutem nostram de futuras textur, for incerta allegorica minores, sed sunt,’ but who at the same time explains Leah as Judaism, Rachel as Christianity (Ep. cxxiii. 13, i. p. 910, Migne), and declares (ad Am. lib. i. 2. 1 ff., vi. 255, Migne): ‘Qui legiit introisse Judam ad Thamar meretricem et ex ea duos filios processerat, si turpitudinem sequatur littera et non ascendet ad decorem intellectus spiritualis, comurat ossa regis Iudaee.’ Augustine here, as in all other departments, occupies a prominent place.

He follows in his writing, de Doctrina Christiana, the seven hermeneutic rules of the Donatist Tychonius (iii. 30), and gives a lively and delightful representation of the duties of the expositor. In spite, however, of the breadth of his view, he too appeals to the old tradition, and says that the letter and the spirit, therefore, we kill our souls when, in following the letter, we subject our intellectus to the flesh (cf. Origen, above). But Augustine in many Biblical passages recognizes not so much an allegorical meaning as a literal one. ‘Scribunt ergo in locutionibus figuratis regula haudiusmodi, ut tantiu veretur diligentis consideratione quod legiatur, donec ad regnum caritatis interpretatio perducatur.’ It requires, however, no more than the seven rules of Tychonius to show us that the allegorical exegesis was threatened with a schematicism which, in a short time, prevailed. Cassiodorus, who in like manner makes use of Tychonius, postulates in his book Institutiones divinarum et secundarum literarum six modes of intelligente, and Eucherius proceeds according to the same example in his Formula spiritualis intelligente, which now furnish us with a copious table of individual allegories. Thus a special meaning is afforded when Scripture speaks of the shepherds, of the diversities pecorum; the winds are sanctus; the shadow is protector divina; the stones are either Christ or ecclesi; roses are martrea a rubeo sapunidia; the raven is migrato; the dove is voluntaria et daemonia; the bull is dominus; the bear is diabolus auro doccit suai; but the wolf and the wild bear are also representations of the devil; the tiger is humanitas interiorem interjecti; the cannon is divers rebus socii omni et moribus diversi.

After winning these triumphs, the Middle Ages fall asleep, and it is impossible for us here to trace the vagaries of allegorical interpretation further. The interpretation, which finds expression in the following well-known couplet, becomes quite a fixed rule:

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Moralis quid agas, quo tendas analogia.

Bernard of Clairvaux is an enthusiastic allegorist of the Canaries. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theol. i. art. 10) distinguishes the sensum historicum vel litteralis from the sensum spiritualis, quae super litteralem fundatur et eum supportit, and this distinction prevailed for centuries. It was not till the Reformation that this way of interpreting was called in question. Luther, who confesses that as much as he had allegorized, seems, along with the other Reformers, only for the sensum litteralis (Heinrici, in Hauck, Pre? vii. art. ‘Hermeneutik’). Of course he still interprets Canaries allegorically, but does not express himself so enthusiastically regarding it as either the theologians of the Middle Ages or many later

The Canticles, in fact, have been to a large extent the test for the later Biblical interpretation. Generally speaking, the allegorical method has in modern times fallen into disuse. Men like Cocceius belong to the exceptions, and Biblical criticism on a historical and grammatical basis has, particularly since the end of the 18th cent., almost annihilated allegorical exegesis. Still the interpretation of the Canticles, which held its place in the Canon, has again and again raised up friends of the old method. Although H. Grotius, as early as the 17th cent., treated the poem to a large extent historically and grammatically, and Herder, at the end of the 18th cent., offered a purely historical and literary explanation, still there have been even in our times men like O. von Gerlach and Henzenberg, who have more or less preferred the old interpretation of the Canticles as referring to Christ and the Church. This is the exegesis which still prevails in the Roman Catholic Church.

A few words remain yet to be said with regard to the Jewish allegorists. The 2nd cent. of our era produced quite a succession of these exeges. We have already noted above (p. 330) that the allegorical interpretation of the Canticles is due originally to Ith (ii. 36), and among the Jews, no less than among the Christians, keen controversies have raged, and the 13th cent. in particular is remarkable for the passions which this dispute called forth. Among the Jewish interpreters of the Bible at the present day the prevailing method is the interpretation which finds most general favour.

JOH. GEFFCKEN.

ALL FOOLS’ DAY.—This has been authoritatively defined as a humorous name for the First of April, the day which has been popularly appropriated to the custom of playing the fool by means of practical jokes at the expense of a person’s credulity. The term is of comparatively modern use; the practice is wide-spread, but of obscure origin.

The phrase is used by Swift in 1712: ‘A due donation for All Fools’ Day’ (Hone’s Every Day Book, i. 289). It occurs in 1760 in Poor Robin’s Almanack: ‘I eyes of God are His insight, His mouth is His speech, and so on.

But, in addition to that, every individual thing has its definite meaning: duxites pecorum; the winds are sanctus; the shadow is protector divina; the stones are either Christ or ecclesi; roses are martrea a rubeo sapunidia; the raven is migrato; the dove is voluntaria et daemonia; the bull is dominus; the bear is diabolus auro doccit suai; but the wolf and the wild bear are also representations of the devil; the tiger is humanitas interiorem interjecti; the cannon is divers rebus socii omni et moribus diversi.

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therefore, to accept the theory that it was due to the transference of New Year's Day from the First of April to the First of January. In France this is said to have been due to an order of Charles IX. in 1564, and it is suggested that for the *étronnés*, or New Year's gifts which were transferred to the First of January—

"on ne fit plus que des fêtications de plaisanterie aux personnes qui s'accommodaient avec regret au nouveau régime. On était mieux n'envoyer à ses amis des cadeaux simulés ou par des faux messages, et finalement, comme au mois d'avril le soleil quitte le signe solidaire des Poisons, nos amis constrent à ces similitudes le nom de poissons d'avril." (Nouv. Dict. Larousse Illust.)

But is not this itself a plaisanterie? New Year's gifts were, at least in England, given at the beginning of January before 1564. It is on record that they were presented to Henry VI. between Christmas Day and 4th Feb. 1428 (Rymer's *Fadestor*, x. 387).

And 'Sol in piscibus' stood of old in the calendars much as the phrase 'Sun enters the sign Pisces' stands in the calendar for 1907 against 19th Feb. The *poissons d'Avril* were caught under the Ram. They cannot even come under the category of the Irish 'Bull.'

Other suggestions have been made as to the origin of this practice of making an April-fool, or 'hunting the gowk,' as it is termed in Scotland. Some see in it a parody of the changeableness of April weather. Others regard it as a reminiscence of the solemn fooling in the Miracle Plays. Another sees in it a relic of the Roman Cerialia, held at the beginning of April.

"The tale is that Proserpine was sporting in the Elysian meadows, and had just filled her lap with daffodils, when Pluto carried her off to the lower world. Her mother Ceres heard the echo of her screams, and went in search of the voice; but her search was a fool's errand,—it was hunting the gowk or looking for the April-fool. (Brewer's *Familiar Quotations*.)"

May not this be numbered among the fables, the *Cerealia* being kept from April 12 to 19?

Fooling similar to that which characterizes the First of April takes place at the Hol cuts festival in India; and Maurice (*Ind. Ant. vi. 71*) says:

"The First of April in England and the Hol Festival in India had their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating the Vernal Equinox."

The similarity of the fooling in India and the Celtic lands of Western Europe, taken together with affinities in religion and folklore, illustrated by the cross-legged figure of the Celtic deity Cernunos in the Bordeaux Museum, points to a common origin in very early times, and supports Maurice's conclusion. The same conclusion is expressed in other words in Brockhaus' *Konversations Lexicon*:

"das er der Rest eines alten heidnischen vielleicht altkeltischen Festes ist, welches mit dem Beginn des Frühlinges im Zusammenhange stand."

In whose honour this old Celtic Festival was held, and what religious mystery or rite underlay the fooling, has yet to be traced. It is only possible to suggest the lines along which the solution may be found.

Two points have to be noted. The rite—if such fooling may be dignified by the name of rite—must be performed at the passing of March, i.e. on the First of April. It must also be before noon. These points are confirmed by two rhymes.

In North Staffordshire, if the joke is played in the afternoon, those who are trying to practise the joke are met with the retort:

"March is gone, and April come;
You're a fool, and I'm none."

In South Staffordshire the rhyme runs:

"April-fool's dead and gone,
We've ten fools to make new one."

These rhymes, preserved in a district still strongly versed in old Celtic folklore, point not only to the antiquity of the custom, but to its being associated with some ancient pagan rite, celebrated between the evening of the last day of March and the morning of the First of April.

Is there any means of tracing the origin and affinity of the rite? The First of April was kept in ancient Rome as the Feast of Venus and Fortuna Virilis. Ovid says that Fortuna Virilis was worshipped by women that she might preserve their charms, and thus enable them to please their husbands (*Fasti*, iv. 140-149). How the men occupied themselves during the two days of April fastigium was presumably worshiping at the shrine of Fortuna Virilis, or whether they suspected they were being fooled by the women, cannot be known. As Fortuna Virilis was also the goddess of boys and youths, it is not impossible that the old garment, 'blind-man's buff, or 'hoodman-blind,' as it is in Shakespeare, was a relic of the rite practised by the men on the occasion of this Festival. Or the fooling may be specially associated with this Spring Festival of Venus. It is on record that Q. Fabius Gurges, the Consul, at the close of the Samnite War, founded the worship of Venus Obsequens and Postvorta (Smith, *Class. Dict. art. *Venus*). Full details may be found in Livy (*Hist. xi.*).

It is to some Celtic form of this worship of Venus on the First of April that the origin of All Fools' Day must be traced. Rhys in his *Celtic Lectures* shows an affinity between Venus and the maiden-mother Arianrhod, the daughter of Don.

"These remarks on the parallelism between the Celtic Sungod and Baider would be incomplete without reference to the latter's mother, Frigg. She is proved, by the Anglo-Saxon word *Frigedeg*, now Friday, and by the old Norse habit of calling the planet Venus *Frigg's star*, to have been treated to a certain extent as a counterpart of the Latin Venus. Her dwelling in a manor called Fenain, the Hall of the Fen or Swamp, recalls Lien's mother, Arianrhod, and her sea-girt castle (Rhys, *Hibb. Lect. p. 545*).

And perhaps it is not merely accident that some of the most exquisite fooling in the *Mabinogion* is in 'Math, the son of Mathwyw,' Arianrhod was the mistress of the Culture Hero, Gwydion, son of Don. By her he had two sons, Llew or Llic, the Sun-hero of Celtic mythology, and Dylan. The boy Llew was reared at Dinas Dinlle, on the Carnarvon coast near the southern end of the Menai Straits. A little distance to the south-west is a sunken reef known as Caeer Arianrhod, the sea-girt Castle of Arianrhod in the *Mabinogion*. This was the scene of the magic fooling by which Gwydion won a name for his son Llew, and forced Arianrhod to invest him in the armour in which he was to shine. Llew's twin-brother was christened by order of Math, and immediately made for the sea.

'He swam as well as the best fish in its waters, and for this reason was called Dylan, the son of the wave' (Gusm's *Mabinogion*, ed. Nutt, pp. 65-71). His name is commemorated in the headland Menidulan on the same coast.

Llew and Dylan are held by Rhys to represent the principles of light and darkness, and it would be natural that any rite connected with the victory of the Sun-god Llew over Arianrhod and his twin-brother Dylan should be associated with the First of April. This suggestion also affords an explanation of the French phrase, 'Those who were fooled at the First of April, and suffered the discomfiture of Dylan, would suitably be named after his fish-like propensities, poissons d'avril.'

All Fools' Day may therefore be the relic of a Spring Festival of Llew. In the shining armour of the Sun, which he had won by his magic from Arianrhod, he triumphed at the close of the year over the cold gloom of the winter sunlight personified in his brother Dylan. These early myths took shape in religious rites, and were preserved in folklore and in popular rhymes and customs. Rhys, writing of the feast held on the First of August in honour of Lug, another name of the Sun-hero Llew, says:

'Look at the position of these places (Lyons, Laon, Leyden, all variants of the older Lugdunum) on the map, and take into
ALMSGIVING—ALTAR

In the most general sense of the term, an altar may be defined as a surface, usually elevated, but occasionally level with the ground, or even depressed beneath it, prepared or adapted to receive a sacrifice. It is thus, by implication, intimately connected with sacrifice (q.v.), and has seemingly been developed as a ritual adjunct to the oblation. Sacrifices are, however, not commonly made to natural objects by casting the offering into them. Thus, amongst the Indians of Brazil, the human sacrifices to the volcano Masaya or Popocatepetl were cast into the crater of the mountain, and amongst the Hurons tobacco was thrust into the crevice of a rock in which a spirit was believed to dwell (Taylor, Pr. Celt. Assoc., ii. 207-208); while, in similar fashion, pins and other trifles are dropped into holy wells in Cornwall and Armenia; and in Swabia, the Tyrol, and the Upper Palatinate, meal is flung into the face of the gale to placate the divinity, and even in the Alemannic region it is well known to require more than an allusion, and it is again exemplified both in Guinea and North America; while, in like manner, offerings are made to the earth by burying the sacrifice, as amongst the Khonds of Orissa (a mode of sacrifice which also occurs elsewhere in offerings to the dead), and to the fire by casting the offering into it, as amongst the Yakuts and the Carinthians (Taylor, op. cit. ii. 377-378, 407-408). Sacrifice to the dead may be made simply by casting the offering away at random, as in Melanesia (Cordington, Melanesians, Oxford, 1891, p. 128).

Sacrifices may also be offered either by placing the offering simply on the ground, as amongst the Indians of Brazil and the African negroes (cf. Jeovins, Introd. to Hist. Rel., London, 1896, pp. 134-135); or by hanging the oblation on trees or poles, as amongst the ancient Swedes and the modern Semites, Armenians, Hindus, and some of the African tribes (cf. Tylor, op. cit. ii. 228; Curtiss, Prim. Semit. Rel. To-day, New York, 1902, pp. 91-92; Abeggian, op. cit. p. 59; Cooke, Pop. Rel. and Folklore of N. India, London, 1896, ii. 99-100, 102; Ellis, Ewe-Speaking Peoples, London, 1890, p. 42).

In considering the primitive purpose of the altar, it may not be amiss to discuss the etymology of the words denoting it in Semitic and Indo-Germanic. In the former group of languages an altar is represented by the Hebrew mizbeah (Arab. madkhab), a derivative of nāšā, to slaughter, thus clearly indicating that the Semitic altar was for the slaughtered victim or its blood, not for the burnt-offering (the burnt-offering being of later development among the Semites; cf. W. R. Smith, pp. 350 ff.), and this is curiously confirmed by the fact that amongst the modern Semites there are no burnt-offerings, but only the slaughter of victims without burning (Curtiss, op. cit. p. 229).

But if we turn to the Indo-Germanic words for altar, a striking diversity of terms awaits us. First and foremost is the Latin altāre, borrowed in many languages (e.g. Old High German altār, Old Pruss. altār, Old Church Slav. olātār, Lith. altėvės, Russ. altar), and defined by Festus as follows: *altāria, m. in quo sacrificiatur.* The word is commonly derived from altus, *high*; but this must be rejected, since not only is the meaning unsatisfactory, but linguistic evidence is against it. -ārius (-ārio) being used in Latin only to denote adjectives or nouns derived from a stem in -āre, *to sacrifice.* The term *altāria* is used in this sense by Festus, and it is the most probable etymology of the word, since the root alt is very difficult, unless one may assume in it the presence of a root-determinative *t* (cf. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation, Upsala, 1891, pp. 28-58), though this method of etymology is rejected by many scholars). The second Lat. term for altar is ara, Umbrian axa, which is most probably connected with areo, *burn* (Walde, op. cit. p. 40).

The Greek terms for altar are ἔσυς, ἔσυς, and θυατήριον. The first of these, which stands in Attic-cancel with Doric ἔσυς (Attic ἔσυς), *step,* itself occasionally means *step* (e.g. Odyssey, vii. 100); while the last two are both connected with θεός, *to sacrifice,* especially by burning (cf. Latin sufficio, *fumigate,* etc.). Finally, in Germanic we have the Icelandic stañt, Anglo-
sacrifices to Pele were hurled into its depths; for there seems to be no differentiation of kind between the besmearing of the sacred stone and the casting of an oblation into the ocean or into a crater.

The evolution of the altar will be considered more fully in the following sections devoted to it amongst different individual peoples, but a brief allusion may be made to two forms of this rite as such as in the opening sentence it has been stated that the altar may sometimes be 'level with the ground, or even depressed beneath it.' In the former case, we have a very primitive type indeed—but a step even earlier in evolution, in which the offering was removed from direct contact with the ground by interposing a layer of sand which serves as an altar. The typical example of this form is the Hopt altar, which is discussed in ALTAR (American), though an analogue may be traced in the Semitic use of the threshold as an altar (see Trumbull, The Threshold Covenant, London, 1896, passim), or in the oot-altars of the ancient Egyptians; as well as in the herbs on which the flesh of slaughtered victims was laid by the Persians (Herodotus, i. 132; Strabo, p. 732 f.).

The altar described by the author of the work from which he has been so freely quoted (cf. E. Schröder, Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen, Vienna, 1886, p. 410)—a concept which, is, perhaps, borrowed from Christianity. It is thus evident that amongst the Semites the altar was primarily the place where the victim was slaughtered, and amongst the Indo-Germanic peoples the place where it was burnt.

It is clear from what has already been said that the altar, essentially an adjunct of the sacrifice, has been evolved later than the offering, for many peoples did not, or have not, still so, without altars; and there are considerable areas, particularly in Africa and South America, where the altar is entirely unknown, while the late development of the altar amongst them is exemplified in the provision made by Schrader, RE der indogermanischen Altertumskunde, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 855, 861), and receives a striking exemplification in the relatively late evolution of the Indian vedi (see ALTAR (Hindu)). The latter represents, indeed, a curious type of altar, in that it is primarily a fire altar in a trench strewn with grass, evolving later into the common form of a raised altar for burnt-offerings. Its development thus shows all three forms of the altar—depicted below the ground, practised level with the ground, and elevated above the ground (cf. Ludwig, Der Räuchera, iii., Prague, 1878, p. 364 f.; Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, Strassburg, 1897, p. 14).

Allusion has already been made to the widespread practice (cf. e.g. of op. cit. p. 34) of hanging offerings on sacred trees, and oblations are likewise placed on sacred stones. The best example of the latter phenomenon is perhaps found in the case of the Heb. masaghbah, 'upright stone, pillar' (from ס, 'to take one's stand,' and massag 'object set up, idol'); for other cognates and for literature, cf. Oef. Hebr. Lex. c. 662-683), which was regarded as a Divine abode and anointed with oil (e.g. Gn 28:19). In like manner the Arab. anṣāb (plural of nusb 'idol,' which is derived from ṣab-a = az, and is thus linguistically connected with massaghbah) were anointed with blood (W. R. Smith, pp. 184, 321).

It is held by many that the sacred stone or tree and the altar 'originally were identical in use and purpose' (cf. Jevons, op. cit. pp. 34). But this view seems at least open to question, despite the support given to it by the history of the Semitic altar. Though the distinction may be deemed academic and subtle, the present writer feels, that, while the altar is believed to be in the sacred stone or the sacred tree, he is never held to dwell in the altar. The altar is, in other words, from its very inception, the table on which the offering to the god is slaughtered, burnt, or deposited. The oil and blood of the offerings were cast into it in honour of Poseidon, or the crater of Mauna Loa as an altar since human
might also be made of a pile of stones, or even of earth. As the shrine or temple (q.v.) was evolved, the altar was placed at first outside it, because of the small dimensions of the primitive shrine; but later it resumed its original place in front of the object in which the divinity was believed to dwell, or which symbolized the deity to whom sacrifice was made. With the development of art, the altar, which had long ceased to be left in its natural shape, despite the conservative character of religious ritual (cf. Ex 25:8), became varied in form, and was frequently in accord with the best abilities of those who constructed it. The theory of the altar, however, is unchanged, whether victims be slaughtered on it, or whether it be used for burnt-offerings, or to receive and bear animal, vegetable, or other oblations (as in the Roman lectionarium, the Jewish table of shewbread, or many Polynesian altars), these distinctions belonging properly to the subject of sacrifice (q.v.).

The human body has been used in at least two cults as an altar. In the Aztec Ochpaniztli, a broom feast, the woman who was to be sacrificed by decapitation was held by a priest on his back, he constituting an altar (Bulletin 24 BE, p. 174); while in Satanism (q.v.) the body of a newborn infant forms the altar on which the Mass is parodied.

Literature.—Jowett, Introd. to Hist. of Rel. (London, 1890) pp. 180–185; and see at end of following articles.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ALTAR (African).—Nowhere, except in South America, is there so general a lack of the altar as in Africa—a phenomenon which closely corresponds to, and is in part indicative of, the primitive religious conditions of that continent, and a general explanation of the simplicity of the characterizing fetishism (q.v.), the prevailing type of religion there; though temples, or ‘fetish huts,’ are by no means unknown, even amongst tribes which have no altars, such as the Bantu Basogas (cf. Waits, Anthropol. der Naturvölker, ii. Leipzig, 1860, pp. 184–185; Johnston, Uganda Protectorate, London, 1902, pp. 717–718). Thus, amongst the Hottentots, and even the Hovas of Madagascar, we find no traces of the altar (Waits, op. cit. p. 197) while the East and West Coast, whose religion has been perhaps the most carefully studied, this feature of the cult plays relatively a very minor rôle. Attention should here be directed, however, to the sacrifice which was made by the Fon-speaking peoples to Legba, the phallic deity, to whom on extraordinary occasions a human sacrifice is offered, the victim is disembowelled, the entrails placed in a dish or calabash before the image, and the body suspended on a tree or post in front of the shrine, where it is suffered to remain till it rots and falls to pieces’ (Ellis, Ewe-Speaking Peoples, London, 1890, p. 42). Here both the dish and the tree (or post) represent a primitive form of altar, and in like manner we may regard the post on which the girl was impaled at Lagos to secure fertility for the ensuing year (Waits, op. cit. p. 197) as a crude altar.

On the other hand, in the ‘customs’ of Dahomey (cf. Ellis, op. cit. pp. 120–138), the sacrificial victims were merely slaughtered on the ground, nor can the usage of burying living human beings when houses or villages were set up in Grand Bassam, Yarriba, and Dahomey (cf. the same custom in Polynesia), or the practice of staking out a victim in the path of a threatened invasion, where he was left to starve to death to deter the foe, be cited as referring in any way to the altar. Nevertheless, in Dahomey a rude form of altar is found in the small piles of earth placed at the foot of trees, the turning of roads, the entrance to houses or villages, and in open spaces, on which are set manioc, maize, palm-oil, and the like, as offerings to the spirits (Schneider, Rel. der afrikan. Naturvölker, Münster, 1891, p. 115).

Amongst the Tahi-speaking peoples of the Guinea Coast the country stool (egnou) of the god, ‘which is washed with the blood of human victims sacrificed in honour of the deity, whose own image receives a similar ablation, this being expressly recorded of the divinities Dobowissi, Ithari, Bon’abua, and Faofa (Ellis, Tahiti-Speaking Peoples, London, 1897, pp. 23, 51–53, 65). But neither the stool nor the image can properly be termed an altar, any more than the elevations on which the idols are set in Dahomey temples, where ‘the images of the gods are placed, inside, usually on a raised rectangular platform of clay; and before them are the earthen pots and vessels, smeared with the blood, eggs, and palm-oil of countless offerings’ (Ellis, Ewe-Speaking Peoples, p. 81).

Against this rather negative material may be set at least one African altar of a degree of development approximating to that found, for instance, in Polynesia. This is the one in the ‘ju-ju house’ at Bonny, thus described by de Cardi (in Mary Kingsley’s West African Studies, London, 1899, p. 515):

‘The altar looked very much like an ordinary kitchen plate rack with the edges of the plate shelves picked out with goat skulls. There were three rows of these, each shelf a row of grinning human skulls; under the bottom shelf, and between it and the top of what would be in a kitchen the dresser, were eight uprights garnished with rows of goat’s skulls, the two middle uprights being supplied with a double shelf—below the top of the dresser, the bottom, or mask, of which was a piece of painted white and blue, was arranged a kind of drapery of filaments of palm fronds, drawn asunder from the centre, thus exposing a round hole, by which offerings, to the simple-minded, are ostensibly received by the blood of the victims and libations of palm wine. To one side, and near the altar, was a kind of roughly made table fixed on four straight legs; upon this was displayed a number of human bones and several skulls; leaning against this table was a trunk looking very like a chair which walked on to the table; this was also garnished with horizontal rows of human skulls—here and there were to be seen human skulls lying about; outside the ju-ju house, upon a kind of trails work, were a number of shrivelled portions of human flesh.’

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ALTAR (American).—1. Among the Indians of North America the altar, although, curiously enough, the Jesuit missionaries in New France make no mention of this adjunct of religious cult. This silence may be explained, at least in part, not only by the fact that these heretic and devoted Ewe souls were mere slaves, but also by the circumstance that the Algonquin and Iroquoian stocks among whom they laboured were essentially nomadic, and thus had neither temples nor altars sufficiently striking to attract the missionaries’ attention. We know, however, that the Indians of Virginia had ‘altars, which they call Pawcorances, placed in their fields, where they sacrifice blood and fat of savage beasts, and offer tobacco when they return from war or the chase’ (de laet, L’Histoire du Nouveau Monde, èééé, jut LAI). Thus, however, had a large temple, in the centre of which was an altar with a perpetual fire; while the Cadoan Assinai temples contained a wooden altar, on which stood leathern coffer, filled with leather dishes and musical instruments (Waits, Anthropol. der Naturvölker, iii. 204, 220–221). The perpetual fire, it may be noted, was also maintained in Louisiana and amongst the Muskogees (ib. pp. 203, 208).

Altar-mounds, found in connexion with many of the structures of the ‘mound-builders,’ contain altars of clay or, more rarely, of stone. They vary greatly in size and shape, but are seldom over twenty inches high, and are near the ground in the centre of the mound; while in their top is
a basin-shaped hollow, usually filled with ashes (Bancroft, *Nat. Races of the Pacif. States*, iv. 774; cf. Thomas, *RB E W* v. pp. 57–58 [West Virginia]; Holmes, *ib. xx*. pp. 36–37). Here, again, numerous variations from the general type are known. Thus, on the top of a mound near Sterling, Ill., was found an oval altar plate composed of various stones. It was composed of flat pieces of limestone which had been burned red, some portions having been almost converted into lime. On and about this altar I found abundance of charcoal. At the sides of the altar were fragments of human bones, some of which were charred, a usual practice in the altar phenomena of the ancient Maya. In some of the reredos of Peru present no example of the vertical or lateral slats of the reredos. Two supplementary uprights were fastened to the main reredos, one on each side. These were decorated at their bases with symbolic pictures representing maize, surmounted by rain-cloud figures. The ridge of sand between the uprights of the altar supported many smaller rods and slate, the one in the middle being represented with a picture of an eagle's comb. In all the elaborate character of these reredos, however, they are truly reminiscent of those of the Aztecs. It is clear that the character of the reredos did not change, and of which they are palatable; even though, as in some of the Zulu altars described by Mrs. Stevenson, the reredos is guise—permanent, while the sand-altar must be removed for each ceremony.

Amongst the Zulu, as already intimated, we likewise find elaborate altars showing the same general type, but of a larger and more imposing fabric. In some of them the principle of sympathetic magic seems to be present, as is clear from Mrs. Stevenson's detailed description of them (RBEW xviii. pp. 245–246, 428, 432–434, 454, 491, 529, 543, 550, 551).

2. Turn to Mexico and Central America. The altar in the great temple at the City of Mexico in honour of Huiztilopochtli, the god of war and the chief Aztec deity, was a green block, probably of Jasper, 5 ft. long by 3 broad and high, curved convexly on the top, so that the human sacrifice was offered up by being thrust upon it for the excision of the heart (Bancroft, *Nat. Races of the Pacif. States*, ii. 582–583). The Aztec altar, moreover, had an adjacent, not found elsewhere, in the sacrificial yoke, a heavy stone of green Jasper, curved in a U-shape, and placed on the floor of the human sacrifice at the time of his immolation, to assist the priests who held his arms and legs, to keep him in a proper position for the chief celebrant.

Our general knowledge of the details of the Aztec altar must, however, be drawn from the sacrificial stones of neighbourng peoples, which may be inferred to have been analogous. The Maya altars, as found in the ruins of Copan, Honduras, and of Quiriguá, Guatemala, are 6 or 7 ft. square and about 4 ft. high, taking a variety of forms and being covered with sculpture somewhat less elaborate than the statues of the divinities themselves (Bancroft, *op. cit.* ii. 689, iv. 94). As in many Semitic altars, their tops were intersected with grooves to receive the blood of the sacrifices offered upon them (ib. iv. 94–95, 111–114, 341). Besides formal altars, the ancient Mexicans, Maya, and Guatemalans also had braziers and small altars in which copal, which here corresponded to the Oriental incense, was burned in honour of the gods. The altars in these structures, found at Palenque in the Mexican State of Chiapas, being 16 in. high and 4 ft. in circumference (ib. i. 997, ii. 584, 690, iii. 336, iv. 343–346). Like the "mound-builders" of N. America, the Maya erected altars on the graves of the dead (ib. ii. 799), and in Nicaragua flat stones have been discovered which apparently served as altars (ib. iv. 32, 61–62).

Both in Mexico and in Central America generally, the altar, like the temple itself, was placed on the summit of the tower. It was a pyramid of considerable elevation; so that it has been not inaptnetly said that 'a Mexican temple was essentially a gigantic altar, of pyramidal form, built in several stages, contracting as they approached the summit' (Réville, *Natives Religions of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1884, pp. 47–48). In places, however, as at Quemada, in the Mexican State of Zacatecas, a small structure, 5 ft. high and with a base 7 ft. square, was set in front of a pyramid, apparently as an altar (Bancroft, *op. cit.* iv. 687–698).

3. In South America the altar seems to be unknown, thus giving yet another proof of the cultic inferiority of the South American Indians to those of North and Central America. Even the archeological remains of Peru present no example of the
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altar, so seeming to confirm the words of Garcilasso de la Vega (Royal Commentaries of the Incas, iii. 29, tr. Markham, London, 1869, i. 271) that 'these Indians did not know anything of building an altar.' Nevertheless, there are not infrequent allusions to sacrifice, in the works of the early Spaniards, both of fruits and animals, so that it would seem, in view of the high civilization of the empire of the Incas, as though the Peruvians may very probably have known of the altar, despite the lack of archaeological evi-
dence.

LITERATURE.—Rough, Handbook of American Indians (Bull. 29 B.F.), p. 44 (Washington, 1907); Waitz, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, iii. (Leipzig, 1882); Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, iv. (San Francisco, 1883).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ALTAR (Celtic).—The data concerning the Celtic altar are extremely scanty, since all native records of the pre-Christian period are lacking, while the altars still preserved date from the Roman period, and are modelled upon Roman originals. The chief sources, then, for a knowledge of the altar, as of other portions of Celtic cult, are a few early classical authors. Caesar, in his brief account of Gaul, vii. 44 of De Bello Gallico, vi. 13-18 makes no mention of any altar, and is followed in this silence, which may not be without significance, by Strabo (iv. 4-5). On the other hand, Tacitus (Annals, xiv. 30) distinctly states that the Druids of Mona 'behold it right to besmear the altars with the blood of captives'; and this practice is extended to the whole of Gaul by Pomponius Mela (iii. 18). By far the most famous passage, however, in this connexion, is found in Lucan's Pharsalia (i. 443-444):

* Et quibus inimite placatur sanguine dixo Teutates, hornesseque feri altarbus Nausae,
Et Taranis Scytaceae non mitter armas.*

(On the identification of these deities, see Rhys, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom, pp. 44-47, 61-73.) The same poem contains a brief description of a Druid temple (iii. 399-402) at Marseilles, which was destroyed by Caesar. It seems to have consisted simply of a gloomy wood, the oak being mentioned as one of the trees containing 'altars built with offerings to the dead' (structura sacris ferialibus are) and rude, artless images of the gods, roughly hewn from logs. Although Caesar expressly states that the Gauls differed widely from the Germans in cult, that of Marseilles (De la Gallice, vi. 21), Lucan's description of the temple of Marseilles recalls involuntarily the statement of Tacitus (Germania, 9), that the ancient Teutons made neither images nor temples for the gods, but worshipped them in groves. A large number of Celtic altars of the Roman period have been preserved, but are practically valueless, as being modelled entirely on classical prototypes. It was supposed by older archaeologists that the dolmens or cromlechs, formed by laying six stones across two or three stones which had been placed erect, were Druidical altars, a hypothesis now abandoned, since these structures are merely sepulchral chambers which were frequently covered to a greater or less extent with earth, and more or less of the date from the neolithic period, and it is impossible, therefore, to state that they are specifically Celtic. The only conclusion which can be reached, in the light of the data now available, concerning Celtic altars is that the Druids probably had simple structures placed in their sacred groves and used for sacrifice, though the altar was not indispensable, since the wooden and osier cages filled with men and other victims and burned as a holocaust (Cesar, de Bello Gallico, vi. 16; Strabo, iv. 4. 5) could scarcely have been offered on any but a special structure or on the ground.


LOUIS H. GRAY.

ALTAR (Chinese).—The Chinese sacred books inform us that burnt-offerings were made to Shang-ti, the Supreme Ruler, upon mountain-tops from time immemorial; and the fact that, even to the present day, the worship of Heaven or Shang-ti is conducted upon a circular mound would seem to be a reminiscence of this ancient practice. As early as the days of the Emperor Shun (B.C. 2200), a distinction appears to have been made between the 'round altar' upon which the sacrifices—arranged in a circle, and hence called the 'round sacrifice'—were offered to God, i.e., Shang-ti, and the 'spread-out sacrifice,' and others, which were associated with the worship of subordinate deities or spirits, and which, as the names imply, were arranged in other ways. The distinction between the shape of the altar of heaven and that of earth is observable even now in China, and may serve to illustrate the early methods as represented in the classical works.

The celebrated 'Altar of Heaven,' in the Chinese quarter of Peking, stands in a beautiful park some 3 miles in circuit, and is a magnificent structure of white marble, 27 feet high, composed of 3 circular terraces, the lowest of which is 210 feet in diameter, the middle 150, and the upper 90 feet. It is approached by 4 flights of steps, corresponding to the 4 points of the compass. Each terrace is protected by a marble balustrade. The top is paved with marble slabs arranged in concentric circles, the innermost slab being round in shape, corresponding to the shape of Heaven, around which are arranged a circle of slabs, 9 in number, and, outside of this, other circles in multiples of 9 until the square of 9 is reached in the outermost ring. Five marble stands support the altar furniture, consisting of censers, candlesticks, and vases. Close to the altar there is a furnace of green tiles, 9 feet high by 7 feet wide, approached by steps on three sides, intended for burnt offerings which are here burned on the great occasions when the Emperor represents the whole nation in his high-priestly capacity. In the chapels adjoining, where the tablets of Shang-ti and the Imperial ancestors are preserved, this circular arrangement is also maintained.

The 'Altar of Earth,' as described in the Law of Sacrifices, was a square mound in which the victims were buried, while those offered to Heaven were burnt. The passage reads as follows: 'With a blazing pile of wood on the grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven; by burning in the grand mound they sacrificed to the Earth.' The Great 'Altar of Earth,' in the Chinese quarter of the city of Peking, consists of 2 terraces of marble, each 6 feet high. The lower terrace stands on 100 feet of stone, and the upper one 60 feet. The altar is situated in a park on the north side of that which contains the 'Altar of Heaven' above described. The coping of the wall which encloses the park is of yellow tiling, corresponding to the colour of earth.

The 'Altar of Prayer for Grain,' popularly known as the 'Temple of Heaven,' is separated by a low wall from the 'Altar of Heaven.' It also is circular in shape, but is protected by a triple roof of blue tiling, 100 feet in height. The local altars on which sacrifices to Earth are periodically offered consist of low mounds of earth, about 5 feet square, and perhaps a foot high. They

* An engraving of the altar, from a photograph, is given in Bible in the World, March 1907, p. 79.
are not ornamented or distinguished in any way, except at the time of sacrifice, when they are specially prepared for the occasion.

In Christian temples, whether Confucian or Buddhist, the altar usually consists of a stone table, rectangular in shape, the proportions varying with the size of the building. The altar furniture includes a ciborium, two candelabra, and sometimes a pair of vases of bronze, porcelain, or stone. When Ancestor Worship is conducted in private houses, the offerings are laid out upon ordinary dining tables placed close together.

Permanent altars are erected in front of tombs for the half-yearly sacrifice to the spirits of the dead. They consist of a single stone slab supported by two others, thus forming a table. A smaller altar of similar construction is found at grave sides, intended for the sacrifices to the local spirits or deities.

In the majority of Chinese dwellings there are to be seen miniature altars, where incense is burned, and small offerings of food presented, either to the spirits of deceased relatives, or such popular divinities as the ‘God of Wealth.’


W. GILBERT WALSHIE.

**ALTAR (Christian).—1. Nomenclature.—(a) GREEK.—St. Paul, in a passage dealing with the Eucharist, uses the word ἱερόν (this is a term frequently employed by the Greek Fathers after the 3rd cent., and constantly by Eastern liturgical documents, as a designation of the Christian altar. The word θυσιαστήριον—the ordinary equivalent of LXX for ἱερόν—occurs in his writings (1 Co 9:15, 16), but only with reference to the altar of the old dispensation. The writer, however, of the Epistle to the Hebrews may refer to the Eucharist when he says, ‘We have an altar (thereof) they have no right to eat which serves the tabernacle’ (He 13:10); but most commentators explain this passage otherwise (cf. Rev 8:9). There is no other reference to the Christian altar in the NT.


In the sub-apostolic age it is difficult to find any direct reference to the altar. The Didache is silent on the point, but in the letters of Ignatius the word θυσιαστήριον occurs in passages dealing with the Eucharist; and this writer in at least one passage (ad Philad. 4) appears definitely to apply this word to the Eucharistic altar.

In the second century, Irenaeus (c. Ἰουν. iv. 18, 6) says that the sacrifice of bread and wine should be frequently offered on the altar. Eusebius designates the altar of the basilica at Tyre, dedicated in the year A.D. 314, as ἱερόν ἱεροσοιαστήριον (HE x. 444), and speaks in the same place of the altar erected throughout the world after the Peace of the Church. The word θυσιαστήριον also is defined by pseudo-Athanasius as θυσιαστήριον (Disput. cont. Arián. xvii.), and in the term usually employed in the liturgies; it is also common in many of the Greek Fathers. Sometimes the word stands alone—ἡ θυσιαστήριον, ‘the table’ par excellence (e.g. Chrys. Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Ephes.). Sometimes, as in 1 Co 10:1, it is ἱερόν Κυρίου (e.g. Orig. c. Cels. viii. 24). But very often adjectives are added, such as θεὸς, ἅγιος, μωτερίτης, and the like.

βυθός, as contrasted with θυσιαστήριον, is used in the OT for heathen altars: e.g. 1 Mac 14:12 τὸ βυθὸς τῆς ἑλέους ἐκ τῆς θυσιαστηρίου (note the use of the word in Ac 17:22—the only place in which it occurs in the NT). This usage is generally followed by Christian writers. Exceptions, however, are met with, e.g., in Synecedit (Katastasis, 19 [Migne, PG lxxvi. coll. 1572, 1573]), who speaks of βυθὸς ἐκ θυσιαστήριου. Clement of Alexandria uses the word βυθός, but in a figurative sense, when they say that the soul of the faithful is the true Christian altar.

(Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 81-82; Orig. c. Cels. viii. 17; for θυσιαστήριον see Diony. Ep. 8, ap. Euseb. HE vii. 9).

In the passage just quoted from Origen he expressly admits the charge of Chaldea that Christians had no material altars. This admission, coupled with the fact that so few references to the altar are to be found in early Christian literature, might suggest that the altar was not in early times an adjunct of Christian worship. Nor is Origen alone in his admission; other writers say practically the same thing. But the preservation of the Discipline of Arsenius during this period sufficiently accounts for the reticence of ecclesiastical writers on this as on all other subjects connected with Christian worship and the administration of the sacraments. Further, it must be remembered that some of these writers, who appear to deny the existence of altars, deny also the existence of temples, stating that God can be worshipped in any place, and that His best temple is in the heart of man. It would appear, then, that the same arguments which would exclude the exist. of Roman temples, also apply to the Christian church in the period now under discussion, and we have positive evidence in disproof of any such statement (see Duchesne, *Christian Worship* [Eng. tr.], ch. xii.). The object of these writers, no doubt, was to differentiate between the pagan sacrifices and the ‘unbloody sacrifice’ of the Church. In the pagan sense, it is true, Christians had neither temples nor altars.

With the passage cited from Origen may be compared Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. x.; *Apologie*.

The word μανδρά is employed by the Syrians, both Jacobites and Nestorians, *manerchoukí* by the Copts, and *khurán* by the Armenians, to designate the altar (see Brightly, *L. A. G. Armonia*).

(b) LATIN.—The term usually employed by the Latin Fathers and Western liturgical documents to designate the altar is *altare*. This word is used already by Tertullian, who describes the Lord’s Table as *altare* (de Euchar. Cistil. ch. 10). Cyprian also frequently uses this term, and applies it to an exclusively Christian significance, contrasting *ara Diaboli* with *altare Dei* (Ep. 64 [85]); nevertheless, in one passage of his writings we find the phrase *Diaboli altaria* (Ep. 50 [63]). *Altare* is also commonly used by Ambrose (e.g. *de Fide*, ch. 18) and Augustine (e.g. *Sermon* 159, par. 1). The appellation *Mensa Dominii* or *Mensa Dominica* is also employed by Augustine (e.g. *Sermon* 90, par. 5) and other Latin Fathers.

*ara*, the Vulgate rendering of βυθός, is not applied to the Christian altar by any early ecclesiastical writer except Tertullian, who uses the phrase *ara Dei* (de Ort. 14 [19]). The word *ara* is, however, used occasionally in inscriptions: e.g. in one generally supposed to be of Christian origin and of early date—SANCRO DEFECTO (CIL, vol. vii. s. 6704). Minucius Felix, in a well-known passage, writes: *Delubra et aras non habemus* (Oct. ch. 32). Prudentius uses *arae* as the designation of the base of the altar: *Altarum aram funditus pessumdata* (cf. *Res Flevit*, x. 49); and in
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this usage he is followed by other writers. The plural altaria is sometimes used with the significance of a singular. The singular altarium is used sometimes by late writers for altar. Altarium is also used as a designation of the free space around the altar.

The word mensa came to be applied to the slab itself on which the Elements were placed. Altaria occurs, e.g., in Cæsarius of Arles, Hom. vii.: the elements to be consecrated 'sunt altaria altissimus mons.' Possibly the plural is used in this way by Ambrose (Ep. 60, ad Marcellinon) in a passage which has been quoted to prove that in his time altaria was considered more than one altar (see below). For altarium, cf. Council of Auxerre (A.D. 578), can. 10; Mass is not to be said more than once a day, 'super uno altarium.' For the connexion of the altarium with the mensa, see Greg. Tur. (Hist. ii. 14), who speaks of a church having four altaria, ad alios mensae, Mosam, p. 6.

2. Material and form of the altar.—Altars were constructed of wood, stone, or metal.

(1) Altars of wood.—It is generally agreed that the earliest altars were made of wood. This would appear from the following considerations. The earliest churches were, no doubt, ordinary dwelling-houses adapted to the special requirements of Christian worship (see Duchesne, op. cit. ch. xi. p. 399 ff.). It would seem probable that in the beginning the Eucharist was celebrated at the tables usually to be found in such houses. It is also known that at the beginning of this era such tables were usually made of wood, either square or round in shape. This view is supported by certain very early frescoes which have survived, and which have for their subject the consecration of the Eucharist. One of these, known as the Fractio Panis, is attributed to the first half of the 2nd cent.; and another, discovered in the cemetery of Calixtus, belongs to the latter half of the same century.

From both these frescoes it would appear that in very early times the Eucharist was consecrated at a small three-legged table, similar in form to those in use at the period for purposes of repast. No doubt, at a comparatively early date, special tables were reserved for the Eucharist, and their form was differentiated from that of those ordinarily in use; but for this period of transition we have no definite evidence. That these tables were made of wood is corroborated by certain relics preserved at Rome in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Pudenziana. These are alleged to be the table used at the Last Supper, and altar used by St. Peter. For our purpose the only point which deserves attention is that these relics are of wood, thus evidencing the traditional belief that the earliest altars were of that material. A number of passages of an incidental character in the writings of both Greek and Latin Fathers give the ultimate confirmation of this view. Opatus, Augustine, and Athanasius all mention altars of wood.

(See Optatus, de Schism. Donativi, vi. where he says that the Donatists used the altars of the Catholics as firewood; also Aug. Ep. 155, par. 57, that he states that the orthodox bishop Maximian was beaten with the wood of the altar. Athanasius, ad Monach., expressly states of the altar destroyed at Alexandria by the Count Heracleus, that it was of wood (_flags_u); these words, however, may imply that he was familiar with altars made of other materials).

It will, then, seem fair to conclude that in the earliest period altars were of wood, round or square in shape, and resembling the ordinary tables used for domestic purposes, from which they were gradually differentiated.

It was not till after a considerable period that wooden altars were altogether superseded by those of stone. Although condemned by the local Council of Epona (A.D. 517), they continued in some places to be used for several centuries later. In England it is related that the ancient wooden altars were demolished by the order of St. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester (A.D. 1062–1093), and there is evidence of their occasional retention in France and Spain at a later period.

In the East the material of the altar does not seem to have been regarded as of great importance; it is, however, stated that the use of altars of wood was forbidden by the Nestorians, and by John bar-Algari, at the end of the 9th century.

[See Council of Epona, can. 26—the earliest decree on the subject; also Capitulary of Charlemagne (A.D. 768), c. 14, Migne, Patr. lat. Lxxxv. 1314. For England, see Report of the Commissioners appointed by Gesta Pontifici Angli., who relates the demolition by St. Wulstan of 'altarum lignum jam inde a praeclaro dicera in Anglia.' For France, see the anonymous author quoted below, p. 3419, and the case of the altar of the monasteries of St. Corentin and Dom Daniel, in the Antiquit. Eccl. Ritus, i, p. 111, for Spain, Hardouin, Concil., vi, c. 1026. For the East, Aesamani, Biblioth. Orient., iii. p. 238.]

(2) Altars of stone.—It is certain that from a very early date stone altars were in use, and it is scarcely to be doubted that there is a very close connexion between them and the tombs of martyrs. It would seem that probably, during the same period at which the Eucharist was celebrated at the wooden tables described above, in the houses which served in early times for the purposes of Christian worship, it was also celebrated on the stone slabs (mensae) which covered the relics of martyrs and formed part of their tombs (arosolios). That the celebration of the Eucharist on these tombs was a custom of great antiquity is indisputable; it is expressly ordered in the Apostolic Constitutions, where (iv. 17) the faithful are commanded to assemble in the cemeteries for the reading of Scripture and recitation of Psalms (i.e. the services of the nocturnal vigils) for the martyrs, saints, and all the faithful departed, and also to offer the Eucharistic sacrifice in churches and cemeteries. It is possible that the same custom is referred to as early as A.D. 155 in the Liber Pontificalis, relating the martyrdom of St. Polycarp. After mentioning that they have placed the relics of the martyr in a suitable place, they pray that they may be permitted to gather themselves together in that place, and to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom (Martyr. Polycarp. c. 18). In the Liber Pontificalis it is stated of Pope Felix I. (A.D. 209–237): 'Hie constituit supra memorias (al. sepulcras) martyrum missas celebrat.' It is possible, however, that this means only that he regulated an already existing custom. (See Lib. Pontif., ed. Duchesne, i. p. 156). The cemeteries themselves afford abundant evidence of the existence of altars, but it is impossible here to enter into any discussion of the many disputed points arising from the investigation of these monuments. It is certain that not all the tombs (arosolios) now existing were used for the celebration of the Eucharist, but it is agreed on all hands that many were used for this purpose; and instances occur of the slab covering the tomb being provided with rings, which would enable it to be drawn out for the purpose of the Eucharist. The intimate connexion between altars and the relics of martyrs is evidenced by such passages as the words of the author of the treatise de Alescortibus, who writes: ‘Martyribus presentibus supra mensam Dominicam’ (CIL i. pt. 3, p. 108); or of Augustine, who thus writes of the altar erected on the site of the martyrdom of Cyprian: 'Mensa Deco construeta est: et tamen mensa dicitur Cypriani ... quae ipsa immolationis sanctissima mensa, non in qua pascat sive pascatur, sed in qua sacrificium Deo, cui et ipsae oblatus est, offeratur' (Aug. Sermo cccx. p. 2, in Nat. Cyp. 2). In this connexion may also be quoted the famous lines of Prudentius on the altar and tomb of the martyr Hippolytus:

'Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandator operatis, Propter ubi adposita est ara dicta Deo.'
During the era of persecution, while the churches were for the most part in private houses, it was necessary for the faithful to betake themselves to the cemeteries and catacombs for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist at the time of interment, or on the anniversaries of the martyrodoms. But after the Peace of the Church the custom arose of building churches immediately over the sites of the martyrdoms of famous saints, or of translating the relics of two churches prepared for their reception as also, at a somewhat later period, by burying ecclesiastical personages beneath or in proximity to the altar in already existing churches. It was not considered necessary to possess the entire body of a saint or martyr; fragments of it would suffice, or even a piece of linen soaked in his blood. These relics were placed within the altar, so that its tomb-like character was for the most part preserved. In later times it was considered unlawful to consecrate an altar without relics; and if these could not be obtained of the Church, or even a consecrated Host, was placed within it. (See Duchesne, op. cit. p. 403, and canon 2 of Council of Celichyth [Chelsea] quoted there).

Two forms of stone altar appear to have existed in the one square, resembling a table; the other oblong, and resembling a tomb. It appears, however, that from the 4th cent. onwards many forms were in use. We meet with several instances of the table form supported by one or more columns, and sometimes with a combination of both with a table form. An instance of this latter is the altar of St. Alexander, consisting of a table-like structure, the mensa of porphyry supported on columns of marble, having a substructure, in the form of a tomb, containing the relics of the saint. Generally speaking, however, the altar was probably of the form of a cube, and in the East it has retained this form. The present oblong form, common in the West, dates from the period when it was customary to place relics of saints in a sarcophagus, and right angles to the altar, was immediately behind it, having its end looking westward and supported by the altar itself. (See § 3, and Ed. Bishop, On the History of the Christian Altar, p. 14 ff.)

The very full description of large numbers of these altars will be found in the DACL. Much information will be found in the art. 'Altar,' but more detailed accounts are given under the names of the particular altars are presented for instance, see e.g., 'Aurél (Aurél d'),' in. col. 3161 ff., with its representation of the famous one-legged stone altar preserved there. See also the bibliography at the end of the present article.

(3) Altars of metal.—The earliest notice of an altar of metal is probably to be found in Sozomen (HE ix. 1), who mentions the altar of gold presented to the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, by Pulcheria, daughter of Arcadius, in the early part of the 5th century. In the next century we have a very full account of the magnificent altar presented by Justinian to the new basilica of St. Sophia, constructed by him between the years 532 and 533. This description is by Paul the Silentiary, who tells us that the Holy Table was of gold, adorned with precious stones, resting upon pillars of gold, and that it was surmounted by a dome or ciborium, supported by pillars of silver gilt, and terminating in a great cross of gold. Paul Silentiary, DACL, ed. Bona, v. 682 ff.). In the West also, at about the same date, we have mention of altars of precious metal; but it is not clear whether they were constructed of metal or of wood which was covered with metal. These notices occur in the Liber Pontificalis, and date probably from the latter half of the 5th century. Especially worthy of mention in this connexion is the altar of St. Ambrose at Milan, probably erected before the year A.D. 835. It is 7 ft. 3 in. in length, 4 ft. 1 in. in height, and the mensa is 4 ft. 4 in. wide. The front is of gold, the back and sides of silver. It is decorated with square medallions in relief and with enamel work. It is probably the most elaborate specimen of its kind which has survived.

(For a reproduction see DACL, fig. 1189; and for the extensive literature connected with this altar see the same work, vol. 1 col. 3171, n. 8.)

3. Site and accessories of the altar.—The earliest Christian churches were of the form of a basilica, and the altar was usually placed on the chorum of the apos. Around the apos were arranged the seats for the clergy, the bishop's throne being placed in the centre, behind the altar. Sometimes, however, it was placed more forward, nearer the centre of the church; but this was not common. Usually it was raised on steps, and separated from the body of the church by a screen of sufficient height to hide it from the view of the congregation. In later times, beneath the steps of the altar, was constructed a small vault (confessio) to contain the relics of a saint. It became customary from an early date for the altar to be covered by a canopy or umbraculum, having a hemispherical dome-shaped and supported on pillars, called the ciborium (εκβολή). The ciborium was made of metal or stone, and richly ornamented. It served a double purpose. Firstly, being provided with curtains hung between the pillars, it served to veil the altar at certain points in the service. Secondly, it did honour to the altar, providing it with a canopy or umbraculum, as in that period was customary with the seats of great personages.

The date of the introduction of the ciborium is uncertain; it must, however, have been considerably earlier than the 6th century. A distinction must be made between the custom of the East and the West. In the West it had been, and for the most part it is, customary to allow the altar to stand unprovided in view of the people. In the East, at least from the 4th cent. onwards, the reverse has been the case. The ciborium with its veils is found in the West probably from about the 6th cent. onwards, and possibly owing to Byzantine influence. Another reason for the ciborium is that it is necessary to give its shape the change in the shape of the altar, and the custom of placing a shrine containing relics upon it. The ciborium was well suited to the original cube-like altars, which, as we have seen, were in use in early times, but quite unsuited to the oblong altars evolved in the Middle Ages in the West. The ikonostasis, or heavy screen, hiding the bema from the rest of the church, and in general use in the East at the present day, represents to some extent the veil of the ciborium.

In early times nothing was placed upon the altar except the cloths and sacred vessels necessary for the Eucharist, and the book of the Gospels. Not even relics or the reserved Sacrament might be placed upon it. This custom appears to have prevailed in the West for some centuries, but in the 9th cent. a homily or pastoral charge, attributed to Leo IV. (A.D. 855), permits a shrine containing relics, the book of the Gospels, and a pyx or tabernacle containing the Lord's body, for purposes of tapt. St. Sophia, ibid. ed. Bona, v. 683 ff.). From this period onwards, in the West, the ornaments which had formerly decorated the ciborium were transferred to the altar. At first these appear to have been placed on the altar only during the celebration of the liturgy, but gradually it became customary to place them there permanently. Thus the cross,
which had surmounted the dome of the ciborium and had depended from it, was placed on the altar itself. In the same way with lights, first a single candlestick was placed on one side of the altar opposite to the cross, later two candlesticks are found, on either side of it. All this had been accomplished by the 4th century. Meanwhile, the ciborium having practically disappeared in the West, and the altar becoming more and more loaded with tabernacle reliquaries, candles, etc., and having generally been placed as far back as possible, the altar itself is Bede, in the 7th century, the first to make its appearance,—as also the small canopy now generally in use,—which may be regarded as directly descended from the ciborium and all that we now have to represent it.

The earliest description of the interior of a Christian church is a passage in the Didascalia Apostolorum, incorporated in the Apostolica Constitutiones, bk. ii. ch. 57. For the ancient custom, with regard to relics, cf. St. Ambrose (Ep. xxii. 15): 'Ille (Christus) super altare... lapidem (martyres) sub altare.' The holy distributed to Leo iv. is probably a document of Gallic origin, and is the ground-work of the address of the presiding bishop in the Ordo Synodum of the present Benedict, found preserved in Eusebius, P.L. clxxi. For this section see especially Edmund Bishop, On the History of the Christian Altar.

Number of altars.—The primitive custom appears to have been that each church should have only one altar. This custom has prevailed in the East to the present day, although altars are found in παρεκκλήσια, or side-chapels—these being regarded as separate buildings. In the West the multiplication of altars has been common from a comparatively early date.

[O. Ignat. ad Philad. 4, cited above: ψαλτάδας ὑπὸ ἅγιαν εὐκοπίαν] Eusebius mentions only one altar in his description of the great basilica at Tyre (H.E. x. 4). The passage from Augustine, sometimes quoted in this connection, proves nothing. He speaks of the existence of two churches in one town (citatis) as a visible sign of the Donastian schism (in Epist. Joh. ad Farthis, Tract. Ill. 6), but his words obviously refer to schismatic worship in general. Contrast St. Basil (Hom. x.), who speaks of more than one altar in a single church.


It has been suggested that the multiplication of altars in a single church originated in the cemetery chappels, in some of which several arcosolia, or altar tombs, are to be found. But it is dangerous to draw any inference from this fact, because it is generally agreed that many of these arcosolia were never used for the purpose of celebrating the Eucharist. More probably the reason is to be sought, on the one hand, in the growth of the Church subsequent to the Pentecost, and, on the other hand, the increasing desire of the clergy to celebrate, rather than only to communicate, as often as possible. It is, however, difficult to find passages which imply the existence of more than one altar in a single church earlier than the 6th century. It is not till the time of St. Gregory the Great that we have definite evidence; but it is clear that by that time the custom was well established, because at the request of St. Gregory, Palladius, bishop of Saintonge, the pope sent relics for the consecration of four of the thirteen altars which Palladius had set up in his church (Greg. Magn. Epist. vi. 49). From this time onward the evidence for the multiplication of altars in a single church is abundant.

The passage from St. Ambrose, cited above, p. 399, is inconclusive: 'militia irretens in altarum, occulis significat podium insignis' (Ep. 112). cf. also St. Paulinus of Nola, Ep. xxxii. 13. For later evidence see Greg. Varr. de glor. Martyrum, i. 35; Bede (H.E. v. 20), who states that Acoa, bishop of Hexham (636), having collected a number of relics of apostles and martyrs, exposed them for veneration, 'altar, distincta porticus in hoc ipsum infra muros ejusdem ecclesiae habet.' In the 6th century, the plan of the church of St. Gall, in Switzerland, provided for the erection of seventeen altars. See also Council of Auerzne, can. 10; quoted above; Wulfrid Strabo, de Rer. Nat. o. xxii.; Capitul. Regum Francorum, ed. Bainz. i. 422.

5. Portable altars and 'antimensium.'—The oldest example of a portable altar which has survived is that which was found with the bones of St. Cuthbert, and is now preserved in the Cathedral Library at Durham. It measures 11 in. by 65 in., and is made of wood covered with very thin silver. On the wood are found two crosses and part of an inscription, IN HONOR . . . PETR. The earliest writer who certainly refers to portable altars is Bede, who relates (H.E. iii. 10) that in the year 692, two English missionaries to the Saxons on the Continent carried with them an altar stone ("tabulum altaris vice dedicatam"). The following description is given of the portable altar of St. Willebrand: 'Hoc altare Willebrandi in nobile Domini Salvatoris consecratum, supra quod in intinere Missarum oblationes Deo offerre consuevint, in quo et contineuntur de ligno crucis Christi, et de sudore captis ejus.' (Brower, Annu. Tresvirens, lib. vii. p. 584). From this and other passages it would appear that portable altars contained also relics. Portable altars are designated altaria portabilia, gestatoria, viaticia. Sometimes ara is used for a portable altar.

It has been suggested that portable altars were in use in the time of St. Cyriacus, but the passage quoted from his writings (Ep. iv. 2), in which he makes provision for celebration in the home, is inconclusive. As portable altars are mentioned in the church of St. Maria, in Capitelli, said to have belonged to St. Gregory of Nazianian; but it is not regarded as authentic. We have also find other portable altars, which, like the Willebrand, are from a later date, as that of St. Wulfran (c. 740), the altars of Frisia (Ep. Mult. iii. 294) and of St. Boniface. Mention is also made of a wooden board, covered with a linen cloth, used by the monks of St. Denys, who accompanied chariages in his campaign against the Saxons (Greg. St. Dionys. i. 50; Acta SS. SSB., ed. Paris, 1672, iv. p. 560).

In the East, in place of a portable altar, the antimensium (Gr. ἄντιμεσιον, a word of somewhat doubtful origin) is used. It consists of a piece of cloth consecrated, with various ceremonies, at the time of the consecration of a church. It is to be used apparently in oratories which do not possess a properly consecrated altar, and in other places where it is doubtful if the altar has received consecration.

[See Bona, de Reb. Lit. i. xx. 3 (end); Neale, op. cit. p. 188.]

Goar, Euchelopoeia, p. 648. See also Suicer, Therauria, i., and the authorities there cited; also Renanot, op. cit. i. 129.

6. Consecration of altars.—It would appear that prior to the 6th century, the dedication of a church was accomplished in the solemn celebration of the Eucharist in it. No special form of consecration existed. But in the case of churches destined to contain relics,—and in the latter part of this period nearly all churches possessed them,—these had to be solemnly enclosed in the altar before the celebration of the first mass in the church. Indeed it is possible that the later forms of dedication originated to a great extent in the ceremonial accompanying this depositio of the relics (pignoria) of saints, and, as these rites illustrate the history of the altar, they may be briefly mentioned here. A study of the earliest liturgical documents, dealing with the consecration of churches with their altars, reveals the fact that in the West two types of service existed side by side—the Roman and the Gallican; the latter as might be expected, closely resembling the Byzantine formulae of dedication. Briefly it may be said, with regard to the ceremonies of the consecration of the altar, that the Roman rite is of a funerary character, while the Gallican and Eastern rites resemble the ceremonies of Christian initiation. In the latter the altar is first consecrated by unction with holy water and anointing with chrism, these corresponding to the rites of baptism and confirmation. These cer-
monies having been performed by the bishop in the presence of the people, he leaves the church and proceeds to the spot where the relics are awaiting him. Having brought them to the church, he takes them to the altar. But before the depositio a veil is let down, so that the concluding ceremony of enclosing the relics within the altar is not witnessed by the people—who meanwhile chant the Psalm, Cantate Domino canticvm novum with the Antiphon Exultabunt Sancti in gloria. In the Roman rite, which is of a funerary character, the bishop first enters the church, then stands on the steps, and prays with water, and, on the other, from a table for offering such as was often placed in a temple or before a god at a ceremonial banquet. The special name for this type was probably hotep. Such tables are also found in the ruins of temples, where they may have been placed for the service of the deity’s temple. The type persisted down to the Roman period; it is rare during the New Kingdom, but was revived after its fall.

Temple altars on a large scale are very rare in Egypt. Down to the present time only four examples have been discovered, and none have survived in the latest period of the religion, with the exception of the Temple of the Fifth Dynasty, in the temple of the Sun at Abusir (Borchardt, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re, i. pp. 14, 43). It is formed of five great blocks of alabaster; in the middle is a slightly raised circular a. 71.75 ft. above the floor, oriented precisely to the cardinal points. Its extreme measures are some 15 ft. each way. Most of the surroundings are now destroyed to the level of the ground. The altar stood in a court before the great obelisk-shaped monument, and was raised only a few inches above the level of the floor; beside it was a wall especially prepared for the slaughter and cutting up of victims. At Karnak, in an upper chamber close to the Festal Hall of Tethmosis III., is a great oblong rectangular altar or altar-base of white felspar, bearing the name of Rameses III. (Dyn. xx.), having each side shaped as a hotep. Tethmosis himself is recorded to have dedicated a similar one.

A different type of temple altar is a raised rectangular platform, reached by a flight of steps. There is a well-preserved example in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville, Deir el-Bahari, i. Pl. 8; see also plan of temple in Archaeological Report, 1894-95, or in Baedeker’s Egypt). It measures about 16 by 15 ft., and stands in the centre of a small court about 5 ft. above the floor. The usual Egyptian cavetto cornice runs round it, and the top is flat except for some slight crowning or cresting near the edge. Built of white limestone, it is dedicated to the sun-god, and is called a khetu, or the altar of the inscription, like the stands of offering. Another raised altar is at Karnak, dedicated by Tethmosis III.; and a third is stated to be in the largest temple of Gebel Barkal, dating from the early Ethiopian Kingdom in the 8th or 7th cent. B.C. (Borchardt, i.c.). These are all that are known to exist. The sculpture on the altars of el-Amarna show the chief altars of Aton to have been of this form (Lepsin, Denkmaler iii. 96, 102; Davies, El Amarna, i. Pl. 12, 25, 27-28, ii. Pl. 18, iii. Pl. 8, 10). It seems as if the sun-gods in particular (Re, Aton, Amen-Re) were honoured by great altars.

**ALTAR (Egyptian).—** According to the sculptures, offerings were laid on mats or stands. A common form of the latter was a pillar-shaped upright of wood or stone, on which a bowl, censer, or tray could rest, and sometimes the bowl or tray was made in one piece with the upright. In tombs and temples the typical scene of offering shows a tray or stand covered with sliced loaves of bread or with meat, vegetables, and other food, placed before the deceased man or the god; such stands are often accompanied by a variety of food on mats. At el-Amarna the stands of provisions to which the sun-god Aton stretches his radiating hands are often surmounted by flaming bowls, perhaps censers, perhaps lamps. The food, drink, incense, and water were provided for the god or the deceased, as they would have been for the banquets of a living man; most flesh and vegetables seem to have been eaten raw, but in the standard lists of offerings roast meat was included. Amongst the varieties of the symbol kḥēsu, ‘altar,’ in the New Kingdom, is 𓊧, the picture of a stand with a flaming vessel upon it; and in the scenes of that age the offerer sometimes presents such a stand in his hand, with a plucked goose in the midst of the flames. Possibly this represents a kind of burnt sacrifice rather than a summary kind of offering.

The root of the name kḥēsu is spelt by the figures of a bivalve shell ⲏ𓊧, which suggests that a shell may sometimes have replaced the bowl as the receptacle for the offering. An other kind of stand for offerings—a wooden frame to hold jars of liquid — was named ṣwtu, this name being equally applied to those used at banquets.

In early tombs a flat slab for offerings, commonly called a ‘table of offerings,’ was placed before the niche containing a statue of the deceased, or in some other place corresponding. The table was oblong, with a projection like a spout in front. It was generally sculptured with a, a loaf upon a boul or soap, and often with water vessels, and sometimes with a lamp. The special name for this type was probably hotep. Such tables are also found in the ruins of temples, where they may have been placed for the service of the god. The type persisted down to the Roman period; it is rare during the New Kingdom, but was revived after its fall.

**ALTAR (Greek).—** The altar, in Greek religion, is a raised place, usually an artificial structure, which is used for the purpose of making offerings to a god or gods. It is thus to be distinguished, on the one hand, from a sacrificial trench or pit, such as was often used for offerings to the dead, to heroes, or to the infernal deities; and, on the other, from a table for offerings such as was often placed in a temple or before a god at a ceremonial banquet.
But there is no very strict line of demarcation in either case. The distinction sometimes made between *boule* as an altar for the Olympian gods and *erechthe* for offerings to heroes, though laid down by Pausanias and others, is not strictly observed by classical authors. And, on the other hand, a portable altar, such as was used for incense or minor offerings, is not easy to distinguish from a sacred table.

A more essential distinction, at first sight, might seem to depend on the nature of the offerings for which an altar was used,—whether, for example, it was only for bloodless libations, for incense, and for gifts of fruit and flowers, or for the slaughter of victims, of which portions were burnt upon it. The ritual and offerings admissible in each case were prescribed by the nature of the deity worshipped and by the sacred regulations of the local cult. and the shape and constructor, prop the altar must have depended upon these. But, apart from purely practical considerations, there does not seem to be any essential distinction observed in the form of the altar according to the various purposes for which it was intended.

Some confusion of thought is found in the case of sacred stones or other objects that were anointed with offerings of blood, oil, or other liquids, bound with sacred woolen fillets, and otherwise treated in some way as a sacred stone. This fact has led some writers to assert that an altar was sometimes regarded not merely as the symbol of the god, but as having him immanent in it. These sacred stones, which are a survival from primitive rite, are not, however, to be regarded as altars, though they may have been sometimes thought of when religious thought had advanced to less crude conceptions of the deities.

And from these, an altar seems to derive its sanctity merely from its association with a god, or its dedication to him. There was nothing in Greek religion to prevent a sacrifice being made to a god on any occasion or in any place; and, in such cases, the convenience of the sanctuary would suggest the use of any outstanding rock or natural mound, or, in the absence of such help, the piling together of stones or sods to make an improvised altar (*abrotrxeia* *erchepa*, Paus. v. 13. 5); and a similar primitive form, often heaped together out of ashes, was employed in many of the most famous altars, such as those of Zeus at Olympia and of Hera at Samos. This, however, implies the repetition of sacrifices at the same place; the selection of such places was due to various reasons. These may, according to Hermann's well-known division, be natural, social, and historical; but before we examine instances of these three classes, it is necessary to consider the relation of the altar to other objects connected with worship, especially the precinct, the image, and the temple.

The normal equipment of a sacred place in Greece consisted of a *temple*, an altar, and a precinct. In later times the temple was the most conspicuous and the most important, and usually contained the image of the god; but even then the altar was the essential thing for ritual purposes. If possible, it was placed in front of the temple, and in its main axis; but so that the person sacrificing faced east, with his back to the temple. Examples of this are the altars in front of the temples of Aphaia at Erechthe, of Apollo at Delphi, and of Aphrodite at Naoukratis. Often, however, it was difficult or inconvenient to place the altar in this position, and it was placed elsewhere in the neighborhood, as in the case of the altar of Zeus at Olympia, and of Athene at the Acropolis at Athens. In addition to the main altar, there might be others in the precinct, whether dedicated to the same god as the main altar or to other deities. An extreme case is offered by Olympia, where as many as 60 other altars are recorded as existing in the sacred Altis of Zeus. There was usually, in all probability, a small altar for incense and small offerings within the temple; traces of such altars have rarely been found (an example is in the temple of Sarapis on Delos (IBC vi. 299)); but they may often have been small portable ones.

It must always be borne in mind in this connection that a temple in Greece was not usually intended for the performance of religious services or ritual acts, much less for congregational use; it served chiefly to house the image of the god and his most precious offerings. Assemblies and services, including sacrifices of all kinds, took place for the most part outside the temple, at an altar which was its real centre; provision was sometimes made close to the altar for the accommodation of worshippers and other spectators. Thus at Olympia there were in the Amphiprheum and at Olympia there was accommodation for worshippers near the great altar of Zeus. But the altar of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where the ceremonial dragging of the bloodless offering to the altar took place, a regular amphitheatre was erected in Roman times; the altars, for example of the association of an altar with the provision of accommodation for spectators is the *erchepa* placed in the orchestra of the theatre. Here the altar was the original centre round which were placed first provisional seats, and afterwards the great buildings which we find as theatres on numerous other sites. At Priene, where alone the *erchepa* is still extant, it is placed on the side of the orchestra farthest from the stage.

Altars were, however, not always associated with temples. The sanctuary of an ash was sometimes dedicated to a god, especially in domestic and civil surroundings. It was usual to have an altar of Zeus *Epexeis*, the protector of the property, in the courtyard of every house; traces of such an altar are found even in the palace at Tiryns. Here it was usual for the head of the house to offer sacrifice, especially on festival days. In addition to this there was the *hestia* or hearth, usually circular, and sacred to the goddess of the same name. Such a hearth is usually found in the hall of palaces of the Mycenaean age: its position in the house of historical times is doubtful. We should expect to find it in the *poias* or open recess opposite the entrance, according to Galen's description of the primitive house; but some suppose it to have been placed in the *adkakos* or dining-room. The hearth was the centre of domestic life, and it was accordingly sought by a suppliant who claimed the right of hospitality; at the wedding, fire was carried by maidservants to the new home by the bride's mother, thus ensuring the continuity of the domestic worship. The hearth of the royal palace was the centre of the worship and hospitality of the State in monarchical times. Just as the god was classified according to the god's feeling, this should be transferred to the hearth of the State as the focus of civic life; such a hearth, itself usually circular, was often enclosed in a circular building called a *tholos*; and the Prytaneum, where public hospitality was dispensed, was associated with it. The original character of the public hearth as an altar of Hestia was not, however, lost sight of; the Prytaneum at Athens regularly offered sacrifice there. On the sacred hearth in the Prytaneum at Olympia was preserved the fire of the Olympic day and night. It was also customary to set up altars in a market-place (*aeragoreia*), a gateway, or other places of concourse; and the sacrifices which preceded any assembly for political or other purposes implied the provision of an altar for offering them. Such altars were frequently, as a custom, set up without being attached to any particular temple or precinct.

This summary of the relation of altars to other appliances or conditions of religious or social life throws light on the classification of the reasons that led to the choice of various places for altars. We may assign to natural causes the erection of altars on mountain-tops or in groves, beneath sacred trees, in caves, beside springs, or in other situations distinguished
by their natural surroundings; to the same category may be assigned altars dedicated to Zeus Karabîos where lightning had struck, and others in commemoration of extraordinary phenomena; e.g. the altar to Phosphorus—perhaps an epitaph of Artemis—dedicated by Thrasylus in honour of the miraculous light that led his adventurous boat back to Mynæs from Phocaea in 455 B.C. Many of altars which owe their origin to social causes have already been given, especially those of the house and of the agora. In addition to the usual gods of the marketplace (Συνελεγμένοι θεοί) we sometimes find altars of more ancient significance; the altar of Pherecydes, the altar of Δεήσις (pity) and of άνθρωπος (sense of honour) at Athens. Many of the altars attached to temples or in precincts would belong to this class. Altars that owe their origin to historical causes are not so common; a good example is the altar dedicated by the Greeks to Zeus Eleutheros at Platae after their victory over the Persians. This class might be indefinitely enlarged if we include in it all altars that were set up for a special sacrifice and left as a memorial of it. Such were especially common in later times; a favorite is offered by the "taurobolos" of Roman date.

The form and size of altars vary very greatly, from a small portable block or table to a structure resembling a stadium in length, and from a mere mound or an elongated block to a combination of architecture and sculpture like the great altar to Minerva on the Acropolis. The form of a round or oval mound, with the addition probably, in larger examples, of a retaining wall of some sort to hold it together, was to be found in many of the oldest and most sacred altars. That of Zeus at Olympia, which was constructed of the ashes of victims, including those brought from the sacrifices on the sacred hearth at the Prytaneum, had a circumference, on its lower platform, of 129 ft., and of 32 on its upper portion, and a total height of 22 ft. The altar of Apollo at Delos, which was counted one of the seven wonders of the world, was said to be constructed of the horns of victims (σκύδοι ἰμαδίου). The other form of altar which may be regarded as primitive is an upright block of rock, or stone, either in its rough state or cut to a rectangular form. The great altar of Athene on the Acropolis at Athens was a trac of natural rock, quite uneven on the top, but cut to a more or less square shape at the sides; it was about 50 or 90 feet square. Another rock-cut altar, of a more regular sort, with a platform and steps, is that in the middle of the Pryx from which the orators addressed the people. Altars were, however, more frequently made of stone or marble, cut out from a single block if they were small, or built up like any other structure if they were large. Small altars might be either round or rectangular; there does not seem to be any ritual distinction between the two, except that the hearth (σπηλαῖα) was usually circular; and so, perhaps, were those built and called by later authorities στερεός; but rectangular altars to heroes were not unusual, e.g. that in the Heroum at Olympia.

When the altar was of any size and importance, the rectangular form prevailed; and the altar was usually mounted on a base which projected on one side, and so provided a platform (προπύλειον) on which the sacrifice stood. This was usually so placed that he faced towards the east; thus, in the normal positions of altar and temple, he would turn his back on the image of the deity in the temple,—a fact which alone would suffice to prove that the altar was the most primitive and most essential object in religious rites. This platform was of considerable extent in great altars, and was the place where the victims were slaughtered, the portions that were selected to be burnt were consumed on the altar itself. Altars intended for the sacrifice of many victims at once, or for hecatombs, were necessarily of very large size. The dimensions of the great altar built by Hieron II. of Syracuse (which is about 215 yards in length and about 25 yards in width), of the altars of Zeus at Olympia and of Athene at Aegina already mentioned; another example, of medium size, is an altar near the theatre at Megalopolis, which measures about 36 ft. by 6 ft. 6 inches.

Where stone was not readily available, an altar might be constructed of other materials; thus at Olympiwe the altar, with its steps and προφυγη, in the precinct of Aphrodite, is built, like the temple, of unburnt brick and faced with stucco. Altars of any considerable size usually consisted of a mere outer shell of masonry, the inside being filled with rubble or with the ashes from sacrifice; they thus offered a convenient surface on which to kindle the sacrificial fire. In the case of small stone altars which were used for burnt-offerings, some special arrangement was necessary to place on the top. As a rule, extant small altars are either on the top; sometimes they are set at an angle, as if to hold libations or drink-offerings; occasionally we find a drain to let the liquid run away, as in the altar found at Paphos (JHS ix. 239). Sometimes an altar had the form of a table supported upon stone legs; a good example of this type was found in the early Dionysos west of the Acropolis at Athens. The Boeotians used to build an altar of wood on the summit of Mount Cithereon, and to let it be consumed together with the sacrifice.

It was usual to give some architectural form to an altar, if only in the step or steps on which it was raised and the moulding that ornamented it at top and bottom. Where something more elaborate was attempted, it often took the form of Ionic volutes at each end of the top moulding; these were often joined at the sides by rolls such as we see on the capitals of Ionic columns. Large built altars are sometimes ornamented by a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes, occupying the whole height of the structure. An example of this occurs in the large altar already mentioned at Megalopolis. Often in later times the decoration of an altar, in architecture and sculpture, became more elaborate. The altar of Athene at Priene was decorated with an attached Ionic colonnade, and with figures in relief between the columns; on the top corner of Ephesus is said to have been full of the work of Praxiteles. The great altar of Asklepios at Cos was an elaborate structure; but the chief example of this kind was the great altar of Zeus at Perga. This consisted of a great basis, about 100 ft. square, ornamented with the well-known frieze of the gigantomachy. A broad flight of steps on the west side led up to the top of this basis, which was surrounded by a colonnade; in this space was the altar proper, consisting of heaped up ashes. An even larger altar is said to have existed at Parium on the Propontis. A remarkable architectural development of the circular altar is to be seen in the Tholos or θυμηλε (its official name) at Epidaurus; it has the form of a circular temple, with colonnades inside and outside.

Inscriptions are not usually found on altars in Greece. An early example is the altar with ἔργον or ἔργα painted on its stucco face in the Heroum at Olympia; the chief altar attached to a temple or precinct would not require any such means of identification, though, where it was a special dedication, this might be recorded, e.g. the great altar of Apollo at Delphi states that it was dedicated by the Chians, and a smaller inscription on its corner adds that the Chians received the privilege
of piyavrvia for their gift. In the case of altars to other gods than the one to whom the precinct belonged, inscriptions would be useful, but were by no means universal. They would be required also on altars in public places; e.g. the inscribed altar in the Dipylon gateway at Athens, dedicated to Zeus Herkeos, Hermes, and Acamas. Where the object of an altar was commemorative rather than for practical use, the inscription would of course be essential. But ritual ordinances as to sacrifices were usually inscribed, not on the altar itself, but after setting it up beside it, or on some other convenient place in its immediate vicinity.

For the ritual of sacrifice, and the manner in which altars were used in connexion with it, see SACRIFICE. But it should be added here that an altar was usually dedicated to the service of a particular god, and was not used for offerings to any other. A good example of this is seen in the sixty-nine altars of Olympia, each of which had its proper destination, and was visited in its proper turn in the monthly order of sacrifices. This rule did not, however, preclude a common dedication to several gods of one altar (εἰδαρχοι, εἰδαρχοί θεοί). There existed altars of all the gods, or of the two or more most interesting in Series, produced to ensure the worship of some powers that might otherwise be overlooked, is offered by the altar of the unknown gods at Olympia. The example of this title quoted by St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17?) was, however, the only altar of this kind that was worshipped at the same altar; a classical instance is provided by the six twin altars mentioned by Pindar in Ol. v. 12 (see Schol. ad loc.). In Athens, Poseidon and Erechtheus shared a common altar in the Erechtheum, and in the Amphiareum at Oropus the altar has been enlarged so as to accommodate several deities (Πραξιτέα Αρχ., Er. 1804, p. 91).

In addition to these for the ritual of sacrifice, altars were also sought by epigrafeis, who often sat upon the steps, and especially by those seeking sanctuary. The altar in a house, whether the hestia or that of Zeus Herkeos, often served this purpose; and in a temple a suppliant would naturally place his offering there, either by clasping his image or by seating himself on the altar or beside it. It does not, however, appear that in Greek religion there was any peculiar power in this connexion that belonged to the altar more than the two or more gods it was dedicated to. The right of sanctuary usually had clearly defined limits within which it was inviolable. It is worthy of note that when Cylon's followers had to go outside these limits, it was to the early image, not to the altar, that they attached the rope to which they trusted for protection.

Literature.—See end of art. Altar (Roman).

Ernest A. Gardner.

ALTAR (Hindu).—Altars, or raised platforms, play an important part in the Hindu ceremonies. The Sanskrit word for a Hindu altar is śāvā, which is defined as 'an altar or raised place made of Kuśa grass, or strewn with it, and ordered for an oblation, for placing the vessels used at a sacrifice, a place or ground prepared for sacrifice' (Monier-Williams, s.v.). The original śāvā was a trenched variety of shape, in which the sacrificial fires were kept, dug in the sacrificial ground. In early times in India, when the gods were worshipped by each man at his own fireplace, it was a duty incumbent upon every household to set up the sacred fire in the altar, from the very day on which the ceremony of the Agn.yādāna, or the setting up of sacrificial fires, had been performed. On that important occasion the sacrificer chose his four priests, and erected sheds or fire-houses for the Gārhapatyas and the Āhavanīya fires respectively. A circle was marked for the Gārhapatyā fire, and a square for the Āhavanīya fire; a semicircular area for the Dakṣināgni or southern fire, if that also was required. The ādhaṇaya or officiating priest then procured a temporary fire, by introducing it by means of the āmazon from the village, and, after the usual fivefold lustration of the Gārhapatyā fireplace, he laid down the fire thereon, and in the evening handed two pieces of wood, called araṇi, to the sacrificer and his wife, for the purposes of producing by attrition the Āhavanīya fire the next morning.

There were different vedis for different kinds of offering, as, e.g., the large Sona altar (mahāśāvā) and the pāvātē śāvā, used for animal sacrifice, which resembled the uttarā śāvā, or northern altar; the latter was an altar raised with earth excavated in forming what is called a chātuvaīla, or hole. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa compares the shape of an altar to that of a woman. The altar would be broad at the front, narrow in the middle, and broad again on the eastern side; for thus shaped they praise a woman. The shape of sacrificial altars was considered a matter of so much importance that there were special altars dedicated to Sun, Earth, and Moon, each of which an altar is set up facing east. On the day of the ceremony the boy is bathed and is seated on a low wooden

...
stool which is placed upon the altar, and his father and mother sit on either side. The chief priest kindles on the altar a sacred fire, into which he throws offerings. On the occasion of a marriage in the same caste, an altar about six feet square and one foot high is raised. The bride and bride- 
groom sit on the marriage altar, and two men hold a cloth between them. At the lucky moment the cloth is drawn aside, and each for the first time time sees the other's face. Afterwards the priest kindles a sacred fire on the altar, and clarified butter and parched grain are thrown in. The marriage altar, which is thrice kindled, is raised. Some heaps of rice are made on the altar, and a betel-
nut is placed on each of the heaps. The bridgegroom lifting the bride's right foot places it on each of the seven heaps successively. Among the Deshastha Brāhmans of Bījapur, boys on their initiation are led to an altar called bahuhe, where the priest girds them with the sacred thread, to which a small piece of deerskin is tied.

LITERATURE.—Eggeling's transl. of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in SBE, vols. xii. xxi. 1892, 1898, with plan of sacrificial ground at his Anient India. 3 vols., Calcutta, 1889-99; J. Thibaut, 'On the Ancient India,' vol. xiv.; Astronomie, Mathematik und Mathematik'in GIP, Strasbourg, 1896; A. Hillebrandt, 'Rituallistessor,' 8t., Strasbourg, 1897; A. Bürk, 'Das Apastā- 

ALTAR (Japanese).—In Japan little distinction is made between the table and the altar. No special sanctity attaches to the latter. In Bud-
dhist temples there is a stand on which incense is burned, called Kōtan or Kōtana ('incense-
stool'). Shinto offerings are placed on small tables of unpainted wood. The old ritual prescribed that in the case of Greater Shrines the offerings should be placed on tables (or altars); in the case of Lesser Shrines, on mats spread on the earth. Each house may have its Buddhist domestic altar, or rather shrine (butsudan)—a miniature cup-
board or shelf where an image of a Buddha is deposited, or a Shinto altar (kamidana) where Shinto tokens, pictures, or other objects of devotion are kept.

ALTAR (Persian).—1. In none of the ancient Persian records, whether literary or inscriptive, do we find a generic term for 'altar.' Nevertheless, to infer the absence of such a term in the existing records that no kind of altar was employed in the Zoroastrian ritual during the period represented by the Inscriptions and the Avesta, would be to press the argument from negative evidence too far. Moreover, if the limited vocabulary of the Inscrip-
tions contains no word for 'altar,' yet the royal sculptor has left an unequivocal witness of the existence of altars in the Mazdism of the early Achaemenians, in the representation of the altar in bas-relief over the entrance of the tomb of Darius Hystaspis on the rocks at Naksh-i Rustam.† The statements of Greek and Roman authors as to the absence of altars, and of temples and images, in early Persian worship, would seem, on the first view, more difficult of a satisfactory explanation.† Herodotus, claiming to speak from personal ob-
servation and research, states (i. 131 ft.) that the Persians "think it unlawful to build temples or altars, imputing folly to those who do so." Therefore, when about to sacrifice, they neither erect

† The dédiyya gātu of the Avesta (Vend. didd., vii. 80, 86; xiii. 17) is exceptional: for, etymologically, it means no more than 'legal or consecrated place,' and is synonymous rather with ' temple than with altar. See, however, Jackson, Grandr. Iran. Phil., ii. 701; Persia, Past and Present, p. 500, by the same author.

† See Dihlouly, L’Acropole de Susa, p. 392.

ALI (Persian).—E. P. Russell, "The Essenes," in Bulletin of the British Museum, 1889-1890; E. J.eca, "A産- 

† Compare the use of 'high places' (Stuwarth) amongst the Hebrews (1 K 3, 1 K 474). See also Ga 20a).
symbol and truest visible manifestation of the presence of that divinity, namely, the sacred fire.

The figure on the rock is, therefore, a Fire-altar, attesting the use of such altars amongst the Persians long before the death of Darius.

Of the fact that the Persian reverence for fire goes back to a very early period, Quintus Curtius (c. 64 A.D.) would scarcely think that this portable altar would include the massive support which seems to have characterized the temple altar * (see on Sasanian altars, below, § 2).

Sebeos (wrote c. 650-675 A.D.) states that the portable altar was less elaborate than that in use in the Atash-gah. However, asserts that these royal altars were made of silver.† The latter statement may refer only to the Atash-dān. Tabari, the Arabic historian (6. 539 A.D.), relates how Yazdijird III., the last of the Sasanian kings, carefully departed with him the sacred fire, in its fit receptacle, from place to place in his hurried flight before the conquering Arabs.

From the representations on the coins of the period,† we learn that the sacred fire was not distinguished upon the altar during the Parthian domination (B.C. 250-A.D. 226). Unfortunately, these coins do not assist us very materially in ascertaining the form of the altar at this time. Although the Fire-altar is a common type on the reverse of the pieces of the period, they contain only the Atash-dān, having as support the lower part of the Fire-temple or Atash-gah; that is, it is only a convention. Still they serve sufficiently to show that in its main element, the Fire-altar of the Achaemenians had persisted and survived the shock given to Zoroastrianism by the conquest of Alexander and the rule of the Arsacids.

It is possible, though this is by no means certain, that it was during this period that the sacred places on the high mountains, under the influence of foreign cults, gave room to temples, in the classical sense (leper), and consequently there arose the accompanying altar (bātāt) for animal sacrifices (cf. Strabo, loc. cit. § 15, also Xi. vi. 4; Pausanias, loc. cit.).

Other high authorities | are strongly inclined to assign what are, admittedly, the extant remains of one of these temples, the famous temple at Kangavar, to the time of Artaxerxes II. (Numen) (404-358 B.C.), when, as we learn from several sources, there was a serious decadence from orthodox Zoroastrianism, and a re-revivalism of ancient cults (cf. J. H. Moulton, Thinke, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 498-499). The last word on this matter is yet to be written.

On any theory, we are certain that in the first century before our era two classes of altars, at least, were used in Zoroastrian ritual, namely, the Fire-altar of the Atash-gah, and the sacrificial altar attached to the temples erected to specific Persian divinities.

Was there not yet another altar in use at this period? Certain statements in the terse account which Strabo gives (loc. cit.) of the religious practices of the Persians would seem to justify the inference.

We know that the temples of those Persians were: *

Outre les somptueux pyræ construits dans les villes, il existait encore des pyræ en natures pour reposer dans une tente spéciale, et le roi n’entrait jamais en campagne autrement qu’accompagné de mages et de pyræ (Journ. Archéol., 1666, p. 112 (Sebèso, 60)). For a somewhat different view of this passage, see Dr. Heinrich Hübschmann, Zur Geschichte der Armenischen Religion (in den Armmischen Denkblättern), Leipzig, 1873, p. 7, n. 1.

† Ordo autem arsanis erat tallis. Ignis, quem ipse sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argelids alatarium praebauit. Magi proximi patriam cernere censabat (III. 3, 91).|

These coins were not part of the national issues, but belonged, probably, to the semi-independent kings of Iran, in the narrower sense. See Numismata Orientalia, 'Parthian Coinage,' by Percy Gardner, p. 30; Num. Coins, vol. ii. Athens (1842-44); and especially Justi, Otrandi, Iran. Phil. ii. pp. 486-492; G. de la Numismatique, Oxford, 1900, Etude sur la Numismatique de la Perse, p. 63-97. For similar, but less extensive, and especially Justi, Otrandi, Iran. Phil. ii. pp. 486-492; G. de la Numismatique, Oxford, 1900, Etude sur la Numismatique de la Perse, p. 63-97. P. iii. by Altecke de la Fuye; Donz, Kol-|}

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divinities were separate and distinct from the Fire-
temples or Atash-gahs (Strabo, loc. cit. § 15). But
Strabo adds that to whatever divinity the Persians
sacrificed, they first addressed a prayer to fire, all
their devotions then, as now, being performed in
the presence of the sacred element. Further, in
describing the sacrifice to water as mentioned and
adds that the blood of the firstborn of every
kind of the blood should spurt into the fire. The fire,
in this case, cannot have been that of the Atash-
gah, but a fire on some kind of altar or brasier
present at the place of sacrifice (§ 14). This fire
was to be of all kinds and used in the Atash-gah, and
correspondingly it is quite conceivable that it may have served both for boil-
ing the flesh * and for representing the fire of the
Atash-gah as the symbol of the nature and pres-
cence of the deity. (See below, § 3).

If the inference is correct, we have here the parent,
so to speak, of the Fire-altar employed at the
present day in the Izashnah-Gah, or place
where the religious rites are performed.

2. On Sasanian coins of all periods, the Fire-altar
is a fixed, modified, and therefore
an alter of the same time.

On some of the earlier pieces we observe that there are,
at the sides of the altar, metal feet or in the form of lions' paws, which seem
to rest upon what were probably intended for
handles or legs on which to carry the altar. It is, how-
ever, conceivable that these were a feature of only
the movable altar already described, but were not
characteristic of the altar of the Atash-gah. How-
ever, in the later coins of the period this feature disappears, and we have merely the central sup-
port in the form of a short column with a base,
and crowned, as in the older coins, by the Adoshit,
which, in turn, supports the Atash-dans.‡

Whether it was the great reform of Zoroastrian-
ism inaugurated and developed by the Sasanian
kings that abolished the practice of animal sacri-
fices, or whether it had fallen into disuse before
the rise of that dynasty (cf. Dieulafoy, L'Acro-
pole de Susa, p. 402, Note 2), there can be no doubt that
from Sasanian times onwards no places for real sacrifices are to be counted among Zoroastrian
altars.

The dāitya-gātu was no doubt more extensive
than any shrine for the Atash-dans of the
Bahram Fire, but its remaining part was the shelter
of a brazier, only inferior, Fire-altar, already con-
jectured to exist elsewhere. At one of the
small fire-altar of the Izashnah-Gah (as witness of
this, see the elaborate ritual of Avesta, Vend. v. 39,
etc.). These are the two classes of altars in use
among the Zoroastrians of Persia and the Parsees
of India at the present day.

3. Modern Fire-altars, while always retaining the
two most essential out of the three parts of which
Sasanian and, probably, as we have seen, earlier
altars consisted, namely, the Adosh and the Atash-
dans, vary somewhat in the form of the latter from
those found on the coins and sculptures.

The Atash-dans seen by Anquetil du Perron at
Surat (see Zend Avesta, ii. pl. x.; Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta, i. pl. iii.), consisted of large round
vases of metal, much like our garden flower-vases,
with a foot like a goblet and widening upwards,
the larger one measuring three and a half feet in
height, and three in diameter at the brim. Each
stood upon its Adosh, about six inches in height.
Thus size and degree of elaboration which char-
acterize the Atash-dans depends in the first place
upon the wealth of the community worshipping

* See Rawlinson, Fire Great Monarchies of the Ancient
† See Num. Chron., New Series, vol. xlii. ‘Sasanian Coins,
Pl. I.
‡ See Num. Chron. vol. xii. pl. v. and, in general, Dorn,
op. cit.

at its shrine, and especially upon the quality
of the fire it contains: whether it is the Bahram Fire,
the purest and most sacred of all earthly fires, or
the Atash i Adaran, the fire of the second grade,
or only that used in the Izashnah-khānah.

The latter of the two fire-altars which Anquetil
sees was that of an Atash i Adaran, placed, of
course, in the care lest that one was
that in use in the Izashnah-Gah. The latter
contains the lowest grade of the hierarchy
of sacred fires; it is the representative, though not
the equal, of the fires of the Atash-gah (Darme-
steder, Le Zend Avesta, i. pl. iii.). The fire upon
the altar the priestly rites and religious ceremonies
are performed (see SACRIFICE and OFFERINGS).

In large temples, such as that at Kolabs, described
by Darmesteter (op. cit.), there are as many as six
of these small altars, where as many pairs of priests
are able, simultaneously, to perform their minis-
trations. This is the class of altar found in the
numerous dādgahs, or small chapels, which have
no Atash-gah attached.

Unlike the sacred fire on the altar of the Atash-
gah, the fire of the small fire-altars may be allowed
to burn out, and be kindled again whenever the faithful
Zoroastrians assemble to perform their devotions
and ceremonies. A small altar of this class is found
also in all pious and orthodox Zoroastrian
homes (see Dieulafoy, L'Acròpole de Susa, Pl.
vi.);

LITERATURE.—The principal works have already been re-
ferred to in the body of the article. Dieulafoy's L'Acro-
pole de Susa, p. 380 ff. (Paris, 1884-87); is the only work
that treats, with anything like fulness, of ancient as well as
modern altars. Scattered references in Greek and Roman
authors have been collected and translated by (1) Wilson, Paré
Religion, p. 182 ff., Bombay, 1842; (2) Hang, Essays on the
Sacred Language ... and Religion of the Parsees, p. 175,
London, 1884. These two works contain the details relating
On modern altars, see Anquetil du Perron, Zend Avesta,
C. de Harlez, Avesta, Livre Sacré des Sectateurs de Zoroastre,
vol. ii. p. 10ff.; Darmesteter, Le Zend Avesta, vol. i. p. ix-

E. EDWARDS.

ALTAR (Polynesian).—The Polynesian altar,
or fata, was essentially a table for the gods,
and was constructed of wood, thus forming a striking
contrast to the stone altars and other religious
buildings of other parts of the world. In Tahiti, the altar
was situated either before or in the marae, or temple
(Moerenhout, Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan,
Paris, 1837, i. 470-471); while in Hawaii, where
the temple was much more than a simple shrine,
the figure of the god was put in the inner
apartment to the left of the door, with the altar immedi-
ately in front of it (Ellis, Polynesian Researches,
2nd ed. London, 1832-1836, iv. 89). The usual type
of the Polynesian altar is admirably described by
the missionary William Ellis, as follows (l. 344-345;
rf. Cook, Troisième Voyage, Paris, 1785, ii. 152-153,
330, iii. 388): 'Domestic oraltars, or those erected
near the corpse of a departed friend, were small
and smaller structures; those in the public temples
were large, and usually eight or ten feet in height;
the face of the altar was supported by a number of
wooden posts or pillars, often curiously carved and
polished. The altars were covered with sacred
boughs, and ornamented with a border or fringe
of rich yellow plantain leaves. Beside these, there
were smaller altars connected with the temples;
some resembling a small round table, supported
by a single post fixed in the ground. Occasionally,
the carcass of the hog presented in sacrifice was
placed on the large altar, while the heart and some
other internal parts were laid by it, which was
called a fata aia. Offerings and sacri-
fices of every kind, whether dressed or not, were
placed upon the altar, and remained there till de-
composed.' A Tahitian altar is described and pic-
tured by Wilson (Missionary Voyage to the Southern

Pacific Ocean, London, 1799, p. 211) as being forty feet long and seven wide, and resting on sixteen wooden pillars eight feet in height. It was covered with thick matting which hung down the side in fringes, and on it was a rotting pile of hogs, turtles, fish, plantains, coconuts, and other offerings. Since the Polynesians had no burnt-offerings, and since the sacrifices to the gods were, of course, *tafu*, this unsavoury procedure was unavoidable. In Tahiti, the victim was usually dead when placed on the *fata*, and there were also stone altars on which the heads of human victims were placed. The type of altars here described did not differ materially from the class represented by the Hawaiian *rere*, on which human victims were laid face downward, covered with sacrifices of sacred pig, and left to decay (Ellis, iv. 169).

The same distinction which prevails among the Melanesians (wh. see), is found in the Polynesian altars, which include not only the *fata* here described, but also the *fata tupaau*, or altar for the dead, which was six or seven feet in height, and received a corpse immediately after death. This *fata tupaau* was covered by a cloth which protected the dead body from the elements (Moerenhout, i. 470-471, 547); to the corpse food was offered and *mauilo* thrown on its body. The covering is also extended in the Marquesas, where altars to the tikis and spirits of the dead are frequent along the roads and by the houses (Waltz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. 387, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethn.*, II. 301), to the small *mara* (Serant in *L’Anthropologie*, xvi. 475-484). At the *mauilo fata*, or altar raising, the altar was decorated with mero branches and coconut leaves, while the offerings were pigs, plantains, and the like, but not human sacrificial victims (Ellis, i. 34).


**LOUIS H. GRAY.**

**ALTAR (Roman).**—Much of what has been said about altars in Greek religion applies to Roman religion also, especially in the case of customs or rituals borrowed from Greece. Indeed, most treatises or articles do not make any distinction between the two. Here only those cases will be mentioned in which we have independent evidence for Roman practice, or in which Roman practice differed from Greek.

1. As to *names*, Varro (as quoted by Servius, *Ad. En. ii. 555*) asserts: "Dis superia altar, terraeque* sumis* facios facing seven days, and the *dēxφa* in Greek, is by no means universally observed by Latin writers, though there seems to be a general impression, in accordance with the etymology, that *altar* is usually higher structures than *ara*.

Lfty altars were thought suitable to Jupiter and the gods of heaven, low ones to Vesta and Earth. Natural or improvised altars, especially those built of turf, are familiar in Latin literature (e.g. Horace, *Od. III. viii. 9-4*: "Posuitque carbo in crepitis vivo"). Small altars are set up amidst trees in confection with sacred groves or trees; but they tended, as Greek influence spread, to be superseded by altars of stone or marble. Some of the earliest and most sacred altars in Rome seem not to have been attached to any particular temple; among these were the *ara maxima*, sacred to Hercules, and the mysterious subterranean altar of Consus, which was uncovered only once or twice in the year during festivals.

2. When altars are associated with temples, their position varies. Vitruvius (iv. viii.) states that altars ought to face out, and should be placed on a lower level than the images of the gods in the temple, in order that the worshipers may look up to them. The orientation of temples being much more varied in Italy than in Greece, that of the altar varies also. Roman temples are usually raised upon a high substructure approached by steps; and the altars at Pompeii are usually placed either in the open area in front of the steps or on a platform part of the way up. The sacrificer appears, from the position of the altars, to have stood, in some cases, with his side to the temple, in some cases with his back to it. Here, as in Greece, the usage seems to show that sacrifices offered to a god on his altar were not directly offered to the image which symbolized his presence—that, in short, we have not cases of genuine ‘idolatry.’ But, in the scenes of sacrifice frequently represented on Roman reliefs, it is common for either a recognizable temple or a small statue of a god to be indicated behind the altar, probably as an artistic device to show to whom the sacrifice is offered.

3. There were also altars in Roman houses. It appears that, in primitive houses in Italy, the hearth served both for sacrifices to the domestic gods and for cooking purposes; this must have been in the atrium or central living-room. In farmhouses, where the kitchen with its hearth was still the principal room, we find a survival of this arrangement in the shrine for the household gods, which in a small country house or in a villa example occurs in the villa at Bosco Reale. In Pompeian houses the hearth has been transferred, for practical purposes, from the atrium to the kitchen; and that its religious functions accompanied it is shown by the small shrines, or alae, in which painted figures of the domestic gods are often found in the kitchen near the hearth. More frequently, however, the household worship was more conveniently carried on at a small shrine provided for the purpose, either in a special room or in one of the foundations in the atrium, peristyle, or garden. Such shrines usually consisted of a niche, with either statuettes or painted images of the domestic gods, the *lares* and *penates*, the genius of the house, and serpents; and in front was placed a small altar of a usual type. In one case a small fixed altar was found in a dining-room; probably portable altars were generally employed for the offerings which usually accompanied all meals, when they were no longer held in the atrium proper, or in the peristyle or garden.

4. Of the common hearth of a city we have the most familiar example in that of Vesta at Rome, where the undying fire was tended by the Vestal Virgins. This was, doubtless, circular, as was the temple that crowned it. Small shrines of many kinds are commonly placed in the streets, usually with a niche, or at least a painting on the wall behind, to indicate the gods to whom the altar was dedicated—sometimes the *lares compitales* or street gods, sometimes other deities.

5. As regards the form of altars in early Italian religion, we have not much information. The Ara Volcani, discovered in the recent excavations of the Forum, was an oblong mass of natural rock, with its sides scarped away; it was restored with semi-circular steps and a colonnaded area and was open in quite early times, possibly at the Gallic invasion. Among the primitive objects of cult found underneath the famous black stone was a rectangular block, which was probably an altar. Roman altars were probably influenced in form considerably by Etruscan custom, which seems, from vase paintings and other evidence, to have favoured some curvilinear and fantastic shapes. But we have little evidence of this in Roman monuments. From Imperial times the evidence is abundant; the forms are in their origin dependent upon those of Greece, though they soon enter on an independent development of their own. The magnificent architectural structures of Hellenistic times found a counterpart in the Ara Pacis Augustae, which was surrounded by...
reliefs with allegorized and ceremonial scenes, and is perhaps the most characteristic example of the
sculpture of the Augustan age. Smaller altars, both round and square, are provided with artistic
decoration in the naturalistic garlands carved in the marble, where the Greeks would have hung real
ones, and in the reliefs, frequently representing sacred facts including many appropriate
subjects. In these it is possible to trace a develop-
ment which, however, concerns the history of sculpture rather than that of religion. Simpler
architectural decorations follow the Greek models; 
rather crowded altars and bands of triglyph ornamentation, are very common.
We also find sometimes on reliefs an
ornamental canopy built on the top of an altar.
In Roman custom, altars were far more frequently
than in Greece erected merely in commemoration
of a sacrifice, whether actually made upon them or not; in such cases the inscription was the essen-
tial thing, the altar form being little more than a
convention. On the other hand, altars for actual
use were frequently supplied with arrangements
convenient in use, such as seats to receive libations, and ducts to carry away the liquids.

6. Smaller portable altars, either for incense or
for minor offerings, were frequently used; some
have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere, but
they are not easy to distinguish from tripods or
other vessels. Sometimes the pedestal is differsub-
bulum or marble table, frequently found behind
the impluvium in the atrium of Pompeian houses,
should be considered as an altar in origin. If, as
has been suggested, it originally stood beside the
hearth it would serve this purpose, though it may
have been merely a dresser. A peculiar interest attaches to this table in the matter of
religious evolution, if we accept its sacred signif-
icance; for it plays an important part in the theory
of the development of the plan of the primitive
Christian church from the atrium of the dwelling-
house.

Between the tablinum and the open part of the atrium stood
an ornamental stone table, the only reminder of the sacred
hearth. It is a very striking fact that in this precisely the
position of the holy table in the basilica; when we take into
account the similar use of the altars with the
ancient (Christian) altars, we can hardly fail to admit a close
relation between them (Lewry, Christian Art and Archaeology,
London, 1901, p. 102).

7. The association of altars with tomos in Roman
custom is somewhat confusing. Tombs frequently
form a table resembling an altar (tippus) and it is
natural to associate this offerings to the dead,
even if the altars be merely cing them into the
not intended for actual use; the word ara
is even applied to tombstones in inscriptions.
On the other hand, Vergil describes a funerary
pyre as "ara sepulcri" (Aen. vi. 177). This altar, on
which offerings to the dead were consumed together with his
body, may be symbolically represented by the
altar-tomb.

LITERATURE.—The fullest and most recent account of
altars, Germania's Reich in Bayern (Itz-Wissowa,
'Altar,' where references to earlier authorities are given.
An article with illustration is in Darmberg-Saglio, Dict. des
Antiquités, s.v. "Ara." For Pompeian altars see Mass, Pompeii,
1890; for the decoration of Roman altars, Mrs. Strong, Roman
Scenes and Subjects, 1907. See also the Handbooks of Antiquities,
such as Herrmann, Lehrbuch, II. "Göttlichkeiter Altäre,
Iren Müller, Handb. der Mass. Altarmanschenschaft, v. 3
"Götter und Götter (Stengel, pp. 15-16)." 4 "Religion
und Cultus der Romer (de Wissowa), and Indexes of these works.
See also A. de Molin, De Ara apud Graevos (Berlin, 1884).

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stone, so that it served at once as an emblem of deity and as an altar. It was a bethel (Gn 28:17).
Sometimes such a pillar stood alone, sometimes one or two lonely stones were placed by it,1 sometimes the number of stones was made seven,2 and at Gezer the whole number of these standing pillars is given. High places with such stones have in recent years been discovered at Tell es-Safi,3 at Petra,4 at Megiddo,5 and at Gezer.6 When the number of stones is more than one, it is usually easy to identify the bethel, as it is worn smooth by the continual libations.7 These altars were common to both the Hamitic and the Semitic world,8 and developed in course of time into the Egyptian obelisk.

5. Meat cooked in a pot hung on three stakes.—At this early time probably the larger part of each sacrifice was cooked and eaten by the worshipper, as in 1 S 11:5. Probably in the earliest period the flesh was boiled in a pot, as described in Samuel and Jeremiah.9 And as on some early Bab. seals and in the early hieroglyphic inscription.10 The Bab. pictures represent the pot as resting in the crotch of crossed stakes, as in course of time the fashion of roasting the meat instead of boiling it came in. The transition in Israel is noted in 1 K 8:64. It is quite probable that the temple marked a stage of culture which was attained at different periods in different parts of the Semitic world, and that one of its consequences was the institution of burnt-offerings—or offerings consumed by fire, of which we have already spoken to inhale the smoke. This transition led to the creation of fire-altars. These were ultimately of several kinds, and the evolution of them proceeded along two lines.

6. Altars cut or made to stand on a rectangular stone, called a masgibah. This was actually done at Aksum in Abyssinia, where such structures have been found.† Perhaps the 'ariels' of Moab, mentioned in 2 S 23:19 and on the Moabite Stone (lines 12 and 17), were structures of this nature. They were structures which could be dragged away, and were connected with the shrines of Jalweh, as well as with those of other deities. This is evident from line 17 of the Moabitc Stone, and from Is 29:7, where the name is figuratively applied to Jerusalem.

W. R. Smith supposed that the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, which stood before the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, were used as pillars for fire-altars at the four cardinal points. Herodotus (li. 44) tells us of two such pillars at Tyre, one of emerald and the other of gold, which shone brightly at night. This latter fact was possibly due to some sort of incrustation or impurity, which rendered them a natural substitute, connected with them. Possibly all these pillars were developed, like the altar-magazines of Aksum, out of the primitive pillar.

7. Rock-cut altars.—Another development from the primitive mountain crag was the rock-cut altar. This represents a later stage of culture than the altar of unhewn stones. That was an artificial imitation of a mountain crag, but it was built of stones on which man had lifted up no tool. Human labour has placed the stones one upon another, but was confined to that alone. Rock-cut altars, on the other hand, are projections of natural rocks of which human hands have fashioned into a form better suited to the purposes of sacrifice. One such was unearthed by Sellin at Taanach.† This consists of a stone about half the height of a man, roughly rounded at the top, but square at the base. At the corners rude steps have been cut in the stone, and the top is slightly hollow. It appears to have been used for libations only, and never for fire offerings.

Another example of a rock-cut altar is found in the rock-cut high-place which was discovered at Petra in the year 1900.† This altar is 9 ft. 1 in. long, 6 ft. 2 in. wide, and 3 ft. high. It is approached by a flight of steps, on the top of which the officiating priest could stand. On the top of the altar is a depression 3 ft. 8 in. long, 1 ft. 2 in. wide, and 3½ in. deep. This was apparently the fire-pan of the altar. On three corners of this altar there are depressions cut, which have suggested to some the possibility that, when complete, it was adorned at the corners with horns of bronze. This is, of course, only conjectural.

Just to the south of this altar, and separated from it only by a passage-way, is a platform which seems to have been used for the preparation of sacrifices. It is 11 ft. 9 in. long from north to south, 16 ft. 6 in. wide, and 2 ft. 9 in. high. It is ascended by four steps at the north-east corner. In the form of the altar it consists of two concentric circular pans, the larger of which is 3 ft. 8 in. in diameter and 3 in. deep, and the smaller 1 ft. 5 in. in diameter and 2 in. deep. From the lower pan a rock-cut conduit, 3 ft. 2 in. 9 in. wide, and 3 in. deep. This platform was, no doubt, used for the slaughter of the victims, and these basins were designed to catch the blood, and the conduit to conduct it away.†

When we remember the importance attached to the blood by the early Semites, and their feeling that it should be offered to the deity (cf. 1 S 14:42 and Dt 12:16-18), it becomes clear that this platform was as important a part of the altar as the other. Some scholars have called it, because of the circular basins cut in it, the 'round altar.'† Analogy makes it clear that the trench of the Samaritans, referred to above, is in reality a part of an altar. Probably every altar of earth in ancient times was accompanied by a slaughtering-place similar to the one described above.

8. Altars of incense.—A still later form of the altar—later from the standpoint of cultural development—was a small portable altar carved out of a stone. Such altars were developed in many parts of the Semitic world, and are described as portable altars of the different nations. They were used for the burning of fat or of sweet-smelling incense, and probably came into use at a time when, in ordinary sacrifices, such parts of the offering only were given directly to the deity, the other and more edible parts becoming the property of the priests.

9. Bronze altars.—At the farthest remove culturally from the primitive Semitic altar stands the bronze altar. Not made of an unmanufactured product like stone, it is an altar of a civilized, and not of a primitive, people. Such altars are found among the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, and Hebrews. Our knowledge of their forms is set forth below in describing the altars of these nations.

10. Arabian altars.—The only large altar that can in any sense be called Arabian which has, so far as the writer knows, been studied by Europeans, is that of the Nabataeans.† See Sellin, Tell Ta'anak, p. 38.


† See the Fifth dynasty temple restored in Erman's Egypt. Rel. 46.

† See Schell, Delegation en Perse, ii. 130, and compare Barton in JOAS xxii. 122 n. 31, and 125 n. 9. A similar scene is figured on a seal with the writer's impression.

† See Theodore Bent, Sacred City of the Ethiopians, 150 ff.

† Rel. of Sem. ii. 488 ff.
is the great altar at Petra, described above (§ 7). That rock-cut altar may, however, be an Edomite or Nabataean work, and indicative of their civilizations rather than of the civilization of the Arabs. Indeed, the use of tools upon it makes it probable that it was constructed by people who had lost the primitive simplicity and poverty of thought which was attached to all things Arabian in early times.

The purely Arabian altars were, as they still are, spurs of natural crags, or stones containing hollows to receive the blood (see Curtiss, Bibl. Hist. 256).

From South Arabia a very interesting altar of incense has come, which is now in the Berlin Museum. It is a little over 2 ft. high. It tapers slightly as it rises, until within about 7 in. from the top. At this point a slight shoulder projects, above which the stone broadens again. On one side, in an ornamental framework carved in stone, rises a pyramid, the blunt apex of which is surmounted by the thin crescent of the moon. The horns of the crescent are turned upward, and a star or representation of the sun-disc occupies its centre.

Petrie discovered three such altars of incense in the temple at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai. It is true that this was ostensibly an Egyptian temple, but a little doubt exists as to whether the temple and altar were built by the Semites. Whatever the Semites had in mind, the square nature of it is a significant fact. This altar, probably the best known, is represented in the Metropolitan Museum. In addition to the altar, a smaller, square altar is seen in the bottom of the frame, which is almost identical in size and shape to the altar above it. The base of the altar is flat and wide, and the only feature of interest is a small square base set into it. This base is not a true altar, but a platform on which the altar was placed.

11. Aramaean altars.—In 2 K 16:10, we are told of an altar in Damascus which the Judean king Ahaz saw, and which so pleased him that he had one made like it and placed in the Temple at Jerusalem. Probably the altar described by Ezekiel (45:3-7) is a description of it. If so, it was built of stones, and consisted of a base 27 ft. square and 18 ft. high, along the top of which ran a moulding 9 in. wide. On this arose a square of 24 ft., which was 3 ft. high; on this a square of 21 ft., which was 6 ft. high; and above this arose the heart of the altar, 6 ft. high. It was approached by steps on the east side. The whole structure was about 17 ft. high, and at its corners were projections of some kind called 'horns'. It is only by inference that we carry these dimensions back to the altar at Damascus. Of course, between Ahaz and Ezekiel there may have been modifications, but when the influence of religious conservatism is taken into account, our inference seems to be justified.

As noted above (§ 10), the altar at Petra was probably a Nabataean structure. If so, it should be counted an Aramaean altar.

A few smaller Nabataean altars, of the kind called altars of incense above, have been discovered. One such was found at Kanath, and bears a Nabataean inscription. On one side of it is a bullock, which is cut in a rather primitive type of art. Another Nabataean altar of similar type from Palmyra is also described in a text from Palmyra. It is a stone altar, and consists of a large stone block. It is not a true altar, but a platform on which the altar was placed.

lock, *betrays such excellent artistic workmanship that it can hardly be Nabataean, but is probably Greek. Another Nabataean altar, found by the Princeton expedition, is pictured by Littmann. It consists of a straight stone, the shoulders of which are rounded at the top is approached. This is set in a large base. The upper edge of the base is carved into a moulding. Another Palmyrene altar has straight sides, and at its top an ornamental moulding projects, making the top larger than the body of the altar. Altars of similar kind, probably of Nabataean workmanship, may now be seen in Palmyra and Petra.

12. Babylonian altars.—Our knowledge of early Bab. altars comes in part from the pictures on old Bab. seals. These altars may not be purely Semitic, as the Semites themselves may be dated back to the Sumerians. No. 141, Collection de Clercq, No. 808.

Another interesting inscription, inscribed on a large altar at Palmyra, § 11. These altars were not all exactly alike. Sometimes the middle of an altar was small, sometimes it was large; sometimes the top was larger than the base; and sometimes the reverse was the case; sometimes the narrowest portion was at the top, sometimes it was nearer the bottom; but the hour-glass form describes them all.

A third altar, figured on a seal of the de Clercq collection, is perhaps older than either. It consists of flat stones, or possibly large flat bricks, placed above one another in a simple pile. Still other forms appear on later seals. One such altar is of stone, and is triangular in form, broad at the base, sloping toward the top, and surmounted by a fire-pan. Just below the fire-pan runs an ornamental ledge. That the Babylonians had bronze altars is made probable by another seal, showing a low structure supported by three legs, on which a sacrificial fire burns. That the Babylonians had larger altars corresponding in function to the rock-cut altar at Petra is not only probable a priori, but is confirmed by the explorations of Dr. Haynes at Nippur. This is the best description of these is by William Haynes Ward in Appendix G of S. I. Cortes' Primitive Chicago Religion Day.

* See Mörltmann, Himmler, Inschriften und Alterthümer, Pl. iii., 352. Also article: Altar, Mondreligion, Semitische Alterthümer, Pl. x.; Clermont-Ganneau, Recueil d'archéologie orientale, iii. 75 and Pl. 1. Also ib. 118 ff.; Littmann, Semitische Inschriften, p. 84.

† See Curtius, Bibl. Hist. 256.

‡ See Curtius, Hist. 256.

§ See Petrie, Researches in Sinai, 133-135.

∥ See Littmann, 'Der moderne Tempel' in Reuter's 10th K. Bibl. 101. [1892] Littmann, Die Ornamentik des Semitischen, p. 147, where he compares the structure at Petra with a large altar at Palmyra.


** See Curtius, Bibl. Hist. 256.

†† See Curtius, Bibl. Hist. 256.
excavator found a structure built of sun-dried bricks, 13 ft. long and 8 ft. wide. A ridge of bitumen 7 in. high ran around the top. The structure was covered with a layer of white ashes several inches deep, and was separated from the surrounding space by a low wall or curb. Near it was a cauldron containing several hundred bushels. Dr. Haynes rightly regarded this as an altar. He found it 3 ft. below the pavement of Naram-Sin, so that it belongs to the pre-Sargonic period.†

Herodotus (1. 183) bears witness to the fact that two kinds of altars stood in the temple at Babylon. He says the smaller altar was of gold, but is silent as to the material of which the larger altar was constructed. These correspond to the 'altar of burnt-offering' and the 'altar of incense.'

Assyrian altars.—The altars of the Assyrians consisted, no doubt, of the two varieties employed by the Babylonians. Those which explorations have brought to light belong to the smaller type, or the class of 'altars of incense.' These are sometimes of stone and sometimes of bronze.

The stone altars are of three forms. The oldest is from the time of Adad-nirari III. (B.C. 812-783), and is in the British Museum. It consists of an oblong stone 55 cm. long and of the same height, so that the appearance of the top is that of a sofa without a back. The lower part is ornamented by a few horizontal symmetrical lines. The second type is made of a block of stone so carved that its base is triangular, and is ornamented by horizontal lines. Sometimes the corners between these ledges a lion's foot is carved. This base is surmounted by a circular top. The third altar is shaped much like the Nabatean altars, but with a castellated top. Both these last are surmounted by a piece of Sargon (B.C. 722-705), and are in the Louvre.

The Assyrian bronze altar is pictured for us on the bronze gates of Balawat,§ on a sculpture of Ashurbanipal,|| and on other sculptures.¶ These altars, in spite of variations in detail, were built on the same pattern. Each was a table-like structure, sometimes half the height of a man, sometimes a little higher. The legs at each corner were moulded, somewhat like the legs of a modern piano. The legs were joined to one another by horizontal bars. Sometimes there was one, sometimes two, and sometimes three of these, and their distance from the ground was determined by the fancy of the maker. From the middle of the side of the altar (or from the centre of it, the perspective perfect that it might be either), a leg descended to the lowest of these cross-bars. The top of the table was slightly hollow and formed the fire-pan. One of these representations shows the sacrifice burning on it. Such an altar could be taken with the army on a campaign, as is shown by the bronze gates of Balawat.

Canaanite altars.—In ancient Canaan the altars of burnt-offering were sometimes of native rock, as at Taanach (see § 7), sometimes structures of wood (§ 9), and sometimes heaps of earth (§ 3). These have already been sufficiently described (§§ 2, 3, 7). A Canaanite altar of incense was, however, found at Taanach, which is unique. It was made of earth moulded into a rounded trunk, broad at the base and tapering considerably towards the top. It was ornamented by many heads—both human and animal—in relief.**

Phoenician altars.—The Phoenician altars which have survived are all 'altars of incense.' They present a variety of forms. Sometimes they are square with a large base and top, the central portion, though smaller, being of the same size all the way up. Sometimes they are of the same general shape except that they are round, and the base and top join the central portion in an abrupt shoulder instead of being tapered down to it. Such is an altar found at Malta.† Another altar found at the same place has its central portion carved into panelled faces in which a vine is cut for ornamentation. Still others are variations of the hour-glass form.‡

Bronze altars are mentioned in Phoenician inscriptions as having been erected at Gebal, Kition, Larnax Lapethos, at the Pireus, and in Sardinia, but we have no knowledge of their form. Perhaps they were made on the pattern of Assyrian bronze altars. We know that in many ways the Phoenicians copied Assyrian art.

Hebrew altars. — According to Ex 20:24-25, early Israelitish altars were constructed either of earth or stone. These have been described in §§ 2, 3. Solomon, when he erected his temple, introduced a brazen altar after Phoenician fashion. The description of this has been omitted by redactors from 1 K 6, because it was not made of orthodox material (so Wellhausen and Stade). Its presence is vouched for by the story of 2 K 16:14-15 and by the late and confused insertion (so Kittel), 1 K 8:18. The Chronicler (2 K 16:14-18; 1 K 8:18) speaks of a structure 30 ft. square and 15 ft. high, and modern scholars have often followed his statements. As the altar had perished long before the Chronicler's time, and as it was smaller than the large stone altar which Ahaz built: near it (2 K 16:14-18), and which was but 27 ft. square at the base, we may conclude that the Chronicler's measurements are unhistorical. It is much more likely that Solomon's brazen altar was of the Assyrian pattern. If it was, we can better understand why king Ahaz was so eager to supplant it with a stone altar which would be better adapted to the offering of large sacrifices. This bronze altar had disappeared by the time of the Exile. The stone altar of Ahaz is described above (§ 11). Such an altar, built of unhewn stones, continued to exist down to the destruction of the Temple by Titus (cf. 1 Mac 4:30-45 and Jos. B.J. v. v. 6). According to 1 K 6:25-26, a golden altar, apparently of incense, stood before the Holy of Holies in Solomon's temple, but we have no description of its form.

The altars described in the Priestly document as made for the Tabernacle were the altar of burnt-offerings (Ex 27), made of acacia wood and overlaid with brazen, and the altar of incense (Ex 30) made of acacia wood and overlaid with gold. Modern scholars regard both of these as fancies of priestly writers, as it is clear that neither of them would stand a sacrificial fire. The altar of incense of this passage was possibly patterned on that of the Temple, if so, it would have been 15 ft. square and 3 ft. high.

Horns of the altar. — Various explanations have been offered for the 'horns of the altar.' Stade ** suggested that they arose in an attempt to carve the altar into the form of an ox, while W. R. Smith †† believed that they were substituted for the horns of real victims, which at an earlier time had been hung upon the altar. Josephus (B.J. v. 6) says of the altar of Herod's temple that 'it

* See Clay, Light on the OT from Babyl., 110.
† Cf. Perrot and Chipiez, Hist. de l'art dans l'Antiquité, ii. 580.
‡ Perrot and Chipiez, 66, p. 98.
§ See above.
¶ See Ede, The Altars from the Palace Gates of Balawat, Pl. B 1 and 2; cf. also Ball, Light from the East, 164 : Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit. 429 F.
|| Cf. Ball, op. cit. 553.
** e.g. cf. Layard, Nineveh and its Remains, ii. 254.
*** See Bittel, Tel Tannan, 18.
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had corners like horns,' suggesting that the term was originally applied to some ornamentation which surmounted the corners. As no horns appear upon any Semitic altar yet discovered, but the altar frequently appears surmounted with ornaments, it is probable that, as in Jer 17, the word 'horns' is figurative.

Table of shewbread,' a counter-part to which is figured in Assyrian reliefs, might in one sense be called an altar, but, strictly speaking, it is an altar only in a secondary sense.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

ALTRUISM.—Nearly all the literature has been mentioned above. In addition, mention may be made of art. 'Altar' by Addis in EBi, that by Kennedy in Hastings' DB, and that by Green, in Hebrew Altars, by Nowack, Heb. Arch. (1894) ii. 17 f.; Benzingier, Heb. Arch. (1894) 378 f.; Curtiss, 'Places of Sacrifice among the Primitive Semites' in Biblical World, vol. xxii. 245 f.; Greene, 'Hebrew Rock Altars,' 2d. vol. ix. 223 ff.; and W. H. Ward, 'Altars and Sacrifices in the Primitive Art of Babylonia' in Curtiss' Primitive Semitic Religion To-day (1903), Appendix C.

C. J. GASKELL.

ALTER.—The social ‘other,’ fellow, or socius of the personal ‘ego.’ In current social Psychology and Ethics the ‘alter’ is the fellow of the social environment or situation in which the personal self finds itself. It is a contrast-meaning with ‘ego.’ The term ‘altruism,’ therefore, involves the use of the same word, meaning conduct or disposition favouring or advancing the interests of another rather than those considered advantageous for oneself. The development of less individualistic views in Sociology, Psychology, and Ethics has rendered important, indeed indispensable, the notion of personality as in some sense more comprehensive than individualism was able to allow. Various views of collectivism, social solidarity, general will and self, rest upon a concept of the ‘ego’ which essentially involves and identifies itself with its social self. The present writer has developed (reference below) such a view in detail, using the term ‘socius’ for the bipolar self which comprehends both ‘ego’ and ‘alter.’ On such a view, the ‘ego’ as a consequence is to be considered in its matter—and also, in consequence, in its attitudes, sympathetic, emotional, ethical, etc.—with the ‘alter.’ The self-thought is one, a normal growth in the interplay of the influences of the social milieu and the individual is not a social ‘unit,’ to be brought into social relationships, but an ‘outcome’ of the social forces working to differentiate and organize common self-material. The altruistic or ‘other-seeking’ impulses are on this view normal and natural, because in fact identical with the ‘ego-seeking’ impulses of the common group of less specialized movements in the process that constitutes personal consciousness in general. Recent work in Social Psychology has shown the place of imitative and other processes whereby the ‘ego-alter’ or ‘socius’ meaning is developed.

LITERATURE.—Rousseau, Contrat social; Bosanquet, Philosophical Theory of the State (1890); Baldwin, Social and Ethical Interpretations (1897), and Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology, in loco.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

ALTRUISM.—The use of the term ‘Altruism’ is due to Comte, who adopted it to describe those dispositions, tendencies, and actions which have the good of others as their object. He contrasted it with ‘Egoism’ (wh. see), which has self-interest
as its direct object. Comte maintained that 'the chief problem of our existence is to subordinate as far as possible egoism to altruism.' Herbert Spencer adopted the term, and gives considerable space in his *Data of Ethics* to the discussion of the contrasted elements of Egoism and Altruism, and to their differentiation. Briefly, the contrast set forth in the terms 'Egoism' and 'Altruism' was indicated by former writers on Psychology and Ethics by the distinction between self-regarding and other-regarding, that is, benevolent or disinterested tendencies.

The two terms have been widely used by more recent writers. We may distinguish between the use of the terms in Psychology and in Ethics. In Psychology 'Altruism' means the disposition which has as its object the good of another. Some are disposed to limit the meaning of the word to those dispositions which are consciously directed towards an object, and to deny the application of the term to mere spontaneous and unreflective action. In other words, they limit Altruism to conscious beings, and to them when they have attained to powers of reflexion, and have learned to constitute objects for themselves. They exclude from the sphere of Altruism also the gregarious and instinctive groupings of animals or plants. In Ethics, 'Altruism' is used to denote those dispositions and actions which have the welfare of others or another for their motive and object. It lays stress here, of course, on the ethical aspect of the disposition.

While many would limit the use of the terms 'Egoism' and 'Altruism' to dispositions and actions which arise only within a self-conscious being, and arise as the outcome of a process of reflection, there are others who strive to trace the origin of egoistic and altruistic tendencies backwards to those instincts of love and hunger, the rudiments of which seem to be present in all forms of life. The conception of Evolution and the acceptance of it as a working hypothesis, at least, by all manner of workers, tend to lay great stress on this line of investigation. Evolutionists tend to regard the behaviour of each species of animals as illustrative of an ethical code relative to that species. Order dominates the Gentoo penguin and Thomson, look on the processes of life as a 'materialized ethical process.' Professor Henry Drummond laid stress on the two great struggles; namely, the struggle for the life of self, and the struggle of the life of other individuals.

Writers on this topic from the point of view of Evolution may be divided into two classes. There are those who, with Professor Huxley, describe the process of Evolution as a gladiatorial show, and nature as 'red in tooth and claw with ravin.' They affirm that the very existence of ethical life depends on the possibility of man's ability to combat the cosmic process. In popular literature, in scientific articles, in learned treatises, it has been affirmed that the animal world consists of a struggle between the individual and the social. The solution of this struggle, in the process of individuation and the acquisition of new dispositions in the individual, are, in turn, the cause of the increase of the period of helplessness and the tend to make the individual more self-sufficient and independent.

Woe to the vanquished!' was put forward as the universal cry. Competition was described as strongest between animals of the same kind, and it was through this competition and the premium on success that species was supposed to advance. On the other hand, there were those who questioned the reality of the struggle, and who questioned whether the struggle for existence occurs, developed it, and painted it in every darker colours, they apparently forgot that he had written in other terms in the *Descent of Man.* In this work he had set the problem before him of tracing the evolution of man from simpler forms of life, and an evolution of all the features of human life, physical, psychological, ethical. Thus he was led to lay stress on the social character of many animals, on their co-operation, on the evolution of sympathy and mutual helpfulness, until in certain parts that kind of struggle which was prominent in the *Origin of Species* tended all but to disappear. The unit in the struggle changes before our eyes; it is no longer the individual who struggles, gains an advantage, it is 'those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members that would flourish best, and rear the greatest number of offspring' (Descent of Man, 163). Even from Darwin's point of view here is a new factor introduced into the struggle for existence. Sympathy, mutual help, or union between members of the same species for the attack or defence, has been recognized as a decisive factor in the evolution of life. The community has taken the place of the individual, and mutual help is as much a fact of life as mutual competition.

While many evolutionists had apparently forgotten that Darwin had set forth the great influence of the social factor in the evolution of higher forms of life, others took up the hint, and have traced the wak and the self-regarding motive as far as to trace mutual helpfulness in the lower forms of life, and their influence on the development of altruistic affections. Nature did not appear to them to be a mere gladiatorial show; it was a sphere of co-operation, in which each was for all, and all for each. They delighted to trace co-operation throughout the sphere of life, they pointed out to men such forms of co-operation as *symbiosis,* as the co-operation of bacteria with wheat, with tree, with insects, and generally they were able to show that, competition notwithstanding, the world was a system that worked together. Then they pointed to the evolution of socialistic tendencies in gregarious animals. They showed us a herd of cattle banded together for defence, with the cows and calves in the centre, and the bulls to the front. They showed us a pack of dogs under the rule of a leader, organized for hunting, with the social order dominating the individual, each individual, with sanctions for obedience and penalties for disobedience. Then they traced for us the evolution of those psychological qualities the ethical character of which we distinctly recognize in self-sacrifice on the part of others. Trust, obedience, recognition of the order of the pack, or of the herd, consciousness of fault and expulsion from the herd if the order is disregarded, are all depicted by those who trace for us the social evolution of life.

Stress has been laid by some on the relation of parents and children, on the care for offspring as the source of social affection; and attention has been called to the fact that a prolonged infancy calls forth a great development of parental care. Man has inherited an instinct which, with the increase of individuation there goes the increase of the period of helplessness in infancy; and thus they are able to indicate an increase of social affection. Still this source of Altruism does not carry us very far, for the relation of parent and offspring is only temporary, and does not form the basis of a lasting relationship.

It is in the aggregation of animals together for mutual benefit that most evolutionists look for the source of Altruism. It is not possible to enter here into the controversy between those who hold that acquired qualities can be transmitted through heredity, and those who maintain that such trans mission has never been proved. It is an important question in itself and its consequences. But
Altruism

For our purpose it is not needful to take a side on this question. For the present purpose, the denial of the possibility of a transmission of acquired qualities has directed attention to, and stimulated inquiry into, the possibility of social transmission of acquired attainments from generation to generation. Is there a tradition among animals? Is there transmission of mental and intellectual gains of a species? Or is the only way of transmission that of organic change inherited from parents by their offspring? We quote the following from Professor J. Mark Baldwin:

"The fact that the whole is the wide operation of imitation in carrying on the habits of certain species; Weismann shows the importance of tradition as against Spencer's claim that the good of the whole is more than the sum of its parts. I have observed in detail the action of social transmission in actually keeping young tows alive and so allowing the perpetuation of the species; and Wesley Mills has shown the imperfection of instinct in many cases, with the accompanying dependence of the creatures upon social, imitative, and intelligent action." He adds: "It gives a transition from animal to human organization, and from biological to social evolution, which does not involve a break in the chain of influences already present in all the evolution of life" (Development and Evolution, 1902, p. 148).

Nurture, imitation, social transmission seem to contribute something in the evolution of the individual life, and especially of the social life among animals. While it is true that a chicken almost before it has shaken itself free from the shell will peck at a fly and catch it, yet there is evidence to show that in other forms of life the young have to learn from parental experience how to spend their time appropriately. In some animals of a kind is given. There is sufficient evidence, at all events, to affirm that the higher animals, whose young need parental care for some time ere they can provide for themselves, have to learn how to make their living. Parent birds teach their young to fly, and teach them to recognize the approach of danger. On this there is no need to dwell, save to remark that in such races of life, where parents and offspring are for a time associated, where parental care for offspring and offspring of parents, there is room and there is need for the exercise of what may be called social affections. Nor need we object to the fact that we find in lower forms of life the germ and the promise of what comes to flower and fruit in self-conscious beings. We know the race of man, that the laws of life are similar in all the ranges of life. It seems to proceed on one plan, and we need not be surprised that rudimentary forms of the higher may be found in the lower layers of life. But the fact is, if we compare the social life of these beings does not appear till we come to self-conscious beings who can look before and after, and reflect on their own experience.

While, therefore, we receive with gratitude the testimony of the students of life to the existence of the germs of social life in the lower spheres of living beings, it must be insisted on here that the advent of self-conscious beings into the world has made a great difference. The advent of rationality has given a new meaning to the phenomena of life as these are manifested in beings like those of man. Appetites, passions, desires, affections are no longer what they were in lower forms of life. Appetite is a different thing in an animal which eats only for the sake of hunger, and drinks only to assuage thirst, from what it is in civilized man, who brings the wealth of his artistic nature and the powers of his memory and imagination to enhance the beauty of his festival. Even into appetite the wealth of his whole nature may enter. If this is the case with appetite, it is still more so with the other emotions, such as fear, desire, and so on. Take surprise, and we find that while we call by the same name the similar phenomena of an animal and a man, yet surprise is relative to the experience of the individual. We are not surprised at railways, telegraphs, telephones, motor cars; these have become the commonplaces of civilization. Thus Comparative Psychology has in all its comparisons to remember what a difference self-consciousness has made in the character of the feelings, and to make allowance accordingly.

Thus in the discussion of Egoism and Altruism, while help of a kind may be obtained from the lower life, they do not carry us very far. In the lower forms of life the individual is sacrificed to the species: in a bee hive the hive seems to be all-in-all, and the individual bees, whatever their function is, are steadily sacrificed to the hive. Numerous intrusions are at hand. But in a human society such a solution must be found that neither shall the individual be sacrificed to the whole nor the whole to the individual. The individual has a claim on the whole for the opportunity of living a full, rich, and gracious life; and society has a claim on the individual for devoted and whole-hearted service.

Looking at the history of our subject, and at the actual history of man, we find many curious things. Early societies steadily sacrificed the individual to the tribal sense, and the individual was made to have any but a tribal consciousness. The discovery of the individual seems to be a late discovery. (The individual must not in any way depart from the custom of the tribe; he must believe their beliefs, follow their customs, and in no way think or act spontaneously. Individual worth and freedom were neither recognized as desirable, nor tolerated, because inimical to the welfare of the tribe. Late in history, and mainly through religious influences, the worth and value of the individual won recognition, human life was recognized as sacred, and freedom found a place amid human worths and interests. In truth, we find in history the pendulum swinging from one extreme to another; now the individual is in bondage to society, and then the individual tends to make society impossible. Here there are long stretches of history where the authority of society dominates the individual, and then a reaction, when men regard the individual worth to society as a thing one, and the social life as mere action and trouble. If one casts his eye back to the beginning of modern philosophy and reads Hobbes and Descartes, and follows out the principle of individualism to the French Revolution, its culminating period in modern history, he will find the struggle between the two, and in simplicity, in all the grandeur of his so-called rights, is the object of all study, the beginning of all speculative thought. He is real, his rights are his own, and he is prepared to defend them against all comers. He is in a state of war, he is a free and independent creature, and if he is to live in society he will do so only when he has made terms with his neighbour. So he makes a social contract, he surrenders so much, and he obtains a guarantee for the other rights. He is supposed to be naturally selfish, egoistic, to regard others only as instruments for his own good.

Looking at man from this point of view, those who hold it are laid under the heavy burden of attempting to derive Altruism from Egoism, and it need hardly be said that they have failed in the task. Altruism can no more be derived from Egoism than Egoism can be derived from Altruism. The truth seems to be that each of them goes down to the very foundations of life, and life must be made bare true or false. If it be true that life comes only from life, then life must be sacrificed in order to produce fresh life. That is Altruism, whether it is conscious Altruism or not. It is vain to ask for the genesis of Altruism, it is as deep as life; it is vain to ask for the beginning of Egoism, for it is
proverbial that self-preservation is the first law of life. In fact we are here, as we are so often, the victims of our own abstractions. We cannot really separate the individual from society, or society from the individual.

It may be well, at this stage, to point out that what we may distinctly call the Ego feelings have also a social reference. In one sense all feelings which refer to the interests of the individual are Ego feelings. Personal pains and pleasures, desires and aversions, exist only for him who feels them. It would on the whole be an improvement in our use of words if we limited the title ‘Ego feelings’ to those feelings which belong to a self-conscious subject, and which depend not upon consciousness, but on self-consciousness. ‘Ego feelings’ thus would mean, not passive pain or pleasure, but feelings actively related to our self-esteem, to our self-assertion, or to any manifestation of the activity of the self by which the impression of its own worth is enhanced. In these feelings the Ego is at once the subject which feels them and the object of which they are qualities.

Limiting Ego feelings to those which thus refer to the self, we observe that it is precisely this reference to self that determines the value of an experience of mental life. We would lose these pleasures and pains if they did not depend largely on being connected with self as their subject. Any worthy achievement, any feat performed, is estimated not by the passive sensations accompanying it, or by the physical endurance, but by the self-feeling which is aroused. The man who does a daring deed, or performs a notable task, has a sense of power and efficiency, and delights in the deed as his own. Men delight in deeds and rejoice in things which are loved, not so much for their inherent worth, as for the fact that the deeds are their own. Our experiences are of value, and we account them of abiding worth, not because they gratify our sensibility, but because we have put so much of ourselves, of our personality, into them. Thus we can never form pleasures into a sum and measure their value quantitatively as Hedonism tries to do. All values in experience are constituted by their reference to self in self-consciousness.

Self-knowledge, self-reverence, self-control, the activity of self in constituting its objects, are thus determining elements in pleasure and pain. The passive pleasures are almost without value; one chooses the nobler part, though the choice may be less certain. A slave may always be able to feel the anxiety, the hardship of the free man, but then a slave can never have the exaltation of self-feeling and self-respect which comes from knowledge and freedom and manhood. It is, then, the reference to self that gives to rational pleasure its distinctive note. But it is next to be observed that even the reference to self has its social aspect. It always refers, even in its most egotistic mode, to a social standard. In fact, the self-feeling of pleasure is a social object, and pleasure in an incommensurable degree. Man sees himself as with the eyes of others. ‘As Nature teaches the spectators to assume the circumstances of the person principally concerned, so she teaches this last in some measure to assume the feelings of spectators’ (Adam Smith, *Moral Sentiments*, p. 39). The self looks at itself from a spectator’s point of view, and estimates itself accordingly. Thus it may have an added misery: social slights, feeling of poverty, looked at from a spectator’s point of view and reflected by the self on itself, enhance the feeling of misery till it may become unbearable. On the other hand, a sense of social appreciation, a looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, may enhance pleasure till it becomes ecstasy. Pride, vanity, ambition, and other Ego feelings of the same kind need the reference to self for their justification, and cannot without the social reference the reference to self would lose its value.

Without the reference to self, values would cease to have a meaning, and pleasure would be merely of the passive sort. As, however, pleasure and pain, the meaning of life and the worth of life, can exist for each person only in his own consciousness, and without the conscious possession of these things a man can never enter into sympathy with others, so a full, broad, intense Ego life is the condition of a full, deep, and wide social life. The chief problem of our life is thus not, as Comte said, ‘to subordinate egoism to altruism,’ but to develop Egoism to its proper proportions, in the belief that the higher and fuller a personality is, the more he has to contribute to the happiness of mankind. Selfishness does not consist in a man valuing himself according to his intrinsic and social worth, but in ignoring or denying the rights, claims, and worth of others: ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.’

Egoistic feelings would lose their value without the social reference. So also the social feelings and the social reference are indispensable to the self to give them value. There is no necessity for any lengthened reference to the abstract man who has figured so picturesquely in philosophical treatises from Hobbes downwards. Nor is he quite dead yet, since this abstract man is a being endowed only with egoistic impulses. Self-preservation is for him the only law of life: his natural life is a state of war. How is such a being to be constrained to live in society? He may be made to save himself from above or from without urging him, by means he does not know, to become social even when his reason compels him to think that selfishness is his highest interest. But usually the way to make a selfish being social is to endow him with a desire for approbation, to make him seek society to win approval, or to make him see that others are needful to him if he is to carry out his purposes; and a wise selfishness takes the form of benevolence. The attempt is very subtle and very penetrating, but it is a failure. Men never became social in that way. They are social from the beginning. All that can be said is that man is naturally selfish and naturally social, and the field for the exercise of Ego feelings and of the social feelings is to be found in society.

Look at the individual from any point of view we please, everywhere we meet the social reference. Begotten by social union, born within society, he grows up within society, and is equipped by society for the battle of life. The achievements of society form his inheritance. Social customs are learned by him before he is aware of the process; social beliefs become his beliefs, thought becomes possible because it is embodied in the social action, in the language of the people with whom the individual lives. In this social sphere the individual lives, here he learns, makes himself heir to the treasures of learning, science, and knowledge, without which individual life would be only rudimentary. A human being in isolation would not be a human being at all.

Jeremy Bentham in the beginning of his *Principles of Morals and Legislation* says, ‘A community is a fictitious body, composed of individual persons who are considered as constituting, as it were, its members,’ It is a characteristic definition. Nor does that phase of thought appear in Jeremy Bentham alone. It is characteristic of the century in which it appeared. No body of any kind is constituted by the members alone. Any unity
has to be looked at from two points of view, and is never the sum of its parts. Regard must be had to the wholeness of the whole as well as to the parts. But society or a people is not a fictitious form of being, nor the sum of its parts, nor yet a social panacea, but simply a means of nourishing the individual.

... Amana, therefore, is neither a political tenet, nor an economic theory, nor yet a social panacea, but simply a means of nourishing the individual; the motive and effects of action are constantly intersecting the boundaries of egoism and altruism" (Paulsen, A System of Ethics [Eng. tr.], pp. 38-4).

Professor Paulsen proceeds to show that every duty towards individual life can be construed as a duty towards others as well. Care of one's own health might appear to be purely selfish, yet on reflection it appears that the possession of good health may add to the happiness of a community.

The ill-humour which results from an improper mode of life is not confined to the guilty person; he is cross and irritable, and his moodiness and moroseness are a source of annoyance to the whole household. In case of serious illness the condition of his sufferer is a matter of concern to all. It is therefore not possible to separate self-interest from the interest of society. The worths, values, and interests of the individual are inseparably bound up with those of society. It is society that gives life, warmth, and colour to the Ego feelings, and as such they are for the latter. The Ego feelings, their intensity and their sweetness, are needed for the vitalization of society. The analogy of the organism holds good with regard to the social organism. But the idea of a social organism as a systematic whole, indeed the idea of a world as a system, cannot exist as long as the individual is conscious of the unity of his individual life as connected with an organism which is a unity. But to pursue this further would open up issues wider than fall to be discussed here. The observation that the individual is a part of the social organism, and that the antithesis between Egoism and Altruism is both misleading and ultimately unanswerable.

It is not our purpose to name, far less to discuss, the various forms of Hedonism. It may be observed, however, that from Butler's time an enlightened self-regard is recognized to be a legitimating form of moral sentiment; while a regard for the welfare of others enters also into all forms of virtue. A rational regard for the welfare of others expresses itself in every one of what by way of title might be called the cardinal virtues; - in courage, temperance, and constancy; in wisdom, justice, truth; in kindness and benevolence. But, again, these virtues are concrete facts which have their being in some individual person. They are not something in the air, or something that has merely an abstract existence. And then, just as they belong to some individual, so they flourish only as he finds himself rooted in society. The higher features of human character, which these virtues possible in the individual, have emerged in human history through the social effort of man. The higher faculties of man, and the virtues evolve with them and through them, grew in him as a social being,—a being who must live with his kind, who works with his mates, who can come to himself and to his fruition only in fellowship with his fellow-men.

The antithesis may be put, finally, in another way. The individual seeks his own good, his own happiness, his own satisfaction; what does he mean by these terms? A desire for good is not a desire for mere pleasant feeling. It is a desire for self-satisfaction, for a better, truer, more real self; for a self which shall approach nearer to that ideal of a self which has been pursued by his predecessors. A wider thought is thereby expressed; a deeper and a purer feeling; a power of activity which shall bring his ideal to reality—these express some aspect of the good a man desires. But it is only through the social bond and by means of social effort that the making of such a self is possible. It is not too much to say that it is only through social effort and through social life that man becomes a living soul.

It is in virtue of the social solidarity of mankind that the individual man enters into the inheritance and obligation of all the past. It is through this social bond of effort that he has subdued the earth and made it his servant. It is in his social life that man has come to the conclusion that he is the crown and sum of things, that the cosmos has toiled and worked upwards towards him, and in him has become conscious of himself and his meaning. In this association man feels that he can make physical powers fetch and carry for him, make the winds his messengers, and harness the lightning to his carriage. It is not necessary to enumerate the social achievements of man. But it is not one of them which has not originated in the thought of a solitary mind, and then become the common possession of many minds. Yet the thought would never have come to the solitary thinker unless he had previously been prepared to think through his social environment, and by the great tradition of the ages. It is on this fact that we lay stress as the reconciliation of Egoism and Altruism, for it is the refutation of the idea which persists in so many quarters of mind that is inherently selfish, and has regard only to his self-interest, that he is naturally egoistic, and altruistic only in a secondary and fictitious fashion.

Even Reason has been so spoken of, and the Synthetic Reason has been described as a selfish, analytic, destructive faculty, as if it were possible to enable its possessor to survive in the struggle for existence.

LITERATURE.—Butler, Sermons; Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments; Darwin, Descent of Man, 1871; H. Spencer, Data of Ethics, 1879; Stephen, Science of Ethics, 1883; Ladd, Philosophy of Conduct, 1892; Macauley, Introduction to Social Philosophy, 1890; Bowne, Introduction to Psychological Theory, 1886; Paulsen, System of Ethics, 1890. See also the works of J. S. Mill, Sidgwick, and Bain; and specially Albee, History of English Utilitarianism, 1890, and Villa, Contemporary Psychology, 1908.

JAMES IVERACH.

AMANA SOCIETY.—The Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration, is an organized community of about 1800 German people who live in seven villages on the banks of the Iowa River in Iowa County, Iowa. This unique society owns 26,000 acres of land, which, together with personal property, is held in common. Indeed, the Amana Society is thoroughly communal both in spirit and in organization. And yet it is in no sense a product of communalistic philosophy. Primarily and fundamentally, so the community is a Church, organized for religious purposes, to work out the salvation of souls through the love of God (Constitution of the Society, Art. I.). The communism of Amana, therefore, is neither a political tenet, nor an economic theory, nor yet a social panacea, but simply a means of
serving God 'in the inward and outward bond of union according to His laws and His requirements' (ib. Art. 1.).

1. History.—As a Church, or distinct religious sect, the Community of True Inspiration traces its origin back to the year 1714 and to the writings of Erhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock, who are regarded as the founders or 'Fathers' of the 'New Spiritual Economy' of True Inspiration. Both Gruber and Rock were members of the Lutheran Church who had become interested in the teachings of the early Mystics and Pietists. Having studied the philosophy of Spener, they endeavored to improve upon and formulate especially the doctrines of that little band of Pietists whose followers during the last quarter of the 17th century, were called 'Inspirationists,' and who are said to have 'prophesied like the prophets of old' (cf. Perkins and Wick, Hist. of the Amana Soc.).

The unique fundamental doctrine of the founders of the 'New Spiritual Economy' was present-day inspiration ("Instruments"); they were simply passive agencies through whom the Lord testified and spoke to His Church (Gruber, Divine Nature of Inspiration).

Divine inspiration did not come, however, to all members of the Community, but only through those who were especially endowed by the Lord with the 'miraculous gift of inspiration.' These especially endowed individuals, called Werkzeuge ("Instruments"), were simply passive agencies through whom the Lord testified and spoke to His Church (Gruber, Divine Nature of Inspiration).

The nature of the 'new word and testimony,' as revealed through the Werkzeuge, and its relation to the earlier revelations, has not yet been clearly set forth by Gruber in these words: 'Its truths are in common with the written word of the prophets and the apostles. It aspires for no preference; on the contrary, it gives the preference to the word of the witnesses first chosen [prophets and apostles] just after the likeness of two sons or brothers, in which case the oldest son has the preference before the younger son who was born after him, though they are both equal and children belong if one and the same father.' Again he says: 'Both the old and the new revelation, of which we here speak, are of divine origin; the testimony is a revelation of the Spirit of God and of Jesus Christ, just as the sons mentioned above are equally children of one and the same father though there exists a slight difference between them' (Gruber, Characteristics of the Divine Origin of True Inspiration).

Not all, however, who aspired to prophecy and felt called upon to testify were to be accorded the privilege. For there were false as well as true spirits. Gruber, who wrote much concerning true and false inspiration, records in his Autobiography his own sensations in detecting the presence of a false spirit:

'This strange thing happened. If perchance a false spirit was among them [the congregation] and wished to sell me to the enemy, dishonestly, or if an members wished to distinguish himself at our meeting in prayer or in some other manner, then I would see a kind of visage upon the face and shivering of the mouth; and it has been proven a hundred times that such was not without significance, but indeed a true warning, whatever the one who is unaided and inexperienced in these matters may deem of it according to his academic precept and literal conclusions of reason' (Articles and Narrations of the Lord, given in Inspirations-Historie, vol. ii. p. 32).

The appearance of false spirits was not uncommon is evidenced by the many instances, given in the Year Books, or Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, where aspiring Werkzeuge are condemned, and by the fact that Gruber's son was 'especially employed [by the Lord] to detect false spirit' and made themselves conspicuous, and to admonish them with earnestness to true repentance and change of heart' (III * ii. 41).

Gruber and Rock, who had 'the spirit and gift of revelation and inspiration . . . went about preaching and testifying as they were directed by the Lord.' They travelled extensively through Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and other European countries, establishing small congregations of followers. They have the 'New Spiritual Economy' and enjoy the blessings of 'True Inspiration' were asked such questions as—

(1) 'Whether he (or she) intends to behave as a true member of the Community of Jesus Christ, and to be called in the inward and external bond of union according to His laws and His requirements?' There is no reason to believe that God has in any way changed His methods of communication; and it is evident that this question is as useful in the earlier as in the latter times. Gruber will lead His people to-day by the words of His Inspiration and the Spirit of Truth (Christ, Gal. 5:17, 20, 24).

Having desired to improve upon and formulate especially the doctrines of that little band of Pietists whose followers during the last quarter of the 17th century, were called 'Inspirationists,' and who are said to have 'prophesied like the prophets of old' (cf. Perkins and Wick, Hist. of the Amana Soc.).

Although the number of congregations established during the time of Rock and Gruber was not large, considerable religious fervor was aroused by their teachings. Moreover, their attacks upon the outer hollowness and formalism of the established Church, and their bold denunciation of the 'godless and immoral lives' of many of the clergy of that day, aroused the antagonism of the orthodox Church to active opposition. They also encountered the opposition of the political authorities, who refused to perform military service or to take the required oath of allegiance. They refused to 'serve the State as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder his enemy, much less his friend.' On the other hand, they refused to take the legal oath as a result of their literal adherence to the commands given in Mt. 5:24-37: 'But I say unto you, Swear not at all; and 'Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.'

Concerning the arrest of himself and his companions, because they would not upon one occasion take the prescribed oath, the younger Gruber, writing in 1717, says: 'Before the city gate the executioner united us in the presence of the sheriff. The latter held in his hand a parchment with the oath written upon it and bade us to raise three fingers and to repeat it. We replied that we should not swear. He urged us forcibly with many threats. The brother (H. B. Glenn) repeated again that we should give a promise with hand raised, and our word should be as good as an oath, yet he would leave us. I said: 'Tell me, brother, whether I should not swear, since our Saviour had forbidden it' (III ii. 124).

Furthermore, both the Church and the Government were irritated by the refusal of the Inspirationists to send their children to the schools which were conducted by the Lutheran clergy. Opposition soon grew into persecution and prosecution. And so the believers in True Inspiration were fined, pilloried, flogged, imprisoned, and stripped of their possessions. In Zürich, Switzerland, 'their literature was by order of the city council burned in public by the executioner' (III i. 65). Naturally, as their persecution became more severe, the congregations of Inspirationists sought refuge in Holland, or in the Low Countries. Amsterdam and Utrecht were the chief centers of this religious sect, which enjoyed a certain measure of toleration in the German states of the 18th century.
his native country. In the year 1714, when he counted 5 times 7 years, so fast came to him the gift of the Spirit of and Prophecy, and he made until 1742, in 4 times 7 years, over 100 lesser and great journeys in this service. In the year 1728, when he was 7 times 7 years old, he lost his faithful brother, E. L. Gruber. And in 1742, with 9 times 7 years, he ceased to travel into distant countries and spent the remaining 7 years (of his life) largely at home' (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, 1749).

With the death of Rock in 1749 the congregations of the spirit of prophecy were soon founded, and under the name of 'Ebenezer Society' began to decline. Left without a Werkzeug, the members relied chiefly upon the writings and testimonies of Rock and Gruber for guidance and spiritual consolation.

"At the beginning of the 19th cent. but few of the once large congregations remained; even these few had fallen back into the ways of the common world, more or less, preferring the easy-going way to the trials and tribulations suffered by their fathers' (Noe, Brief Hist. of the Amana Soc., or Community of True Inspiration, Amana, Iowa, 1800, p. 6).

The decline continued until 1817, when it is recorded a new age and period dawned for the Community' (I H i. 429), and that 'Michael Kraussert was the first Werkzeug which the Lord employed for the now commencing revival.'

The Revival, or 'Awakening,' or 'Reawakening' of 1817, and from which the settlement at Ronneburg, whose first inspired utterance was given to the congregation at Ronneburg on September 11, 1817, as a summons in these words: 'Oh Ronneburg, Ronneburg, where are thy former champions, the old elders of faith! They no longer are at your present day, and affections dear in the cladded. Well, then! Do ye not desire to become strong? The eternal power is offered to you' (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, 1817).

Michael Kraussert was a journeyman tailor of Strassburg, who had been converted to the faith of the Inspirationists through the writings and testimonies of Rock. With great zeal and much religious fervour he seems to have played an important part in the 'Reawakening. And yet it is recorded that he lacked courage in the face of persecution; that 'at the arrest and subsequent examination at Bergzabern he showed fear of men and resulting weakness'; that in the presence of hostile elders he 'became timid and undecided, as if dumb, and even fell silent in the cladded'; and that 'through such fear of men and reluctance for suffering he lost his inner firmness in the mercy of the Lord, went gradually astray from the Divine guidance, and soon fell back into the world' (I H iii. 34, 429).

After the 'fall' of Kraussert (whose connexion with the Inspirationists was therewith severed), the spiritual affairs of the Community were directed by the Werkzeuge Christian Metz and Barbara Heinemann, who came to be regarded as the founders and leaders of what was sometimes called in the records the 'New Community.'

When Michael Kraussert, Christian Metz, and Barbara Heinemann appeared as Werkzeuge at the time of the 'Reawakening, a century had elapsed since the Schuyler and Rock preached the doctrines of the 'New Spiritual Economy.' But the persecution of independents in religious thought had not ceased; and so these new prophets were repeatedly arrested, and their followers 'were attacked and beaten, and driven from the streets and elsewhere' (I H iii. 70).

As a century before, so now the growing congregations of Inspirationists sought refuge in Hesse, where on October 31, 1831, it is recorded, 'the Lord sent a message to the Grand Duke of Hesse - Darmstadt as a promise of grace and blessing because he had given protection to the Community in his country' (I H iii. 96). It was at this time that the far-sighted Christian Metz conceived the idea of leasing some large estate in common which should serve as a refuge for the faithful, where each could be given an opportunity to earn his living according to his calling or inclination.

And so, in the year 1836, it came about through the mediation of the Landrath of Büdingen that a part of the castle at Marienborn was given in rent by the noble family of Meierholz, which was very convenient for the Community, since it lay near Ronneburg, the home of the principal elders (I H iii. 68).

In all, four estates were rented, and to the administration of these four estates, located within a radius of a few miles and placed under one common management, are traced the beginnings of the communitarian life of the Inspirationists. Communism, however, formed no part of their religious doctrines. It was simply a natural development out of the conditions under which they were forced to live in their efforts to maintain the integrity of their religion. Under a common roof they hoped to live happily and peaceably, the true Christian life. And so rich and poor, educated and uneducated, professional man, merchant, manufacturer, artisan, farmer, and labourer met together as a religious brotherhood to worship and to labour together.

But independence and prosperity were not yet fully won. The day of complete religious and economic freedom for which they hoped had not come. Cherished liberties relative to military service, legal oaths, and separate schools were still denied. Rent became exorbitant, while excessive heat and drought destroyed the harvests.

It was in the midst of their depression that the Lord revealed through His instrument, Christian Metz, that He would lead them out of this land of adversity to one where they and their children could live in peace and liberty' (Noe, Brief History, p. 15). Indeed, this 'hidden prophecy,' uttered by Christian Metz on May 20, 1826, was now recalled: 'I proceed in mysterious ways, saith thy God, and my foot is seldom seen openly. I found my dwelling in the depths, and my path leadeth through great waters. I prepare for me a place in the wilderness, and establish for me a dwelling where there was none' (Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, so at the close of the first chapter, as pointing the way to America. And so there was much discussion concerning emigration to the wildernesses of the New World. Finally, there came through the Werkzeug, Christian Metz, these words from the Lord: 'Your goal and your way shall lead towards the west, to the land which is still open to you and your faith. I am with you, and shall lead you over the sea. Hold Me and call upon Me through your prayers when storms or temptations arise. . . . Four may then prepare for yourselves' (I H iv. 26-29). Christian Metz and three others were named through inspiration to visit America; and they were given 'full power to act for all the members, and to purchase land where they deemed best' (Noe, Brief History, p. 15).

After a voyage of many hardships and privations, the committee of Inspirationists reached New York City on October 29, 1842. After three months of careful deliberation they purchased a tract of five thousand acres of the Seneca Indian Reservation lands in Erie County, New York. During the three months of the purchase the first village of the Community was laid out and peopled. They called it Ebenezer.

Other villages were soon founded, and under the name of 'Ebenezer Society' the Community was

* Hereafter referred to as TSL.
formally organized with a written constitution. It is recorded that during the 'planting and building of the new home' the Lord 'gave precepts, directions, and explanations concerning the external and internal affairs of that time' through Brother Christian Metz.' Since the death of Barbara Landmann no Werkzeug has been called in the Community; but, as in the previous years, the Community brought enthusiasm, industry, moral earnestness, and religious zeal.

The first village on the Iowa purchase was laid out during the summer of 1855. 'The time had come,' writes Gottlieb Bleibtreu in his History of the Community, 'that the new settlement in Iowa was to receive a name.' When the Community emigrated from Germany and settled near Buffalo in the State of New York, the Lord called that place Ebeenezer, that is, 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.' New He again led them out from there to a new place, which, as the work proceeded, was to be called Bleibtreu. 'This had been laid into the heart of the Werkzeug, Christian Metz, who later poured it forth in a song beginning thus:

'Bleibtreu soll der Kanne sein.
Dort in Iowa der Gemeins.'

Since, however, it was difficult to express this word or name in English, it was proposed instead to use the Biblical name Glaspur (Amana). The name Glaspur or Glaspur 'believe faithfully' (cf. Song of Sol. 4), to this, it is recorded, the Lord gave His approval in a song on September 23, 1855. Henceforth the new home of the Community was known as Amana (1855).

The removal from the old home to the new, from Ebeenezer to Amana, covered a period of ten years. In addition to the first village, which was laid out in 1855, additional villages were laid out by the year 1862—West Amana, South Amana, High Amana, East Amana, and Middle Amana. This was at this time that the Society, in order to secure railroad facilities, purchased the small village of Homestead. Twelve hundred members had come from Ebeenezer; and by the time the sale of the Ebeenezer Lots had been completed, the Community's territory in Iowa consisted of twenty-six thousand acres.

In the year 1859 the Community was incorporated in accordance with the laws of the State of Iowa under the name of 'The Amana Society.' The Constitution, which was also revised, came into force on the first day of January, 1860. This instrument is a 'Declaration of Mental Independence,' or a scheme for a 'One World-wide Socialistic Fraternal Brotherhood,' but a very simple, business-like document of ten articles.

On July 27, 1867, six years after the establishment of the last of the seven Iowa villages, and two years after the sale and the removal of the last detail of the Community to the new home in the West, Christian Metz, the so hoch begabte und begnadigte brother, 'through whom the weightiest and greatest things were wrought and accomplished,' was, after fifty years of effort and labour, recalled from the field of his endeaveur at the age of 72 years, 6 months, and 24 days (III ii. 878).

Half a century—the most eventful years of the Community's inspiring history—bridges the interval between the 'Days of the Revolution.' Then the rapid growth of the city of Buffalo (only five miles distant) caused such an advance in the price of real estate that the purchase of additional land to accommodate the growing Community became necessary. And, finally, it became evident that the young people of the Community were too near the worldly influence of Buffalo to persevere in the injunction of Gruber, who said: 'Have no intercourse with worldly minded men, that ye be not tempted and led astray.'

And so a committee was directed to go to the new State of Iowa, and there inspect the Government lands which were for sale. Out of one of the garden spots of Iowa they selected and purchased eighteen thousand acres of contiguous land.

A better selection for the new home could scarcely have been made. Through it meandered the beautiful Iowa River, bordered by the black soil of its fertile valley. On one side of the valley the bluffs and uplands were wooded, and on the other side the river stretched the rolling prairie land. To this splendid new domain, all ready for the men, the women and children, the Community moved, under the guidance and leadership of the 'Lord.'

After the death of Christian Metz 'the work of grace' was carried on by Barbara Heinemann, now Landmann (who lost her gift at the time of her marriage in 1829, but regained it in 1844 and retained it to the time of her death at the age of ninety), and by the elders in whom the 'Lord manifested Himself so strongly and powerfully during the last illness of Brother Christian Metz.' Since the death of Barbara Landmann no Werkzeug has been called in the Community; but, as in the
period following the death of Rock, 'well founded Brethren endowed with divine mercy, who are still living witnesses of the great blessing of Inspiration, carry on the work of the Lord in the Community.' How long the coming generations will 'fill the widening gap' with no Werkzeuge for their spiritual guidance, and with the shaking of the link in the 'perpetuating of the faith and regeneration of mankind,' which binds them to the past with its inspiring history, 'is ordained only in the hidden counsel of God.'

2. Religion.—Although communions may appear to the casual observer to be the most characteristic feature of the Amana Society, a careful study of the history and spirit of the Inspirationists reveals the fact that the real Amana is Amana the Church — Amana the Community of True Inspiration. Religion has always been the dominating factor in the history of the Community.

The basic doctrine of the Amana Church is present-day inspiration and revelation. That is, to use the words of the Werkzeuge Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, 'God is ever present in the world, and He will fill all days as in old times by the words of His Inspiration if they but listen to His voice.' Indeed, it is the belief of these people that, ever since the beginning of the 'New Spiritual Economy,' the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Community has been inspired under Divine direction according to the 'decisive word of the Lord' as revealed through His specially endowed instruments the Werkzeuge. And so it appears throughout their history that in all important undertakings and changes, nay in the very undertakings and changes of the Community, the Werkzeud had to bear the bulk of the burden and care, since the Lord ordained and directed everything through him directly.

Thus Divine inspiration and revelation came through the Werkzeuge. Perhaps the best exposition of the nature of Inspiration, as understood by the Inspirationists, is found in Eberhard Ludwig Gruber's Die Nature of Inspiration, where, in reply to the charge that he was an 'instrument of the Devil,' he sets forth his own 'convictions' as follows.

1. Right-handedly and without test and experience come the approval of these things.
2. Only those persons, although being at first adverse to me, have not in the least troubled me, nor aroused and stirred my emotions, as certainly would have happened to some extent if they had originated from a wicked and dark spirit.
3. Because I have not been hindered thereby in the usual quiet way to turn to Inspiration.
4. Because during such a deep and earnest self-examination all sciences and objections to this must have occurred, without effort on my part, so completely removed and dispersed that not one remained which irritated me or which I could not comprehend.
5. Because such prayer, which was absolutely without prejudice in the matter, has again won for me the precious gift of tears, which had become almost unknown to me.
6. Because the assemblies of prayer recommended by the Spirit, and up to that time vainly attempted to implore the gift of Divine mercy and assistance were established in my heart, and I indeed was made willing and confident to throw myself behind me, and to take upon me all the disgrace and suffering of this service, often confirming my faith under tests and trials which are not mentioned here, but known to God and all others.
7. Because the inner word was laid open and led forth from the depths of my heart, whither no divine creature, much less a satanic spirit, could reach, deeper and more abundantly than I ever possessed it before.

Because those inner emotions known to me from youth, have now become stronger and more powerful, for they held me back from some evil deed, or encouraged and urged me to some good act.

Because they of the inner emotions) last with certainty reveal to me the presence of hidden false spirits rising against me or others.

Because in all this I do not found my conclusions on the inspiration alone, as may be the case with others, but upon the undeniable work of God in my soul. With this long years out of sheer mercy, and which under this new economy and revival is becoming ever more powerful.

Because my son, together with me, who now has been brought into a state of deepest repentance and wholesome anxiety of mind through the powerful Testimony of the Spirit in the inspired persons.

Because the Word of the Lord was unsealed to him (the son) by the very first emotions (of the inspired one).

Because the Spirit of Inspiration promptly appeared, as when it had been foretold that a certain married woman (die Mel- chiorin) would testify on the day mentioned in Heimberg.

Because my son came to testify (make utterance) with great fear and trembling, nay even through the severest struggle, and surely not through his wish and vain desire.

Because he was enabled and compelled in his first testimony, as a forerunner of the future, to denote with great certainty an inspirable spirit, to the inexcuseable by the gift, letter.

Because he (the son) was led in these ways of Inspiration, contrary to inclination and habit of his youth, to deep introspection and seclusion, and was also endowed with many extraordinary gifts of mercy.

Because he made, far beyond his natural abilities, such pure, clear, and penetrating statements (utterances) that many well learned in divine and sacred things were startled.

According to the belief of the Community of True Inspiration, the word and will of the Lord are communicated to the faithful through the specially endowed Werkzeuge, whose inspired utterances are in fact the Bezeugungen, that is, the Testimonies of the Lord. These are either written or oral. The gift of oral prophecy or testimony (Aussprache), being regarded as the highest form of inspiration, was not enjoyed by all the Werkzeuge. Indeed, the 'miraculous gift of Aussprache' was sometimes preceded by the humbler gift of Einsprache, when the Werkzeug, unable to give voice to his inspiration, committed his testimonies to writing. Thus the 'specially endowed' Werkzeug, Christian Metz, seems to have entered upon the 'service of the Lord' with only the gift of Aussprache, which was later followed by the combined gift of Einsprache and Aussprache, and still later by the combined gifts of Einsprache and Aussprache. Sometimes the Werkzeuge were deprived of the gracious gifts of Einsprache and Aussprache, which were restored on or after a period of God's severe purifying.

The inspired testimonies of the Werkzeuge, as recorded in the Year Books, or Testimonies of the Spirit of the Lord, vary in length from a few sentences to many pages. Some were uttered in rhyme; and there are instances where a testimony is given through two Werkzeuge speaking alternately. Under the date of Jan. 12, 1819, such a testimony was given by Michael Krausser and Barbara Heinemann (TSL, 1819). From the records it appears that testimonies were addressed sometimes to the whole congregation of the Community, and sometimes to individual members.

As to content, the Testimonies touch a great variety of subjects, from the routine affairs of daily existence to impassioned admonitions to live the holy life. Many contain promises of the love and mercy of the Lord. Others take the form of appeals of the 'God of Salvation' for more spiritual life. Some are warnings against Lichtenstein, pride, and the 'sinner's pride; and especially are the selbstdändig and eigenmächtig learned against the wrath of God, and all the vengeful denunciations of the wicked, and there are threats of 'the judgment, the wrath of God,' and the 'glorying abyss' for those who do not repent.

But many more there are that teach and instruct to obedience to the will of the Lord, self-denial, and repentance. Throughout, the testimonies suggest a wide familiarity with the Bible language of the spiritual world.

The testimony of Christian Metz, given as a warning and admonition to Kraussert, is typical of the utterances of the Werkzeuge. It runs thus:

'Thus speaketh the eternal God: I will give a word of testimony to my servant Kraussert, who knoweth not now how to
begin, so bewildered he is. But listen, then. What hath
prompted thee to act and deal thus according to thine own
inclinations? Thou hast run before thou wast sent away, saith
the Almighty God of Love. Alas, how troubled is thy spirit
that thou hast failed thus, and dost not want to be found again!
Oh, do thou give me to know the title of brotherhood which I have established, and which I have
again strengthened through thee. Thou runnest about thus,"A man who has hallowed
him to his flock and deserted. Is this the true faithful
ness of the shepherd? Do faithful servants act thus, when the
wild beast is baying, howling into the great valley, and we
ward off harm?... Canst thou, then, say that I have deserted
thee? And when thou hast deserted thee, and a trembling of
tiny weakness is felt for holy unity, how long wilt thou
alone? Have I not ever helped thee again and satisfied thee?
Hear, then, what the God of Eternal Love furthermore
teacheth thee; Thou wast in thine office as a shepherd, and thou
doest not sufficiently submit thyself in to my will; thou hast
become too self-willed, and thou dost not want to heed the
others, whom, too, I have summoned, and through whom I
instruct thee. Alas, I do not wish to make known and have
recorded all that I have to record against thee, saith the
mighty God. But, nevertheless, thou shalt never succeed in
the latter if you returnest not soon and quickly again in
and to the training of my love, and dost not more carefully tend my
flock at present. Oh, I still love thee and see thee in thine
everlasting state; return, then, and care more diligently for the
souls whom I have called.

In the end, and always have helped thee! Why,
then, dost thou lose courage now and desert ere thou wast sent
away? Hath it ever been heard of, that my witnesses whom I have
brought to a true love of self, and to a positive charity and thus believed the
they knew no fear? And though the whole world should rise
sail, and a trembling of terror is felt for holy unity, how long
should we be so weak that they could hardly stand on their feet,
I will still be their God and their mighty protector, if they trust
me as they trust now; but may I take no pleasure at all in thy present
action of course.

'Alas, my soul is troubled that the wild beasts have broken in
through thee,' saith the Lord. But, too, turn a hireling and scatter
the sheep which I so miraculously have led together, saith the
mighty God. Also, return then again and lead them on as
a faithful servant and shepherd; with the staff of the true love of
the shepherd seize firmly upon faith; then will I assist thee again
and be thy inward peace, thy simplicity. Sure is my utterance to this punishment, for it is my will that it may be
known known that no mortal may boast of his import-
ance.' (Psa. 119.)

The giving or uttering of oral testimonies by the
Werkzeug seems to have been accompanied by a
more or less violent shaking of the body (Bewege-
zung), which is described by one of the scribes in
the words:

'With regard to the Bewegungen, the Werkzeug were not
alike; although they were all moved by one Spirit, there was
considerable difference in regard to their different communicants or
convulsions. When they had to announce punishments and judg-
ments, it did not with great force, many gestures, strong motions, and with a
true voice of thunder, especially if this occurred on the public streets or in churches.
But in order to speak of the true love of God and the glories,
the children of God, then their motions were gentle and the gestures pleasing; but all, and in all attitudes assumed by them,
speaking or when they had, some time previously experienced the
Bewegung, a feeling of its approach. Again they were especially
done in all their gestures, and by night, and sometimes
when they were aroused from their slumber, and had to testify
frequently on the public highways, in fields and forests. In
short, they were instruments in the hands of the Lord, and
had no control over themselves.

'Violent as the commotions of the body were, still
they did no harm to the body; on the contrary, the said
and often as remedies if the Werkzeug were ill, as on the occasion of
the Werkzeug on a journey by seriously ill at Hall, Saxon,
and was very weak in body, when he suddenly, to the
terror of those present, was seized with violent convulsions and had to testify. In the utterance he received orders to start
the journey, at which all were surprised. After the testimony the
Werkzeug arose and was well the very moment, and on the
Werkzeug departed.' (Psa. 119.)

The belief in the genuineness and Divine nature of the
Beweegungen is set forth in an account of an
interesting interview which took place between the
younger Gruber and his Schreiber and two Jewish
Brothers who werecoming at Frankfort. This
which is recorded under the date of Jan. 30, 1716,
is a comparison of the manner of prophesying by the
Werkzeug of the Inspirationists and the old
Hebrew prophets. It reads in part:

O Lord, prepare our heart and question us.
This is the reason why I have recorded the happenings.
They asked, in the first place, where we had our home. Answer:
No, sir, I do not know; I do not know. Then they asked:
Are we Christian and Jews. I denounce ourselves Christians. They said they believed that,
and that they knew full well that not all are Christians who call
themselves Christians, just as, among themselves, not all were
Jews who called themselves Jews; and that they asked only for
the sake of the outer distinction. Thereupon I replied that
one of the Werkzeug had been reared in the Reformed Church, the other among
the Lutherans. They asked: Which of you is, then, the Prophet
and the Lord? I pointed to the father of the
(bewegt) to rule and master your thoughts.

IV. Without, to avoid all unnecessary words, and still to
study silence and quiet.
V. To abandon self, with all its desires, knowledge, and power.

VI. Do not criticize others, either for good or evil, either to yourself or to others. They contain yourself, remain at home, in the house and in your heart.

VII. Do not disturb your serenity or peace of mind—hence the absence of sorrow.

VIII. Live in love and pity towards your neighbour, and into this the one who is not thus disposed. So will you understand.

IX. Be honest and sincere, and avoid all deceit and even secretiveness.

X. Say every word, thought, and deed as done in the immediate presence of God, in sleeping or waking, eating, drinking, and give him at once an account of it, to see if it is for your good or for your evil.

XI. Be in all things sober, without levity or laughter, and without vain and idle words, deeds, or thoughts, much less levity toward the opposite sex, or in anything that is against nature.

XII. Never think or speak of God without the deepest reverence due to love and love, and therefore deal reverently with all spiritual things.

XIII. Bear in inward and outward sufferings in silence, complaining only to God; and accept all from Him in deepest reverence and obedience.

XIV. Notice carefully all that God permits to happen to you in your inward and outward life, in order that you may not fail to comprehend His will and to be led by it.

XV. Never do anything to lose your health, and particularly with new things, which may not be advantageous to you.

XVI. Have no intercourse with worldly-minded men; never see, hear, nor speak with strangers, and never without need; and then not without fear and trembling.

XVII. Therefore, what you have to do with such men, do in haste and time in perfect places and worldly society, lest you be tempted and led away.

XVIII. Fly from the society of women-kind as much as possible, and especially from that which near and far is ungodly.

XIX. Avoid obedience and the fear of men; these are death to the soul, for they permit life to be corrupted, which is the instruction of God.

XX. Sinners, weddings, feasts, avoid entirely; at the best there is sin.

XXI. Be constantly practise abstinence and temperance, so that you may be as wakeful after eating as before.

The 'Twenty-four Rules for True Godliness' appear as a part of a lengthy testimony in which the Lord commands a renewal of the Covenant. In these words the face of God himself shines from the presence of the holy angels and of the members of your community, which ceremony is still observed in the community by shaking hands with the presiding elder in open meeting. The concluding paragraph of the admonitory introduction and the 'Twenty-four Rules for True Godliness' are as follows:

Hear then what I say unto you. I, the Lord your God, am holy; and therefore ye, too, shall be and become a holy community. Do abide in godliness therefore you shall henceforth resolve.

And all subliterate out of your hearts, that they may no longer befool you and mislead further to idolatry against your God, that He name be not defamed and He go no more in your thoughts and with the narrowest and the innermost.

II. I desire that ye shall have nourished in common with the fruitless works of darkness; neither with the grave sins, and sinner, nor with the subtle within and without you. For a relationship and likeness hath My holy temple with the temples of pride, unchastity, ambition, and seeking for power, and of the useless, superfuous, condensing prattling, which steals time away from me? How could the light unite with the darkness? How can ye as children of the light unite with the ungodly, the lies and their works, the scoffers and blasphemers, who are nothing but darkness?

Ye shall henceforth in your external life conduct yourselves so that those standing without find no longer cause for sports and for defaming of my name. Rather suffer without if ye are abused. But above all let your friends and your associates be such as hinder you from growing in godliness. All mockers and scoffers those who recommend you unto vanity, ye shall shun, and have no dealings with them.

Ye shall also perform your earthly task the longer and the more diligently the day to day according to your conscience, and gladly desist from that which My Spirit showeth you to be sinful—very, very long, for I am the Lord, Who can and will care and provide for the needs of my children, and this ye may not give cause to censure to the scoffer. The time is very near, very, very near, therefore, see to it well that My hand may bring forth and create a new man within you.

III. Ye are warned you, be far from you all falseness, lying, and hypocrisy. For I say unto you that I will give the spirit of discernment to them that are open to me in your households, and Him and the Spirit of Prophecy, and that ye shall cast away metal and metal be together? Would it not make for me a useless vessel, which is not necessary? But let my household have to cast away with the refuse? Behold, my children, I have chosen you before you were many, many, and have promised to be unto you a fiery, a recherche, against the defence of your inner and outer enemies.

Verily! Verily! I shall keep My promises, if ye only endeavours to fulfill what ye have promised and are promising.

IV. Ye shall, therefore, none of you, strive for particular gifts, and envy the one or the other. Let your concern be to see if ye shall let yourselves be prepared in humility and patience according to my will. Then ye, too, shall speak with tongues different from the tongues ye now speak. For thus the gift of prayer or maybe of wisdom. For such the enemy of My glory seeketh ever to instil into you, especially into the inward and outward mind to the cross, and is destructive to the soul. Ye shall, all, all, all of you be filled with My pure and spirit wind which shall not depart, as if ye shall let yourselves be prepared in humility and patience according to my will. Then I shall be able to communicate with you most intimately.

VII. Put aside henceforth all backbiting, and all malice of the heart toward others, and to keep faithfulness and sincerity. None of you are free from it. Behold I shall command the Spirit of My love, that He, as often as ye assemble for prayer, be not the true simplicity of heart and life, but the seignior mists with His influence and may flow through the channels of His love into the hearts he finds wanting. Then I shall be able to communicate with you most intimately.

VIII. Ye must make yourselves willing for all outer and inner suffering. For Satan will not cease to show unto you and to you on the contrary, reveal myself ever more powerful, more power. It is also pleasing to Me and absolutely necessary for you that ye be tried through continuous sorrow, suffering, and the cross and bowing of your will. This shall be the tie with which ye can bind and hold Me. Behold I accept you this day as slaves of My will, as a nation under My Lordship, to a fulfilling growth My seed, which I have concealed therein.

XI. Behold, My people! I make with you this day a covenant which I bid you to keep faithfully and sincerely. I will daily wander amongst you and visit your place of rest, that I may see how ye are disposed toward Me.

XII. Guard yourselves and turn you against indifference towards this covenant of grace and against neglect, indifference, snobbery, and lazziness, which turns away most part your rulers and have controlled your heart. I shall not depart from your side nor from your midst, but shall Myself, on the contrary, reveal Myself ever more powerful, holier, and more glorious through the light of My face in and amongst you, as long as ye will bring forth to Me the riches and silver bowers of your hearts.

XIV. Your children, ye who have any, ye shall endeavour with all your power to nurture in Me and lead to Me. I shall give you in abundance, if ye only keep close to Me inwardly, wisdom, courage, understanding, bravery, and earnestness mingled with love, that ye yourselves may be able to live before them in the fear of God, and that your training may be blessed, that is, in those who wish to submit to My hand inwardly through Me. But those who scorn you and do not heed My voice, in and through you and otherwise, shall have their blood drawn upon their associations, with which you and with your children and dwell day by day. See therefore to this, that ye prove ye only heads and glory of My household which, however, always stand under their faithful Head, your King, in that ye may bring your help-mates to true conduct and fear of God through your words and your actions, and thereby strive to make ever more faultless, more earnest, and many.

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XV. Do now your part as I command you from without and frequently inwardly through My Spirit; do not desist, just as if ye never were called by Me. Whosoever thou art, whithersoever thou be abide in My grace and save your souls. And such women and children shall hear the fruits of their sins as do not wish to bow them when they are abused, and for which ye shall find no longer tolerate those grave offences among you and the rest, that is, if ye will to see the fruits which ye have sinned in and through Me. The dew of blessing shall flow from the blessed head of your High Priest and Prince of Peace into your houses and shall dwell upon you and into your help-mates, and through both man and wife into the offering and children, so that all your
seed shall be acceptable, pure, and holy before the Lord, since
HeHimself hath nourished and will nourish the same among you.

XXVII. And none of your grown-up children shall be per-
mitted to attend meetings who have not previously re-
ceived from their parents a good testimony according to the
testimony, without self-deception, as also among the
elders and leaders, especially from the one who with his
fellow-workers hath to watch over the training of the children,
who cried, and called upon the Lord, and did not do it without severity and harshness. This training is to be watched
closely with all earnestness, and should the parents be neglecting
and the case require it, then shall the latter be temporarily
excluded [from the prayer meetings] for their humiliation.

XXVIII. And as the people whom I have established for an
eternal monument to Me, and whom I shall impress upon
My heart as an eternal seal, so that the Spirit of My
living Father will be with you and within you, and work according
to His desire.

And this is the word which the Lord speaketh of these
strangers who so often visit you and cause so much
disturbance. None whom ye find to be a scoffers, hypocrite,
mocker, sinner, derider, and unexpecting sinner, shall ye
admit to your community and prayer meetings. Once for
all they are to be excluded, that My refreshing dew and the
content of My special grace may dwell among you. But if some should come to you with
honest intentions, who are not known scoffers, hypocrites,
and deriders, though it be that they have come of the
world, if, as to your knowledge doth not come with deceitful
intentions, or will not own it, I shall give you My
faithful servants and witnesses, especially the spirit of
discrimination, and give you an exact feeling whether they are
sincerely and come with honest intentions or otherwise.

XXIX. If they then desire to visit you more frequently, ye shall
acquaint them with their proper offices in your Community, ask them whether
they will submit to these rules and to the test of the elders.
And then ye shall read to them My laws and commandes, who is
that ye see that they are earnestly concerned about their souls, then ye shall gladly receive the
weak, and become weak with them for a while, that is, ye shall,
with the help of My Spirit, repent of their repentence of their own.
But if a scoffer or mocker declare that he repenteth,
he ye shall admit only after considerable time and close
scrutiny and examination of his conduct, if ye find the latter
to be righteous. For Satan will not cease to try to launch you
at your back against such people. He therefore shall be your
watch, and watch lest the wolf come among you and seize you,
and destroy the sheep.

XXX. And those who pledge themselves with hand and
mouth after the aforesaid manner to you shall make public
proclamation before the community, and also make an open
profession of their resolve, and I shall indeed show you if this
latter cometh from their hearts; the conduct of those ye shall
watch closely, whether they live according to their profession
and promise or not, lest the dragon defile your garments.

XXXI. Ye shall not form a habit of anything of the
external exercises (forms of worship) and the duties committed
to you; or I shall be compelled to forbid them again.
On the contrary, your meetings shall make you live call of the
more earnest, more zealous, in the true simple love towards
each other, and be united to the Prince of Peace,
immanuel.

XXXII. This the members and brethren of the community
shall sincerely and honestly pledge with hand and mouth to
My Head to the Assembly, after they have carried, that they have considered it, and it shall be kept sacred ever after’ (TSL,
1831–1835).

The records it appears that the members of the Community of True Inspiration are graded
spiritually into three orders (Abtheilungen) according
to the degree of their piety. Ordinarily, the spiritual
rank of the individual is determined by age,
since piety increases with years of sincere
regeneration and striving for the true humility of spirit. Nevertheless, it remains for
the Great Council of the Brethren at the yearly
spiritual examination to judge of the spiritual
condition of the members irrespective of age, and
to take out of the middle order, here and there,
come into the first, and out of the third into the
second, not according to favour and prejudice, but
garding to their grace and conduct’ (The Supper
of Love and Remembrance of the Suffering and
Death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for
1865). Moreover, reduction in spiritual rank
follows the loss of piety, or as a punishment for
evil doing. During the days of the Werkezeuge
this spiritual classification of the members into
Abtheilungen was made with ‘great accuracy’
through Inspiration.

There are three important religious ceremonies
which are observed by the Community of True
Inspiration with great solemnity. These are the
renewing of the covenant (Bundesschliessung), the
spiritual examination (Untersuchung oder Unter-
redung), and the Lord’s Supper or Love-feast
(Liebeschmahl).

Formerly the ceremony of renewing the covenant
(Bundesschliessung) was appointed and arranged
by the Werkezeuge; but it is recorded in IH iii.
722 that in 1863, when the annual common Thank-
giving Day [ordinarily the last Thursday of
November] of the land came round, the Lord gave
direction through His Word that henceforth this
day should annually be observed solemnly in the
Community of Volunteers, as it has been
ever since and is still observed.’ Every member of
the Community, and every boy and girl fifteen years
of age or more, take part in this ceremony.

Following the usual religious exercises of hymn,
silent prayer, reading from the Bible, and an
exhortation by the head elder, the elders pass in
turn to the head elder, who gives them a solemn
shake of the hand, signifying a renewed allegiance
and the faith, and a pledge to ‘cleave unto the ways
of the Lord, that they may dwell in the land
which the Lord sware unto their fathers.’ Then
the brethren one by one and according to age
and spiritual rank, come forward and similarly pledge
themselves by shaking the hand of the head
erlier and his associates. Finally, the sisters
come forward, and in the same manner renew
their allegiance to the work of the Lord.

The spiritual examination (Untersuchung), which
is held annually, seems to be based upon the words
of the Bible (Ja 53), which say, ‘Let no faults
be taken from another, and pray one for another,
that ye may be healed.’ It serves as a prepara-
tion for the Love-feast (Liebeschmahl) which follows.

This ceremony of confession, with its sanctification
and purification to be performed by every man,
woman, and child in the Community. It is now
conducted by the first brethern, although formerly
it was the office of the Werkezeuge to ask the
appropriate questions and to judge of the
spiritual condition of each individual. Nor did
the Werkezeuge hesitate to condemn the short-
comings of the members as revealed in this
examination. And frequent were the exhortations
to holier living, such as: ‘Oh that ye were not
only fruitful in the external, and that your eyes
were directed inward! Pray the Lord your
salvation, and live more sincerely for the true
spirit of humility’ (TSL, 1845).

Through the Untersuchung the people of the
Community were prepared for the most elaborate
and solemn of all the ceremonies of the Inspir-
ations, namely, the Lord’s Supper or Love-Feast
(Liebeschmahl), which is now celebrated but once
in two years. A special feature of the Love-feast as
carried out by the Community of True Inspiration
in the Westphalian Assembly. The ceremony is observed
at this time by the higher spiritual orders. Gottlieb
Scheuner, the scribe, records, in reference to a
particular Love-feast, the following:—

*The entire membership, excluding the young people under
15, was divided into three classes according to the conviction
and insight of the brethren and the Werkzeug (Barbara Landmann) concerning the spiritual state of the respective people. Likewise the servants for the foot-washing, for the breaking of the bread, and for the distribution of bread at the supper, as well as the singers and scribes, had to be chosen and arranged. The number of servants had to be determined in proportion to the great membership. Thus there were appointed for the foot-washing at the first Love-feast, 13 brethren and 6 sisters... Likewise 13 brethren and 4 sisters were chosen. Besides those, the best singers among the brethren, and from the respective class selected and were joined to the leaders, so that the whole choir consisted of 20, sometimes 21 persons, who then performed the meal at a separate table in the middle of the hall. To write down the testimonies of the Lord, those then being teachers at the different communities were appointed (IH 45, 75).

The regular or extraordinary religious exercises of the Community of True Inspiration are extremely simple, for the Inspirationists believe that 'forms and ceremonies are of no value, and will never take a man to heaven.' In the several villages prayer meetings are held every evening in rooms according to class. On Wednesdays, Saturdays, and Sunday mornings the people meet by orders (Abtheilungen), while on Sunday afternoon there is held from time to time a general meeting. Thus, exclusive of special exercises, there are eleven religious services held each week in the Community.

With the exception of the prayer-meetings, all the religious gatherings are held in the churches, of which there is one in each village. The church is very much like the ordinary dwelling-house, except that it is larger. The interior is severely plain. White-washed walls, bare floors, and unpainted benches bespeak the simple unpretentious faith of the Community. In the general meetings the elders sit in front facing the congregation, which is composed of the men on one side and the women on the other.

The services are all solemn, dignified, and impressive, and never accompanied by excitement. There is no regular pastor or priest. In the exercises, which are conducted by the elders, there is no national prayer, no special prayer. The silent prayer is followed by a hymn sung by the congregation. Then the presiding elder reads from the Bible or from the testimonies. Again there is prayer, which is sometimes given extemporaneously and sometimes the prayers are derived from supplicatory verses by the members of the congregation. The presiding elder announces a chapter in the Bible, which is read verse by verse by the members of the congregation. There is, of course, no sermon—simply a brief address of exhortation from an elder. After the singing of a hymn and the pronouncing of a benediction by the presiding elder, the people leave the church, the women going first and the men following. Nothing could be more earnest, more reverent, more sincerely genuine than the church services of the Community of True Inspiration.

As texts for religious instruction, the Community has published two Catechisms, one for the instruction of the youth, the other for the use of the members of the Community. The former was re-edited in the year 1872, and the latter in 1871. The title-pages are almost identical, and read: 'Catechetical Instruction of the Teachings of Salvation presented according to the Statements of the Holy Scriptures, and founded upon the Evangelic-Apostolic Interpretation of the Spirit of God for the Blessed Use of the Youth (or Members) of the Communities of True Inspiration.'

The one supreme object of the 'pilgrimage on earth' in the Inspirationist's system of theology is the salvation of the soul. The Community is but a school of preparation for the next world. The awful fact, after death, of the soul that has not been thoroughly purified and sanctified during its earthly sojourn is perhaps best described in an old Bezeugung, which reads: 'Such souls will wander in pathless desolation; they will seek and not find; they will have to undergo torment and grief, and be wretchedly plagued, tortured, and tormented by misleading stars' (TS, 9th Collection, 2nd ed. p. 104).

'Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,' said Ephesians, 4:9, his congregation of fellow-believers in the days of the apostles. And nowhere, perhaps, is this simple Amoan doctrine of 'brothers all as God's children' more impressively expressed than in the Amoan cemetery, where there are no family lots or monuments, but where the departed members of the Community are buried side by side in the order of their death, regardless of natural ties. Each grave is marked by a low stone or a white painted head-board, with only the name and date of death on the side facing the grave. There lies the great-hearted Christian Metz by the side of the humblest brother.

3. Religious and moral instruction.—The stability of the Community of True Inspiration and the perpetuity of the faith of the 'New Spiritual Economy' nearly two centuries ago is a measure to the instruction and training of the youth; for the Inspirationists have always insisted on training their children in their own way according to the faith of the fathers (Urgrosseltern).

To-day there is in each village of the Community a school organized under the laws of the State and sharing in the public school fund. But since the whole of Amana Township is owned by the Society, the Society levies its own school tax, builds its own school houses, chooses its own school directors, and employs its own teachers. Thus the education of the youth of Amoan is under the immediate guidance and direction of the Community.

To preserve the earnestness and religious zeal of the fathers (Urgrosseltern) is the real mission of the Community school. Here the youth is taught that "What our youth need more than text-book knowledge," says the Kinderlehrer, 'is to learn to live holy lives, to learn God's commandments out of the Bible, to learn submission to His will, and to love Him.' Indeed, to love the way the founder and leader of the COMMUNITY, Gruber, never to reject or despise the good and sincere admonitions of the brethren, constitute the foundation of the ethical and religious training of the Amoan child, who, between the ages of five and fourteen, is compelled to attend school six days in the week and fifty-two weeks in the year. In addition to the branches that are usually taught in grammar schools outside of the Community, there is daily instruction at the Amana school in the devout, the devout, and the instruction of is this religious instruction suited or performed in a perfunctory manner. Said one of the Community schoolmasters: 'It is my profound belief that no other children on the whole earth are more richly instructed in religion than ours.'

The spirit as well as the scope and character of the instruction and training of the youth of Amoan is beautifully expressed in the 'Sixty-six Rules for the Conduct of Children' which are given in the catechism. To live up to these rules is indeed the first step toward the child's perfection.

In order to ascertain and promote the spiritual condition of the youth in the schools, there are held each year two 'solemn religious meetings,' which are conducted by the first brethren. One of these meetings, the Kinderlehrer, consists of a thorough review of the principles and doctrines of the Com-
amunity and of the supreme importance of keeping the faith. The other, called the Kinder Unterred-
wing, is indeed the children's part of the yearly spiritual examination (Untersuchung).

Graduation from the schools of the Community, which may take place either in the autumn or in the spring, is attended with solemn religious exercises. The children who are about to leave the schools are carefully examined as to their knowledge of both spiritual and temporal things. It is at this meeting that each child reads his 'graduated to receive back' which is a simple childlike review of his school life, of his faults, of his aspirations, and of his intentions as a member of the Community.

Graduation from the schools is, in a sense, a preparation for the Bundesschlüssung which follows, and in which the children are first permitted to take part at the age of fifteen. It is not, however, until the boys and girls come to the legal age of twenty-one and eighteen respectively that they are admitted as full members of the Society.

4. Membership.—Besides those born in the Community, who become members by signing the Constitution when they have arrived at the legal age, any outsider may join after a probation of two years, during which he agrees to abide by the regulations of the Community, and demand no wages. If, at the close of this period, the candidate gives 'proof of being fully in accord with the religious doctrines of the Society,' he is admitted to the full membership, after conveying to the Society all his property, taking part in the Bundesschlüssung, and signing the Constitution. Members who 'may recede from the Society either by their own choice or by expulsion, shall be entitled to have back' moneys paid into the common fund and to interest thereon at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent. per annum from the time of the adjustment of their accounts until the repayment of their credits' (Constitution, Art. VIII.). Few, however, withdraw from the Society; and most of those who do leave return in the course of time. The records show that formerly many outsiders (from Germany) were admitted; but in recent years the increase is almost wholly from within.

5. Government.—The entire conduct of the affairs of the Amana Society rests with a board of trustees consisting of thirteen members, who are elected annually by popular vote out of the whole number of elders in the Community. The members of the board of trustees are the spiritual as well as the temporal leaders of the Community of True Inspiration, and as such are called 'The Great Council.' One of their own number, the trustees elect annually a president, a vice-president, and a secretary.

With a view to keeping the members informed concerning the business affairs of the Society, the board of trustees exhibits annually in the month of June to the voting members of the Community a full statement of 'the personal and real estate of the Society.' The board itself meets on the first Tuesday of each month. Besides its general supervision of the affairs of the Community, the board of trustees acts as a sort of court of appeal to which complaints and disagreements are referred. With their decision the case is finally and emphatically closed.

Each village is governed by a group of from seven to nineteen elders, who were formerly appointed by Inspiration, but who are now (there being no Werkszug) appointed by the board of trustees. Each village has at least one resident trustee, who recommends to the Great Council, of which he is a member, a list of elders from the most spiritual of the members of his village. From these lists the Great Council appoints the elders for each village according to spiritual rank. The governing board of each village is known as the 'Little Council,' and is composed of the resident trustee and a number of the leading elders, who, on call into conference the foremen of the different branches of industry and such other members of the Community as may, on occasion, be of assistance in arranging the village work.

It is this Little Council of the village that appoints the foremen for the different industries and departments of labour, and assigns to any individual his apportioned task. To them each person desiring more money, more house room, an extra holiday, or lighter work, must appeal; and these allotments are, as occasion requires, 'revised and fixed anew.'

The highest authority in matters spiritual in the village is the head elder; in matters temporal, the resident trustee. If the latter should die, the village has a member of the Great Council itself, which is the spiritual head of the Community, in the village church the head elder ranks above the trustee. Each village keeps its own books and manages its own affairs; but accounts are finally sent to the headquarters at Amana, where they are inspected, and the balance of profit or loss discovered. The system of government is thus a sort of federation, wherein each village maintains its local independency, but is under the general super-
vision of a central governing authority, the board of trustees.

6. The Amana Villages.—The seven villages of the Community of True Inspiration lie from a mile and a half to four miles apart; but all are within a radius of six miles from 'Old Amana.' They are connected with one another, as well as with most of the important towns and cities of the State, by telephone. Each village is a cluster of from forty to one hundred houses arranged in the manner of the German Dorf, with one long straggling street and several irregular off-shoots. At one end are the village barns and sheds, at the other the factories and workshops; and on either side lie the orchards, the wood, and the railway station.

Each village has its own church and school, its bakery, its dairy, and its general store, as well as its own sawmill for the working up of hard wood. The lumber used is obtained largely from the Society's timber land. At the railway stations there are grain houses and lumber yards. The station agents at the several Amana railway stations and the four postmasters are all members of the Society. The establishment of hotels, in no way a part of the original village plan, has been made necessary by the heavy visits of strangers who visit the villages every year.

7. The Amana Homes.—The homes of the Amana people are in two-story houses built of wood, brick, or a peculiar brown sandstone which is found in the vicinity. The houses are all quite unpretentious; and it has been the aim of the Society to construct them as nearly alike as possible, each one being as desirable as the other. The frame-houses are never painted, since it is believed to be more economical to rebuild than to preserve with paint. Then, too, painted houses are a trifle worldly in appearance. The style of architecture is the same throughout the entire Com-
community—plain, square (or rectangular) structures with gable roofs. There are no porches, verandas,
or bay windows; but everywhere the houses are (in the summer time) half hidden with grape vines and native ivy. The uniformity is so marked that it is only with the aid of an inconspicuous weather-beaten sign that the stranger is able to distinguish the 'hotel' or 'store' from the school, church, or private dwelling. Grass lawns are not maintained abroad, but the lawn is everywhere the sign of the Amana Society. Surrounding with a riotous profusion of flower beds.

In the private dwelling-house there is no kitchen, no dining room, no parlour—just a series of 'sitting rooms' and bed rooms, which are furnished by the Society and the families each provide for themselves. Each house is occupied by one, two, or sometimes three families. But each family is assigned certain rooms which constitute the family home; and in this home each member has his or her own room or rooms. There is no crowding in the Amanas; for the same spirit which led the Society to adopt the village system has led it to provide plenty of house room for its members.

8. Domestic Life.—At the time of its inception the 'New Spiritual Economy' does not seem to have been popular. But with increasing religious fervour among the Inspirationists callicamy was to be regarded with much favour; while marriages were in certain special cases prevented by the Werkzeuge. It does not appear, however, that marriage (although discouraged) was entirely abandoned. Each day there seems to be no opposition; and the young people marry freely, notwithstanding the admonition that 'a single life is ever a pleasure to the Lord, and that He has bestowed upon it a special promise and great mercy' (TSL, 1830, No. 74). The newly married pair are, indeed, still reduced to the lowest spiritual order. A young man does not marry until he has reached the age of twenty-four years, and then only after permission has been given by the Great Council of the brethren one year in advance. Marriage in the Community of True Inspiration is a religious ceremony which is performed in the church by the presiding elder.

Divo is not recognized in the Community of True Inspiration. The married couple are expected to abide by the step they have taken throughout life. But if, for good and sufficient reason, such a life union is impossible, 'then one of them, mostly the man, is told to separate himself from the Community and go into the world.' Second marriage is not regarded with favour.

The number of children in the Amana family is never large—ranging usually from one to four. Indeed, with the birth of each child the parents suffer a reduction in spiritual rank. There are, however, very few childless families in the Community.

The newly married couple begin their home life in rooms which are provided and furnished by the Society. Housekeeping with them, however, is a very simple matter, since there are neither maids nor cooking in the home. At more or less regular intervals in each village there is a 'kitchen house,' at which the meals for the families in the immediate neighbourhood are prepared and served. At each of these common eating places provision is made for from sixteen to forty persons. The preparation of the food and the serving of the meals are done by the women.

In the dress the members of the Society are and always have been very 'plain.' There is nothing distinctive about the clothes of the men. Their 'best clothes' are made by the Community tailor, but ordinarily they wear ready-made garments—except a few of the elder brethren, who still wear trousers with the old-fashioned broad fall front, and a coat without lapels. With the women utility and comfort (instead of adornment) are chiefly regarded. Plain calicoes of gray or blue or brown are worn for the most part. The bodice is short and very plain; while the skirt is long and full. An apron of moderate length, a shoulder-shawl, and a small black cap complete the summer costume. The only headdress is a sun-bonnet with a long caper. The winter dress differs from this only in being made of flannel; while a hood takes the place of the sun-bonnet. Every woman makes her own clothes; and every mother makes the clothing for her children.

9. Industrial Life—Agriculture, which is one of the chief industries of the Community, is carried on, with the German proclivity for system, according to the most modern and scientific methods. The general plan of the field work is determined by the board of trustees; but a field 'boss' or superintendent is responsible to the Society for the proper execution of their orders. He sees that the farm machinery is kept in good condition, he appeals to the elders for more men to work in the fields when necessary, and he obtains from the members of the accommodation the horses that are needed. From fifteen to eighteen ox teams are still used for the heavy haulage.

The Amana Society is perhaps best known in the business world through its woolen mills, which have been in active operation for forty-two years. Over half a million pounds of raw wool are consumed in these mills annually. It has always been the aim of the Society to manufacture 'honest goods,' and they have found a ready market from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. The hours of labour in the woolen mills during the greater part of the year are the usual Amana hours of 7 to 11 in the morning and 12.30 to 6 in the afternoon. But during the summer months, when the orders for the fall trade are being executed, the mills run from half-past four in the morning to eleven at night (the factories being lighted throughout by electricity).

In spite of the long hours and the busy machinery, there is a very unusual factory air about the Amana mills. The rooms are light and airy. There is a cushioned chair or stool for each worker 'between times.' An occasional spray of blossoms on a loom frame reflects the spirit of the workers. Here and there in different parts of the factory are well-equipped cupboards and larder tables, where the different groups of workers eat their luncheon in the middle of each half-day. In the villages where the factories are located the boys of thirteen or fourteen years of age who are about to leave school are employed in the mills for a few hours each afternoon to 'learn.' If the work is congenial, they are carefully trained and are given every opportunity to 'work up'; but if this employment is not agreeable, they are at liberty to choose some other line of work.

In Old Amana there is a calico printing establishment, where four thousand yards of calico are dyed and printed daily. The patterns for the calico are designed and made by a member of the Society. This 'colony calico;' as it is called, is sold throughout the United States and Canada, and is quite as favourably known as the woolen goods.

The industrial efficiency of the operative in the Amana mills and factories is noticeably great even to the casual observer. Each worker labours with the air of a man in physical comfort and peace of mind, and with the energy of a man working for himself and expects to enjoy all the fruits of his labour.

Besides these mills and factories, the Society owns and operates seven saw mills, two machine shops, one soap factory, and one printing office.
and bookbindery. The job work for the stores and mills, the text books used in the schools, the hymn books used in the churches, and other religious books commonly read in the community, are all printed at the Amana printing office. The Society publishes no newspaper or magazine, official or otherwise, although it subscribes for several trade journals.

In three of the villages there are licensed pharmacies. The quantity of drugs prepared for the outside market is not large, as no effort has ever been made to build up a sizable trade. A rule, only special orders are executed. Some physicians of the State prefer to get their supplies here rather than to send farther east for them. The Society were the first people west of Chicago to manufacture petroleum lamp oil. The manufacture is still considered one of the best in the market.

In addition to the aforementioned industries, each village has its shoemaker, tailor, harness-maker, carpenter, blacksmith, tool-smith, waggon-maker, etc. These tradesmen, as a rule, do not devote their entire time to their occupations, but only make and repair what is needed in their line by the people of the village. During the busy season they stand ready to be called to the factory or the fields, if needed, or they are engaged on the farm.

LITERATURE.—Constitution and By-Laws of the Community of True Inspiration, compiled by the officers of the Community; [vol. i.]; Life and Works of Bishop Ludwig Greinner; Autobiography of Johann Friedrich Rock; Year Books of the Community of True Inspiration (published by the Societies); the lifetime of the Werkzeuge and containing the Basenung in the order of their utterance, with brief introductions relating to the circumstances under which the Basenung were given; Art, etc. By Bishop Christian Mord, The Day Book of Brother Christian Mord, Inscriptions—Historic—compiled from various accounts, some of them printed, some written by Gottlieb Schone, a priest and scholar, who gave them to the community; of the founding of the Prayer-Meetings and Communities; [vol. ii.] Various articles and narratives of the work of the Lord in his Ways of Inspiration; [vol. iii.]; Historical Account of the New Revival, Gathering, and Founding of the Community of True Inspiration; [vol. iv.]; Description of the works of the mercy of the Lord in the Communities of True Inspiration; Catechetical Instruction of the Teachings of Salvation, part i., for the youth of the Communities; Part ii.; Psalms after the matins. David for the Children of Zion; ... particularly for the Congregation of the Lord; The Upper and Lower Rooms of the Death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (published during the lifetime of the Werkzeuge after each visitation of the mission, and the Basenung uttered during the sermon ceremonies); numerous pamphlets and essays found only in the records and libraries of the community. These works are all in German, but a few English translations are also printed chiefly at Ebenezer, N., and Amana, Iowa. Reference may also be made to Nordhoff, Communitarian Societies of the United States, 1880, New York. 1879; Hinds, American Communities, pp. 282-288 (Chicago, 1902); Knorr, Die wahre Inspirationsgemeinde in Iowa (Leipzig, 1880); and Perkins and Wick, History of the Amana Society (Iowa City, La., 1891).

BERTHA M. H. SHAUMBAUGH.

AMARAVATI.—A small town (lat. 16° 34' 45" N., long. 80° 24' 21" E.) on the south bank of the Krishna River, about 30 miles southeast of Madras Presidency, the ancient Dranarkota, or Dhanukaataka. It is famous as the site which has supplied a multitude of fine sculptures, chiefly bas-reliefs, of the highest importance for the history of art and Buddhist archaeology. The sculptures, executed almost without exception in white marble, formed the decorations of a stūpa, which was totally destroyed at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cents. by a local landholder, who used them for other purposes. The surviving slabs are only a small fraction of the works which were in existence about a century ago. Most of the specimens rescued from the lime-kiln are in either the British Museum or the Madras Museum. The body of the stūpa was cased with marble slabs and surrounded by two railings or screens, of which the outer and earlier stood 13 or 14 feet in height above the pavement, the inner and later one being only six feet high. The casing slabs, and every stone of both railings, including the plinth and coping, were covered with finely executed bas-reliefs. The basal diameter of the stūpa was 138 feet, and the height of the inner rail was 521 feet, and that of the outer rail 803 feet. It is estimated that the separate figures on the outer rail must have numbered 12,000 or 14,000. The multitude of figures on the inner rail, carved on a narrow scale, is still more astonishing.

The so-called Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara, or the Peshawar region, on the contrary, was influenced,
not directly by Alexandria, but chiefly by the schools of Pergamum and other cities of Asia Minor, which practised a cosmopolitan style of art, sometimes designated as Greco-Roman. The balanced composition of the Gandhāra reliefs closely resembles that of many Roman works, Pagan or Christian, and is as much superior to the recent Indian Indra, the chief god among the Greeks.

2. The Iliad mentions two wars in which the Amazons were involved: a war with the Lycians, and a war with the Trojans. The Amazon was named among the Greeks.

The Amazons were a mythical race of women, dwelling in the northern part of Asia Minor, or still farther north, who had proved their prowess in conflict with the greater heroes of Greece. Something about the conception of feminine warriors made it very attractive to the Greek story-teller. Women who had asserted their independence of conventional bonds, and who kept their power by masking or blinding their male children; women who wore a man's short chiton, and who had cut away the right breast that they might wear the freely handle arms; withal beautiful women to inspire with love those Greek heroes who fought against them—such were the Amazons. According to Pherecydes (frag. 25), their nature was explained by the fact that they were descended from Ares and the naiad nymph Harmonia; Hellenikos (frag. 146) makes them a race of women living apart from men and perpetuating their kind by visits to neighbouring peoples. They were both 'man-haters' (Esch. Prom. 724) and 'manlike' (Hom. Il. iii. 189).

In the epics they use the same arms as do other warriors. Pindar (Ol. xii. 125) and Aeschylus (Suppl. 288) speak of them as skilled with the bow, and in art they ordinarily wear a quiver. Their proper weapon in later myth was the axe—either the axe with blade and point, such as Xenophon found in use in the mountains of Armenia (Anab. iv. 16), or the double-headed axe (Plut. Quaest. Græc. 45, 301 f.). The Latin poets (e.g. Virg. Æn. xi. 611) refer to them as fighting with war-chariots, but Greek poetry and art represent them as going into battle on horseback (Eur. Hipp. 207, 585).

The story of their mutilated breasts is probably due to a false etymology (ext- privative and μαστός 'breast'). What the name did originally mean is not quite clear; with some probability Götting (Comment. de A. 1344) has suggested that it referred to their uniform character that they have nothing to do with men (ē- and μαστός).

The names of individual Amazons are in the main genuine Greek names, added as the myth found favours among the Greeks.

2. The Ænides mentions two wars in which the Amazons were involved—a war with the Lycians,
which led the king of the Lycians, Isobates, to send Bellerophon against them (vi. 186), and a war with the Phrygians, in which Priam fought on the side of the Phrygians (iii. 189). Strabo (xil. 552) notes the inconsistency of this story with the existence of Penthesileia and her companions. According to the later epic, the "Amphione" of Ariknos, she came to Troy after the death of Hector to aid the forces of Priam. Achilles inflicted a mortal wound on Penthesileia, only to be touched with love at her beauty as he lay dying in his arms.

The story of Herakles and Hippolyte is a later myth about an earlier generation. It was one of the twelve labours of Herakles to fetch the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, for Admete, Eurythymus' daughter. According to Apollodorus (Bibl. ii. 5. 9. 7), the queen fell in love with Herakles, and gave him the girdle; but as he went to board his ship the other Amazons, invited by Hera, attacked him. Suspecting treachery on the part of Hippolyte, Herakles shot her with an arrow and sailed away. In the more common form of the story, sometimes connected with the Argonautic expedition, Herakles made war on the Amazons, overthrew them in battle, and triumphantly carried off the girdle (Diod. Sic. iv. 16; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 967).

A somewhat similar story is told of Theseus and Antiope, namely, that Theseus made an expedition against the Amazons, and either by love or by force Antiope to be his bride. The importance of this expedition was that it furnished the occasion for the expedition of the Amazons against Athens. As the story is told by Plutarch (Thes. 27), its form is determined by several Amazon stories in Athens, by the position of the Areopagus in front of the Acropolis, and by a place called Horkomosion, where a treaty of peace was made. In this war Antiope met her death, and was buried by the Ionian gate of Athens. The story was significant in that it furnished Argonauts and artists with another instance of the superiority of civilization to barbarism, as in the battle of gods and giants in the war between Athens and Persia.

Locality.—On the north coast of Asia Minor and well towards the east, the town of Themis-kyra by the river Thermódon was the generally accepted seat of the Amazons. Rarely were they located farther to the north or north-east. It should be observed, however, that although there are no bands of Amazons or a band of Amazons finds a place in the local legends of many very cities on the north coast and the west coast of Asia Minor. 'Herakles turned over to the Amazons the region between Pitane and Mykale' (Herod. Pont. frag. 94); and such cities as Smyrna and Ephesus are the main local centres of Amazon legend. In Greece proper, on the other hand, there are graves of Amazons and places which they visited, but they are present only as visitors from outside.

Expulsion.—Any effort to understand the Amazons must start from these facts. (1) The Amazons were warriors, armed with weapons such as the Greeks associated with eastern Asia Minor and regions still farther to the east and north. They were closely associated with the 'Tiriacian' god Ares; he was their reputed father, they sacrificed horses to him, and their camp at Athens was on the hill of Ares. (2) They were also connected with Artemis, especially the Ephesian Artemis. It was the cult of this goddess which was, to the Thracian Phrygians, connected with the Amazons, and that here they performed war dances and choral dances in honour of the goddess (Paus. vii. 2. 7; Kullim. Hymn to Artemis, 237 f.; cf. Il. ii. 814). (3) The legends of the Amazons are in the main connected with the coast towns on the north and west of Asia Minor.

K. O. Müller suggested (Dorier, i. 390 f.) that the conception arose from the large number of hierodoulous connected with the worship of Artemis at Ephesus and elsewhere in Asia Minor. It is more probable that the presence of women with these peculiar weapons in the armies of northern and eastern races started the legends, that incursions of these races into Asia Minor determined the locality with which they were associated, and that war dances performed by women in the worship of Ares, Artemis, etc., aided the growth of the legends. To bring the Amazons into conflict with Bellerophon, Achilles, Herakles, and Theseus was the natural means of emphasizing the prowess of feminine warriors.

Literature.—Bergmann, Die Amazonen in 'Historia und Geschichtc, Berl., 1888; Rulhelm, Die Amazonen in der alten Literatur und Kunst, Stuttgart, 1875.

AMBER.—An ancient, now ruinous, city in the native State of Jaipur in Rajputana. Formerly it was held by the non-Aryan Minas, from whom the Kachwahas sept of Rájpúts conquered it in 1057 A.D. It then became their capital, and is considered to be until 1729, when Jai Singh II. founded the present city of Jaipur, and Amber became deserted. It was in olden days much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of India, but its glory has departed. At a temple of Káli within the city is daily sacrificed, a substitute, as is believed, for the human victim offered in former times to the goddess.

Literature.—For the history: Tod, Annals of Rajastan, Calcutta reprint, 1884, ii. 361 f. For description of the remains: Major Baylay, in 'Rajputana Gazetteer,' i. 1641; Roussel, India and its Native Princes, 1880, ch. xx.; Ferguson, Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 1875, p. 480.

W. CROOKE.

AMBITION.—'Ambition,' derived from Lat. ambítio, the 'going round' of a candidate for office canvassing for votes, signifies primarily a desire for a position of power or dignity; thence a desire for eminence of any kind, and so, by an easy but well-defined and recognized extension (in the absence of any other word to cover the idea), the will to attain, obtain, or perform anything regarded by the user of the word as high or difficult. The same term thus becomes applicable to Jaques' 'ambition for a motley coat,' and the desire of Milton to write something which the aftertimes would not wish to forget. In other words, almost any desire may in certain circumstances become our 'ambition' in this third sense, which may, therefore, be dismissed at once—especially as in default of a qualifying term one of the first two is always intended. The present article will accordingly be confined to these. The motive in question holds a unique position for two reasons: its moral position is more uncertain in general estimation than that of any other, and it is reported by tradition to have been the first sin. These points will be taken in order.

1. Bacon, in his essay, 'Of Ambition,' says of it that it 'is like choler, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped; but if it be stopped and cannot have his way, it becomes obdurate, and thereby malignant and venomous.' Spinosa (who defines it, however, as an 'excessive love of glory') says: 'Ambition is a Desire by which all the Affections are nourished and strengthened; and on that occasion that particular Affection hardly be overcome. For so long as a man is influenced by any Desire at all, he is inevitably influenced by this' (Ethics, pt. iii. Appendix). The opinions of these high authorities imply no particular censure. A reference to any Dictionary of Quotations, however, will reveal it indeed as
AMBITION

'divine' and 'accursed,' 'blind' and 'eagle-eyed,' 'base' and 'sublime'; but for one epithet of honour ten will be found of blame. At the same time, this proportion does not appear accurately to represent the average man's feeling towards it, which may be described as two parts of fear and one of secret admiration. Now, amid this clash of opinion, it is clear that ambition is in itself non-moral; for power is never, in the last analysis, desired for itself, but always from an ulterior motive, namely, for the opportunities it affords, whether for enhanced activity, for the exercise of faculty and the furtherance of a desired end, or the gratification of vanity. Logically, therefore, it should be judged by the motive behind; and, in fact, the soundest defence of it may be based upon this consideration. But such a plea avails little against the prosecutor, whose main, if often unrealized, ground of attack (apart from religion) rests upon the means by which the ambitious are tempted to gain their ends.

The reasons for the conflicting views entertained on the part of such men as may be assumed up thus, the attitude of religion being reserved for separate treatment. From the point of view of society, it is natural and right that public opinion should be directed to check rather than to encourage ambition. But it is not so much the danger of an excess than that of a deficient supply. Morally, such a desire can in no case be generally considered virtuous, in view of the obvious personal advantages which power, from whatever motive sought, confers upon the possessor. To many philosophers, again, it is especially anathema as a chief enemy of that peace of mind and independence of external which is the Nirvana of their creed. These reasons apply to the desire for power in any degree of development; but what is after all perhaps the chief cause of the invincible sense attaching to the word 'ambition' lies in a subtle implication which modifies the meaning, without equally restricting the use, of the term itself. In the words of Aristotle (Ethics, ii. 7), 'There is something in it as a due and proper desire for distinction; the desire may also be excessive or defective: the man who is excessive in this desire is called "ambitious," the man who is deficient, "unambitious"; for the middle state there is no name.'

The verdict of religion upon worldly self-aggrandizement could hardly be doubtful, and in all countries it is unanimous in condemnation. For Greek religions thought it was the direct forerunner of δρόμος, which is visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation; in Buddhism it is a rule of māyā, entangling the soul in the world of being, and for Confucius it is an enemy of peace; to the Muhammadan it is a choosing of this present life and its vanities, for which there is nothing in the next world but the fire. In the Bible, it is, for itself does not occur, and in the OT hardly even the idea. The Jewish historians confined themselves practically to the acts of kings, lesser men being introduced only when they came into contact or conflict with the king. But a violent change in the kingship of a people essentially and always theocratic, in the view of the writers, was ascribed as a rule to the direct intervention of God using a man as His instrument; and any private motives of such an instrument were disregarded. Thus it is not unlikely that such men as the Jewish historians regarded ambitious, but they are set in action by the word of a prophet. The Prophets again scourge the sins of the people, of which ambition was not one. The absence of any reference to it in the Wisdom literature' of Solomon is noteworthy.

Even Ecclesiastes, in considering the vanity of human wishes, travels round the idea rather than refers to it directly, in a way which suggests that power as a direct object of desire was unfamilial to the author. The view of the NT, so far as expressed, is uncompromising. In the Christian community there is no room for ambition. The 'Kingdom of Heaven,' or Church of Christ, is for the poor in spirit (Mt 5:3); 'Who- 

soever would become great among you shall be your servant' (v27): 'Set not your mind on high things, but condescend to things that are lowly' (Ro 12:3). Quotations need not be multiplied: the humility and renunciation of the things of the flesh, which are the badge of the followers of Christ, leave desire for distinction and inseparable from ambition. What (if any) modifications of this rigorous doctrine may be involved in or justified by the transition of Christ's Church from a limited and purely religious community to the creed of nations, it is not within the province of this article to discuss.

2. It is a current belief that ambition was the first sin which disturbed the harmony of heaven. 'Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition: by that sin fell the angels' (Henry VIII. iii. ii. 440). The origin of this tradition, which has no authority in the Bible, is obscure; but it may perhaps be traced to the old identification of the 'king of Tyre' in Ezek 28 with Satan. ("Thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of God" [v7].) 'Less affluent than the infirmity of a noble mind. For, whatever its own demerits, it is generally found in company with the qualities most admired in Western civilization — ability and energy. It implies also a certain length and largeness of view, in themselves admirable, and in many cases can only with difficulty be distinguished from its twin-vice — aspiration. Finally, it is a motive with which, though perhaps faulty, the world, in the present condition of religion, could ill afford to dispense; for positions of power are after all the arena to be given to those who not only desire, but also in some degree at least deserve, them, and the noble actions, prompted either wholly or in part by ambition, fill not a few of the most distinguished pages in history. Licet ipse visum sit, tamem frequenter causa virtutem est' (Quintilian).
AMBROSE OF MILAN

I. Life. - Ambrose was born, probably at Trèves, the seat of government of his father, the Frankish prefect of the Gauls. The family was noble; his father was one of the four highest officers in the empire; his elder brother Satyrus became the governor of a province, name unknown (de excessu Saturi, i. 49, 58). The family was also Christian in sympathy; Ambrose's great-aunt Sotheria had suffered as a martyr in the persecution of Diocletian (de Virgini. iii. 7; Exort. Virg. xii. 82). The year of Ambrose's birth is a little uncertain. Either 332 or 340 A.D. will suit the data given in his letters (Ep. lix. 3, 4; see PL xiv. 68, for a full discussion). But probably 340 best meets all the circumstances. On the death of his father, his mother removed with her family to Rome (352), and there Ambrose received the education. Of Latin authors, Vergil was his favourite; he was also well read in Greek literature. In the doctrines of Christianity he was instructed by Simplicianus, whom he loved as a father (Ep. xxvii.; not to be confused with the Simplicianus to whom succeeded him). Adopting the law as a profession, he rose very rapidly. When he was but little over 30 (372), Valentinian I., on the advice of the Christian Probus, the prefect of Italy, appointed him 'consul' of Liguria and Aemilia. The Popes had already voiced the lawful authority and integrity. In 374 both Dionysius the Catholic and Aurelius the Arian bishop of Facto died. Both parties strove hard to secure the election of the successor, for at that time Milan was perhaps the first city in Europe in population and importance. Ambrose, in whose province it lay, went to preside at the election, and to suppress the customary tumults. But while the consul was addressing the people in the church on the duty of voting oratorically, a voice was heard proclaiming, 'Ambrose is bishop.' The cry, according to Paulinus, first started by a child, was taken up by Arians and Catholics. In spite of the protests of Ambrose — on which Paulinus entered (Ep. 280) — in his usual language about truth and to the good name of his hero, judged, that is, by modern ideas — the sanction of Valentinian was given to this irregular election, which won the approval also of the bishops of East and West (Basil., Ep. iv.; for Ambrose's statements about the election see de Offic. i. 1, 4, Ep. lxxiii. 65, de Pontit. ii. 8, 72. Ambrose says that Valentinian promised him 'quietem futurum,' Ep. xxii. 7). Ambrose was as yet only a catechumen; he had shrunk from baptism under the common form of asceticism, which led him to postpone the same until near death — the dread lest he should lose the baptismal grace. Within eight days of his baptism he was consecrated bishop (Dec. 7, 374, Migne, xiv. 71). His first step was to resign his property to the poor and the Church. The administration of his household was handed over to Satyrus (379), who left his province that he might serve his younger brother (de excessu Saturi. i. 201). Ambrose's life as a bishop was one of incessant work. His moments of leisure were filled with self-culture in theology, which, however, for the most part he learned by teaching (de Offic. i. 1, 4). Throughout his diocese Arianism almost ceased to exist, largely through his constant preaching and the care he bestowed on the preparation of catechumens. The Arians, thus bitterly disappointed in the bishop they had elected, found an opportunity for attacking him in his sale of Church plate to provide funds for the release of Roman prisoners captured in Illyricum and Thrace by the Goths, after their great victory at Adrianople (Aug. 9, 378). Ambrose's reply was characteristic: 'Which did they consider to be the more valuable, church plate or living souls? (de Offic. ii. c. 28.)

Of his life at this time Augustine has given us a delightful picture (Conf. vii. 3, Ep. xxvii. 17). He was surrounded by a band of movie persons who kept me from him. He was the servant of their infirmities, and, when they spared him a few minutes for prayer, he would implore the food necessary, and nourished his soul with reading... Often when I entered his retreat I found him reading softly to himself. I would sit down, and, after waiting a while, I would ask him for a long time in silence (for who would have dared to disturb attention so profound?), I would withdraw, fearing to disturb him if I troubled him in the short time he rescued to himself out of the tumult of his multifarious business.'

In his opposition to the Arians, Ambrose did not limit his efforts to his own diocese. At Sirmium in 380, in spite of the threats of Aviana Justinus, the Arian widow of Valentinian I. (Nov. 17, 375), Ambrose succeeded in carrying the election of the Catholic Anemius to the see. In 381 the Gracian — who became Emperor at 378-381 lived chiefly at Milan, and followed in most things the advice of Ambrose, whom he called his parens, and who composed for his instruction (see de Fide. i. 8). His treatise against Arianism, entitled de masse (378) — was inserted in the synodal council, which met in September at Aquileia. Through the influence of Ambrose, who presided, the council deposed two more Arian bishops, Palladius and Secundinus [see the Gesta Conc. Ag. in i. 131, after Ambrose Op. cit. (Migne. xvi. 918), or, more fully, Mansi, iii. 599 ff., and C. Ep. i. ix. xii.]. If in the following year he attended the abortive council at Rome, he seems to have taken no part in its deliberations. (For this somewhat uncertain council, see Mansi, iii. 599 ff.)

The murder of Gratian, who had estranged the soldiers by foolish and unpatriotic conduct, at Lyons (Aug. 25, 385) by the agents of the British usurper Maximus, led to the appeal of the young son Valentinian II., to persuade Ambrose to journey to Trèves as her ambassador (de Obitu Valentin. 28). As the result of his visit (winter, 383), or rather of the delays caused thereby, and the knowledge of new hostilities, if necessary, the forces of Theodosius, Italy seems to have been secured for Valentinian II., Spain, however, falling to the usurper (Ep. xxiv. 6, 7).

On his return to Milan, Ambrose came into collision with Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the prefect of Rome, Pontifex Maximus, Prince of Senators, the leader in the Senate of the conservative and pagan majority (on this question of the majority, Ambrose, Ep. xvii. 10, 11, is untrustworthy). In 384, Symmachus ad sought from Valentinian II. to construe to the Senate of the ancient golden statue and altar of Victory, whose removal had been ordered by Gratian (382). This Relatio Symmaci (Op. Sym., ed. Seeck, x. 3, in M.G.H.,) was as Migne, PL xvi. 966, or defence of paganism, followed the usual line of argument of the times. Symmachus traced the greatness of Rome to the help of the gods; her decline and recent disasters, including a famine in the previous year, to the new credence. He eloquently appealed to the charm of old traditions and customs. Ambrose's answer (Ep. xvii. 6, 7) was a stormy appeal to Valentinian; Ep. xviiii. more matured; cf. Ep. ivii. 3, not altogether happy in its claim that Rome owed her greatness not to her religion, but to her own intrinsic energy—a weak concession to secularism. For
the rest, he dwells on paganism as the world’s childhood, Christianity as the evolutionary and progressive factor and result. The request of Symmachus was refused, as also were three other similar requests [332 to Gratian, 388 or 391 to Theodosius, 392 to Valentinian ii. (Amb. ep. lvii. i)] under the threat of Ambrose’s and the denunciation of the heretical orthodoxy of Theodosius. To Theodosius we owe the final triumph of Christianity by the series of his edicts which prohibited pagan rites, culminating, so far as sacrifices were concerned, in the deadly nulius omnino of Nov. 8, 388 (Amb. de obitu Theod. i. 24; and for the penance of Theodosius, Amb. de obitu Theod. 34]. The relations of Theodosius and Ambrose were.

Theodosius took up his abode at Milan. Emperor and bishop were soon in conflict. The first struggle is of some moment in the history of the growth of Christianity in Mesopotamia had burnt down a conventicle of the Valentinians and a Jewish synagogue. Theodosius ordered the bishop of Callinicum to rebuild the same at his own expense. Ambrose protested in a long letter written at Aquileia (ep. xii.); he seemed to glory in the act; for the Church to rebuild the synagogue would be a triumph for the enemies of Christ. On his appealing to Theodosius in a verbose and rambling sermon at Milan (ep. xii.), the emperor yielded. ‘Had he not done so, Ambrose had permitted nothing, not even the elements’ (ep. xii. 28). In such incidents as these we see the beginnings of the claims which culminated in Hildebrand and Innocent iii. Of almost equal importance is it to notice the conflict which the Valentinians with the Athanasian view in a chapel as if it were no better than a heathen temple (ep. xii. 16), and considers the death of Maximus to be the Divine retribution for his ordering in 387 the rebuilding of a synagogue in Rome (ep. xii. 22).

Whatever may be thought of his arrogance and intolerance in this matter of Callinicum, in his next conflict with Theodosius Ambrose was grandly in the right. The story is too familiar to need much detail. Angered by the murder of Botherich, the barbarian governor of Ilyria, by the people of Thessalonica, Theodosius gave orders, retracted all too late, that the whole populace should be put to death. The gates of the circus were closed; for three hours the massacre went on of those within (April 20, 390). According to Theodoret, 7000 perished. On learning the news, Ambrose wrote to Theodosius a noble and tender letter exhorting him to repentance (ep. li.). What answer Theodosius returned we know not; but on presenting himself at Milan at the door of the church (S. Ambrogio), Ambrose, rebuked him for his sin, and bade him depart until he had given proofs of his penitence. For eight months, if we may trust Theodoret, Theodosius abstained himself from all worship (Theod. v. 18). He felt his exclusion bitterly. ‘The Church of God,’ he said to Rufinus his minister, ‘is open to slaves and beggars. To me it is closed, and with it the gates of heaven.’ The intercession of Rufinus was in vain; so Theodosius laid aside his pride, and, probably on this his last visit to Rome, he approached the emperor solemnly depositing under the altar of the new basilica then awaiting dedication, which Justina had claimed, and which Ambrose now called by their name (ep. xxii.; August. Civ. Dei, xxii. 8, conf. ix. 7; Paulin. Vita, c. 14, 15; for Ambrose’s view of the miracles, ep. xxii. 17-20).

Realizing its hopelessness, Justina abandoned the struggle, the more readily that she needed the bishop’s help. In 397 she requested Ambrose again to act as her ambassador with Maximus (de obitu Valentinii 29). She promised a second visit to Trèves that Ambrose refused to communicate with the followers of the Spanish bishops Ithacius and Idatius, because they had perverted Maximus to sentence and torture to death Priscillian and certain of his followers as heretics (see Prisclianism), and also because they held communion with Maximus, the slayer of Gratian. We see the same resoluteness in his refusal to give Maximus at the first interview the customary kiss of peace, and in his demand for the body of Gratian. We need not wonder that his embassy was unsuccessful, and that Ambrose was ‘himself thrust out’ (Trèves ep. xxiv; and for Ithacius, etc., cf. ep. xxvi. 3). Ambrose crossed the Alps (Aug. 387), and for a short time occupied Milan itself. During this usurpation Ambrose withdrew from the city, while the death at that time (Bury’s Gibbon. iii. 177 n.) of the exiled Justina rid the bishop of all further trouble from the Arians. As regards Ithacius, it may be added that Ambrose presided in the spring of 390 over a council of bishops from Gaul and Northern Italy at Milan which approved of his excommunication.

The relations of Theodosius and Ambrose were...
henceforth undisturbed. During the usurpation of Eugenius (392–394), whom Arbogast the Frank, after strangling Valentinian ii. at Vienna (May 15, 392), had elevated from the professor’s chair to the purple, Ambrose retired to Bologna and Florence. He was there so greatly revered and stood so loyally by Theodosius, in spite of all the friendly overtures of Eugenius. In Eugenius he rightly detected the danger of the recrudescence of paganism, as part of his political programme (Ep. i. v.; Paulin. Vita, 28, 31). No one, therefore, rejoiced more than Ambrose in the death of St. Augustin, over the puppet emperor at Hippodamia (or Wibpach b), Sept. 6, 394 (Ep. lxi. and lvi.; Enarr. in Psal. xxxvi. 22; Paulin. Vita, 25–34; August. Civ. Dei, v. 26), though he was careful to intercede with Theodosius not to punish the people in general. A few months later Theodosius died at Milan (Jan. 17, 395), in his last hours sending for Ambrose and commending his sons Arcadius and Honorius to his care (Amb. de Obiit. Theod. 39). It was Ambrose also who in the presence of Honorius pronounced over the dead Theodosius the funeral oration. The death of Ambrose two years later (Good Friday, April 4, 397) was more than the passing of a great bishop: ‘It is a death-blow for Italy,’ exclaimed the valiant barbarian decurion in Munich (Paulin. Vita, 40). Ambrose was buried under the altar of the great church which he had built and consecrated to Protaisius and Gervasius (see supra), but which now bears his own name (S. Ambrogio).

On his name — The reputation of Ambrose must always rest upon his courage and skill as a practical administrator of the Church in most troublous times. In spite of sacratical claims which later were to bear much fruit, few would grudge him the tributes of their admiration (Lambeth Lectures, i. 76). He was of the loftiest qualities of the Roman senator with the goodness and self-denial of the true Christian. Though his methods may not always commend themselves to our modern notions, in his results Ambrose was usually in the right. He saved Italy from Arianism, and restored her to the faith. Even the growth of sacratical claims was not without its services. In the approaching barbarian deluge it was no small gain to civilisation that Ambrose had at his disposal a power which should not be despised. This is one side of his famous saying at the Council of Aquileia, ‘Sacerdotes de laiciis judicare debent, non laici de sacerdotibus’ (Gesta Conc. Aquil. 51; see supra, p. 273). The other side of this development is the deeds and theories of Hildebrand.

By his introduction of antiphonal singing (on the details of which see Groves’ Dict. Music, new ed. a.v. ‘Antiphony, Ambrosian, Gregorian’), Ambrose enriched the Western Church for ever. His own hymns, though repeatedly imitated in later days (see the full list of hymns falsely attributed to Ambrose, Migne, PL xlvii. 1171–1222), are few in number, according to the Benedictine editors now most generally adopted (Ambros. in Migne, PL xxxvi. 1410), but of great interest and value. Their construction is uniform: 8 strophes in Iambic acatalectic dimeter (υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ–υυ). The ascription to him of the Te Deum as composed at the baptism of St. Augustine is a legend of late growth. His morning hymn, Aetera verum conditor, Splendor paternae gloriae (‘O Jesu, Lord of heavenly grace’), his evening hymn, Deus creator omnium, his Christmas hymn, Veni redemptor gentium, and his hymn O lux beata Trinitas, are among the most important contributions of the Church to modern sung devotion (Trench, Sacred Lat. Poetry, 80–86; Julian, Dict. Hymn. 56 and a.v.).

The reputation of Ambrose as a writer and thinker must not be rated high, in spite of his being regarded as one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church. Gibbon is correct; ‘Ambrose could act better than he could write.’ His compositions are . . . without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerome, or the grave energy of Augustine’ (iii. 175 n.). As a thinker he is completely overshadowed by his great convert St. Augustine, whose baptism in S. Ambrogio, at his hands, is one of the great spiritual events of the world (April 25, 387). But his influence was strongly exerted in certain directions, some of which we may deplore, all of which had later developments. His extravagant regard for relics (Gervasius, supra), and his enthusiasm for virginity (see especially the three books de Virginitate addressed to his sister Marcellina) and asceticism were signs of the times and indications of the future. His theory of the Sacraments (de Sacramentis libri sex) tended to the emphasis of materialistic conceptions; for instance, he praises his brother Satyrus for tying a portion of the primary eucharist round his neck when shipwrecked (Amb. de excessu Satyri, i. 43, 46). He deduces the necessity of daily communion from the clause of the Lord’s Prayer (tiernoios; supersubstantialis, Vulg. quodiansus [de Sacr. vi. 21], a view much decried by St. Augustin; see supra, p. 168). His sermons are remarkable for their manliness and sober practicality, enforced at times by felicitous eloquence. His letters are more valuable as materials for the historian than because of any charm or personal revelation. In his exegetic writings, as we might expect from his lack of special study, contain little that is original, and are excessively allegorical after the fashion introduced by Origen (cf. August. Conf. Epist. 33). But his combined devotion to his church, and his ability to enrich Latin theology with many quotations from the Eastern Fathers, e.g. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Jerome, in fact, by reason of his dependence on these sources, especially Basil, compares him to a crow decked out in alien feathers (Rufinus, Instruct. ii.). We see this dependence in his de Bono Mortis (The Blessing of Death), written about 387, in which his exceedingly mild view of the future punishment of the wicked is plainly a tyrannical attempt to make it more serious, ‘he writes, ‘to live in sin than to die in sin’ (op. cit. 29). Nevertheless he ‘does not deny that there are punishments after death’ (ib. 33).

As a moral teacher Ambrose is seen at his best. His de Officis Ministerum et Sacerdotum, Ordinis of Cicerio, is an attempt to establish a Christian ethic on the basis of the old philosophic classification of four cardinal virtues (virtutes principales)—prudentia or sapientia, justitia, fortitudo, and temperantia (i.e. i. 24). Of these he identifies prudentia with a man’s relation to God (‘pietas in Deum’; de Offic. i. 27). The classification is essentially faulty, as it leaves no place for humility, a grace unrecognized by pagan writers, and which Ambrose, who had no difficulty in bringing it (de Offic. ii. 27), speaks of as an immortal to the Stoics, but rather the means to it. Ambrose further follows the Stoics in distinguishing between perfect and imperfect duties (‘officium medium anti perfectum’; concilium evangelicum and praecepta de Offic. l. 11, 168; iii. 21, 443, a doctrine later developed into the mediaval ‘works of supererogation.’) His exegesis of the Sermon on the Mount is literal. The taking of interest is unconditionally rejected; the Christian should not even defend himself against those who attack him (Paulin. Vit. 169), though, remembering his Old Testament, Jesus did not go so far as absolutely to condemn the soldier (i.e. L. 40). As was usual in the early Church, he disapproves of capital punishment, though he shows that he was somewhat embarrassed by the position
in the matter of Christian judges (Ep. xxv.). We
see his leanings to monasticism in his declaration
that charity is thus the partial adjustment of a wrong,
and, as such, able to cancel sin (de Elia et jejuniosis,
c. 20, from Tobit 12; Sermo de eleemosynae, 30, 31).
We see the new note of humanity in his declara-
tion that strangers must not be expelled from a
city in time of famine (de Offic. iii. 7).

LITURGISTS.—A. For the life of Ambrose we are dependent
on the materials to be found in his own works (first arranged
by Baronius) and on the Prol. of Paulinus, his secretary. This work,
developed from his sermons, is most unsatisfactory, and full of
abundant, predigions (with which of. the contemporary Sulpiac.
Severus, Vitae S. Ambrosii, ed. Migne, CSEL, cs. 1 § 97; 7, 32;
Dial. I. 56, 56, 1 of 5, § 63) It will be found in Migne, PL
xv. 27-46, or ed. Benz. App. An anonymous life in Greek
(Vita C. Ambrosii, ed. Martini, 51, PP. 110-117) is well
enlightened from the Augustinian, etc., are indicated in the text.

B. The chief editions of the works of Ambrose, including
a great many that are spurious, are: (1) the editions of Erasmius,
esp. the Bazel ed. of Froben in 1527; (2) the Roman ed. in 6 vols.
1585-1587; (3) the Benedictine ed. of de Frisches and de Nourry,
Paris, 1608-1609; (4) Migne, PL xiv.-xvii. (the last vol. most
spurious; Migne has excellent notes); (5) the new ed. in pro-
gress, by PI. Joh. Hafniense and others, ed. by Ab. Martini,
unfortunately as yet [1807] not printed); (6) the ed. of Baulenn (Milan, 1875).

C. Of modern works, mention may be made of Th. Fohrer,
Ambrose, Eine Studie (1881); of G. Friedmann, Studia Ambrosiana
(1888); of R. Pruner, Die Theol. d. Amb. (1882); of Deutsch. Des
Amb. Lehrte von d. Sünde und Sündenitigungn (1887); of P. Bier, Der
Einfluß der Geschichte auf die Bibel bei Amb. (1888).

For the historic setting, Gibbon, ed. Bury; and Hodgskin, Italy
and her Invaders (1886, vol. I), are indispensable.

H. B. WORKMAN.

AMERICA (Ethnology, Religion, and Ethics*).

—Although many of the ethnical questions presented
by the American Indians, as some now propose to
be called the American aborigines, wrongly named 'Indians' by the Spanish discoverers,
still await solution, the more fundamental problems affecting their origin and cultural
development may be regarded as finally settled.

Little is now heard of the 'Asiatic school,' which
debated their origins and all their works from
the Eastern Hemisphere in comparatively recent times,
that is, when the inhabitants of the Old World—Egyptians, Babylonians, Malays, Hindus,
Chinese, Japanese—were already highly specialized;
and that the mind and character, religious and social systems,
failed to discover any close contact with those of the Old World, but pointed rather to
development out of the Pithing to forms. In other cases, of course, the influences except the common germ of all human activities.
Direct contact or importation might, for instance, be shown by the survival of some language clearly traceable to an Eastern source; or some old buildings obviously constructed on
Egyptian, Chinese, or other foreign models; or some inscriptions on such buildings as might be
interpreted by the aid of some Asiatic or European script; or some sailing craft like the Greek trireme,
the Chinese junk, or Malay prau, or even the Polynesi-
can canoes, or some exotic plants and products as wheat, barley, rice, silk, iron; or
domestic animals such as the ox, goat, sheep, pig; or
poultry; things which, not being indigenous, might supply an argument at least for later inter-
ference. Of course all this evidence must be gathered.

The list might be prolonged indefinitely without
considering any cultural links between the two
hemispheres beyond such as may be traced to the
Stone Ages, or to the common psychic unity of
mankind. Mention is made of the oil-lamp, which,
however, is confined to the Eskimo fringe, and was
no doubt borrowed from the early Norse settlers
in Greenland. There are also the Mexican pyra-
maids, which have been likened to those of Memphis
by archaeologists who overlook the fundamentally
difficult that the Eskimos ceased to build pyramids some 3000 years
before the Mexican teocalli were raised by the
Toltecs. Lastly, recourse is had to the Aztec and
Maya calendric systems, although they proved, not
Oriental borrowings, as Humboldt wrongly thought,
but normal local developments, and are totally
different from those of the Eastern astronomers.

Mainly on these grounds, the late J. W. Powell
finally rejected the Asiatic theory, holding that
there is no evidence that any of the native arts
were introduced from the East; that stone imple-
ments are found in the Pleistocene deposits every-
where throughout America; that the industrial arts of America were born in America; that the
forms of government, languages, mythical and
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religious notions of the New World are not totally
different from those of the Eastern astronomers.

Recently exploration, especially in South America,
supports the view that this 'general homogeneity'
is not primordial, but the result of a somewhat
imperfect fusion of two original elements—long-
headed Europeans and round-headed Asians—
which reached the New World in pre- and inter-
glacial times by now vanished or broken land
connexions. The Europeans, who most probably came
first by the Faroe-Iceland-Greenland route avail-
able in the east and stationing in the eastern side of the continent, and ranged in
remote times from the Eskimo domain to the ex-
treme south, where they are still represented by the
Botocudos, Fuegians, and some other long-headed
isolated groups. Thus the veteran palæo-ethno-
ologist, G. de Mortillet, suggests that the Palæolithic
men, moving with the reindeer from Gaul north-
wards, passed by the then existing land bridge
to America, where they became the ancestors of the
Eskimos. This view is anticipated by Topin-
medard on anatomical grounds, and now confirmed for
South America by A. Nehring and F. P. Outes.
Nehring produces a long-headed skull from a
Brazilian shell-mound at Santos, which presents
characters like those both of the European Nean-
hthal and of the still older Japanese Pithecan-
1896, p. 710). And in Patagonia, Outes describes
eight undoubted Palæolithic stations and two Pleis-
tocene types,—a long-headed arriving from the
North-east and a short-headed from the North-
west (Les Edaines et la pedra en Fotogamia, Buenos
Aires, 1906, section ii.).

The two streams of migration—Asiatic short-
headed (North-west) and European long-headed (North-
west)—are thus seen to confluence in the extreme
south as early as the Old Stone Age; that is, prior
to any marked somatic and cultural specializations
in the Eastern Hemisphere. The Asians, following
the still bridged Bering route, appear to have
arrived a little later, but in larger bodies, which
explains the predominance of round heads along
the Pacific seaboard from Alaska to Chili. But
in such eras were inevitable, and the result is
that the Amerinds as a whole are a composite
race, in which the Mongolic (Asiatic) characters
are perhaps more marked than the Caucasian (Eu-
pean). Thus the complexion is reddish-brown,
coarse, or yellow, but not white; while the
hair is uniformly black, thick, often very long
and round in section, like that of all Mongols.
The high cheek-bones, too, point to Mongol descent,
as does also the low stature—5 feet and under to
5 feet 6 inches—in the west (Thinikets, Eskimos,
Haidas, Puelbos, Aztecs, Peruvians, Aymaras,
Araucnians). On the other hand, the large con-
vex or aquiline nose; the straight though rather
small eyes, never oblique; the tall stature (6 feet
6 inches to 8 feet and upwards), especially of the
Frisian Redkins, the Brazilian Bororos, and the
Patagonians, as well as a curious Caucasian expres-
sion often noticed even amongst the Amazonian
aborigines, bespeak a European origin, more par-
ticularly for the eastern and central groups.
The consensus of the generalizations which have
previously been propounded by students of the
Civilization of the American Indian, are showing
more and more that they must be modified, if not
entirely discarded, as the new facts which are
being brought to light appear to indicate that
the first wave of immigration was by the seafaring
people, who followed the Bering route, and not
by the smaller body of land builders who
initiated the meandering route of the Mississippi
valley. And the new facts also point to the
arrival of a race that was clearly a mongrel, with
European, African and Asiatic elements inter-
mixed. This current of immigration likely came
from the Asiatic Mediterranean, and reached the
Americas in two large groups, perhaps with a
third small group in between, who migrated by
the Bering strait route.

But before we enter into the history of the
languages, it may be well to point out that the
first great division of mankind is that between
the European and the Mongolic races, and that
the history of the latter is that of the conquerors,
who, in the course of time, have subdued the
inhabitants of the world. The European race is
the most advanced, and has the most complex
religion, the most highly developed sciences,
and the most refined arts. The European
languages are the most highly developed, and
have the most refined and refined forms.

However, the Mongolic languages are the
most highly developed, and have the most refined
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to Panama (Familias Linguisticas de Mexico, etc., Museo Nacional, 1902). The imperfectly explored South American section has already yielded over fifty stocks, of which the more important are the Quichua-Aymaran, the Tupi-Guaranian, the Cariban, Arawakan, Gesean, and Araucan. But some of these are lumped together in large groups, such as Algonquian and Purusian, the classification of which will, on more careful analysis, probably be found to comprise several stocks (Keane, Central and South America, 1901, vol. i. ch. ii.).

So uniform are the physical characters, that system of Algonquian we had something to do with the classification of the Amerind races on strictly anthropological data. Hence all current classifications are mainly linguistic, and make no claim to scientific accuracy. Thus Sir E. im Thurn declares that for Guiana, where "it is not very easy to describe the distinguishing physical characters," and where "there are no very great differences other than those of language," this factor "must be adopted as the base of classification" (Among the Indians of Guiana, 1883, p. 181). At the same time he adds that "the physical descent, which is often even informing, as we see in the northern fringe, where, owing to the astonishing tenacity with which the Eskimos cling to their highly poly-synthetic language, their pre-historic migrations may still be easily followed from Greenland to Labrador round the shores of the frozen ocean to Alaska, and even across the Bering waters to the opposite Asiatic mainland. So with the Algonquians, whose cradle is shown to lie about the Hudson Bay lands, where Cree, the most archaic of all Algonquian tongues, still survives."

Perhaps even more striking is the case of the Siouans (Dakotans), hitherto supposed to have been originally located in the prairie region west of the Mississippi, but now proved to have migrated thither from the Atlantic slope of the Alleghany uplands, where the Catawbas, Tutelo, Woccon, and other Virginian tribes still spoke highly archaic forms of Siouan speech within the memory of their people. So also the Niquirans, Pipils, and others of Guatemala and Nicaragua, who are known to be of Nahuan stock, not from their somatic characteristics, but solely from the corrupt Aztec language which they have always spoken.

As the tribe is thus identified only or mainly by its language, these also have become important in the distribution of the Amerind tongues in their several areas. It is noteworthy that the great majority of Powell's families, about forty altogether, are crowded in the great confusion along the narrow strip of seaboard between the coast ranges and the Pacific from Alaska to California: ten are dotted round the Gulf of Mexico from Florida to the Rio Grande, and two disposed round the Gulf of California, while nearly all the rest of the land—some six million square miles—is held by the six widely-distributed Eskimoic groups, sometimes known under the vague name of Iroquoian, Siouan, and Shoshonean families. Similarly in Mexico, Central and South America, about a dozen stocks—Opata-Piman, Nahuatl, Maya-Quichéan, Chortegan in the north; Cariban, Arawakan, Guayanan, Taapan, Aymara-Quichuan, Araucan in the south—are spread over many millions of square miles, while scores of others are restricted to extremely narrow areas. Various theories have been advanced to explain this strange distribution, and, at least in the North American prairie lands, the Venezuelan savannahs, and the Argentine pampas, a potent determining cause must have been the scouring action of fierce, pre-existing deserts, such as here, in Central Asia, most of the heterogeneous groups huddled together in contracted areas may perhaps be regarded as 'the sweepings of the plains.' The chief stocks, with their more important sub-groups, will be found in art. ETHNOLOGY, Conspicuous.

None of the Amerind languages has ever been reduced to written form except by the missionaries, and in one instance by a Cherokee native (Sequoyah, George Guess), working for himself. Its profoundest influence is on Old-World prototypes. Even the more cultured Peruvians had nothing but the guipo, a knotted string of varying thickness, colour, and length, used for recording dates, statistics, and events. The more artistic, but less serviceable, records of the Algonquians, in the form of rebuses, go back to the time when squared and squared the scribes of the land round, lived, and worked, as in the historical treaty between Penn and the Delaware Indians. But various rude pictographic systems, inscribed or painted on rocks, skins, earthenware, or calabashes, were almost universal, ranging from the extreme north (Eskimos) to Argentina and Central Brazil. The Matto Grosso aborigines, recently visited by the Bohemian explorer, V. Fric, have developed quite an ingenious method of 'taking notes,' using dried calabashes for the purpose. Everybody goes about with one of these, which contain as many as forty different incised lines and small important incidents being inscribed on it pictorially.

The art is perhaps the most perfect of the kind anywhere devised, since the scratchings are quite legible, and handed round to be read as we might turn a page of printed matter. In the respective and proportion are observed, as by the Bushmen in their cave paintings; and the evil spirits which swarm everywhere are also thwarted by being sketched in fanciful forms on the calabashes (Science, July 1906).

Far more advanced than any of these primitive methods are the Aztec, the Zapotec, and especially the Maya pictorial codices, painted in diverse colours on real native (maguey) paper, and mainly of a calendrical or astronomical character. Several have been reproduced in facsimile with long commentaries by Forstemann and Seler, but still remain undeciphered, although they express numerals quite clearly. They had also reached the rebus state, but apparently tell short of a true phonetic system, despite the claim of Bishop Landa's 'alphabet' to be regarded as such. There are also long mural inscriptions on many of the temples and other structures at Palenque, Uxmal, Chichen-Itza, and elsewhere in Chiapas, Yucatan, and Honduras. But the greatest in the abject attempts of Mr. Cyrus Thomas and others to interpret them, although the calciform ('pebble-like') characters present the appearance of a real script. It is admitted that many have phonetic value, but only as rebus, and the transition from the rebus to true syllabic and alphabetic systems had apparently not been made by any of the Amerinds. But even so, these codices and wall writings, believed to embody calendric systems on a level with the reformed Julian, represent their highest intellectual achievements, while the Algonquian and the other mentioned districts rank as their greatest architectural triumphs, rivalled only by those of the Chimú, Quichuas, and Aymaras in Peru and on the shores of Lake Titicaca.

Elsewhere there is nothing comparable to these monumental remains of Central and South America, and the less cultured Amerinds of North America have little to show of aesthetic interest beyond their beautiful ceramic and wickerwork products, the stone statues of the earth-moving irregular distribution, and in the heart of the New Mexican valley and some other parts of the Mississippi basin, and the casas grandes of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. On the origin of the casas grandes—huge stone structures large enough to accommodate the whole community—are the work of their present occupants, the Hopi (Moki), Tafoan,
Keresan, and Zuñiian tribes, driven to the southern uplands by the Apaches, Navahos, and other predatory nomads of the plains. Their communal houses or strongholds grew out of the local conditions, and the complete adaptation of Pueblo architecture to the physical environment is quite obvious. The circular chambers called estufas or kivas occurring in some districts are still the council houses and temples, the 'medicine lodges,' in which the religious and social affairs of the community are transacted, and their very form recalls the time when the tribe dwelt in round huts or tents on the plains. Some are very old, some quite recent; yet the structures do not differ from one another, and in all cases 'the result is so rude that no sound inference of sequence can be drawn from the study of individual examples; but in the study of large aggregations of rooms we find some clues. The unit of Pueblo construction is the single room, even in the large many-storied villages. This unit is quite as rude in modern as in ancient work, and both are very close to the result which would be produced by any Indian tribes who came into the country and were left free to work out their own ideas. Starting with this unit, the whole system of Pueblo architecture is a product of the semi-civilized ancients, dependent as they were on environment, naturally produced the cliff-dwellings. The tendency towards this type was strengthened by inter-tribal relations; the cliff-dwellers were probably descended from agricultural or semi-agricultural villagers who sought protection against enemies, and the control of land and water through aggregation in communities' (ibid. p. 94).

In the same way many of the Ohio mounds, which represent the aspect of fortresses, may have been raised by the more settled Cherokee (Iroquoian) tribes as earthworks against the lawless nomads of the surrounding plains. In any case the long controversy regarding their origin may now be closed; they appear to have been constructed, not by any unknown pre-historic race, but by the present Amerinds, is generally accepted as beyond reasonable doubt. Mr. W. K. Moorehead, one of the best observers, recognizes two distinct mound-building races, the earlier long-heads of the Muskingum valley, and the later round-heads whose chief centre lay about the source of the Ohio river. From the sepulchral and other mounds of the long-heads have been recovered slate and copper bracelets and other ornaments, all generally inferior to those of the round-heads. Fort Ancient, the largest of the earthworks in Ohio, is nearly a mile long with over 10 miles of artificial knolls, and Chillicothe on the Scioto river is the centre of several extensive groups, such as the Hopewell and Hopeton works, and the Mound City, that have yielded potteries of artistic design, finely wrought flints, and some copper, but no bronze or iron implements—another proof that nearly the whole of America was inhabited by the Indians who preceded the Discovery. Moorehead concludes that none of the mound-builders attained more than a high state of savagery; that they were skilled in several arts, but excelled in none; that they were not even semi-civilized, much less possessed of the 'lost civilization with which they have been credited' (Primitive Man in Ohio, 1892, passim).

Hence the general inference of Cyrus Thomas that there is nothing in the mounds that the Amerinds could not have done, that many have been erected or continued in post-Columbian times, consequently by the present aboriginals, who can even have no reason for ascribing them to any other race of which we have no knowledge (Twelfth An. Report of BE, Washington, 1894). Taking a broader view of the whole horizon, Dr. Hany ventures to suggest that the mound-builders, the Pueblo Indians, and the cliff-dwellers 'all belong to one and the same race,' whose prototype may be a fossil Californian skull from the Calaveras surburous gravels assumed to be of Pliocene age (L'Anthropologie, 1896, p. 140).

*For most of these Northern Amerinds a higher moral standard may perhaps be claimed than for the more civilized Central and South American peoples. Our general impression of the native American, writes Mr. Delafield Hutch, who knows them well, is that he is a kind of human demon or wild animal, never to be trusted, unable to keep a compact, and always thirsting for blood. But it is not so. If treated fairly he may nearly always be trusted. This 'covenant chain' with the British unbroken for over a century; the Delawares never broke faith with Penn; and for two hundred years the Hudson Bay Company have traded all over the northern part of the continent, without a serious rupture with any of the Chipewyan, Cree, and other rude Athapascan and Algonquin tribes.*

*"We are blind to our own shortcomings, and exaggerate those of the Amerind. In estimating their traits we do not require from them enough from their own standpoint, and without so regarding them we cannot understand them. Daily life in the earlier days was by no means bloody, and a scimitar-knife was no more the emblem of pre-Columbian society than the bayonet is of ours. In most localities he achieved for all, what all are with us still dreaming to obtain—"liberty and a living," and his methods of government possessed admirable qualities" (op. cit. p. 353.)*

The aborigines, however, were not free from the taint of cannibalism, which, if it assumed a somewhat ceremonial aspect in the north, was widely practised by many of the Brazilian, Andean, Colombian, and Amazonian tribes to a much greater extent than any such religious motive. Thus the nearly extinct Catos, between the Atrato and Cauca rivers, were reported, like the Congo negroes, to 'fatten their captives for the table.' Their Darien neighbours Augulo the women of this tribe have been driven by them, and brought up the children till their fourteenth year, when they were eaten with much rejoicing, the mothers ultimately sharing the same fate (Cieza de Leon). The Cocomas along the Rio Maranon ate their own dead, grinding the bones to drink in their fermented liquor, and explaining that 'it was better to be inside a friend than to be swallowed up by the cold earth' (Markham, JAI, 1895, 235 f.). The very word cannibal is a variant of the Quechua, derived from the object of the universal was the custom in New Granada, that 'the living were the grave of the dead; for the husband has been seen to eat his wife, the brother his brother or sister, the son his father; captives also are eaten roasted' (Steinmets, Endokasambolismus, p. 19). The lowest depths of the horrible in this respect were touched by what J. Nieuwehof relates of the wide-spread East Brazilian Tapuya savages, although something nearly as bad is told by Dobrizhoffer of some of the primitive Guarani tribes in Paraguay (ibid. 1746). The Sioux kept up with the Canada, and many of the people of the North, are certain cannibals (McGee). But elsewhere in the north, anthropophagy has either long since died out, or else survives here and there apparently only as a ceremonial rite. 'Cannibalism of this
kind prevailed in many tribes; always, ostensibly, a religious ceremony, not a means of satisfying hunger. The victims were often richly feasted and generously treated for some time before being executed' (Dellenbaugh, p. 368). Yet Payne declares that the Aztec custom of consuming captives at religious festivals was in reality a means of procuring food and meat and a limited meat supply, and that perpetual war was waged mainly to obtain prisoners for this purpose (History of the New World, etc., ii. pp. 495, 499, 501).

The more favourable picture presented by the northwestern tribes is applicable to the Iroquois, in many respects the finest of all the Amerinds,—unsurpassed, says Brinton, by any other on the continent, 'and I may even say by any other people in the world. In legislation, in eloquence, in fortitude, and in military sagacity they had no equals. They represented the highest development the Indian ever reached in the hunter state. Crimes and offences were so infrequent under their social system that the Iroquois can scarcely be said to have a criminal code. Theft was rarely known, and, on whatever price, the Iroquois spoke the truth without fear and without hesitation' (The American Race, p. 82). Even in the literary sphere they rank high, as attested by Sequoyah's most ingenious syllabary—see above the striking and poetic effusions of Miss Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake), who can thus sing of the departed Amerind's 'Happy Hunting Grounds':

'Into the rose-gold westland its yellow prairies roll,
The world of the bosom's freedom, home of the Indian's soul.
Roll out, 0 seas, in sunny bathed,
Your plains wind-tossed, and grass-enwathed.

Do they not know the lovely faith condole?

Who envies not the Red-skin's soul?

Sailing on the cloudland, sailing into the sun,
Into the crimson portals ajar when life is done.'
(The White Wampum, 1890).

This vision of a cloudland, the glorified abode of departed souls, is a purely anthropomorphic notion common to all the primitive Amerind peoples. It has nothing to do with the supernatural, or with rewards and penalties after death, or even with the immortality of the higher creeds, but is to be considered purely as a natural concomitant of the present life, freed from its cares and troubles. Skyland is only a distant part of this world, which is better than the tribal territory, and in which the departed continue to live in a state of absolutely material and happy existence, exempt from present anxieties, and, so to say, without a thought for the morrow.

'The key to the whole matter may be provided by remembering that these [Guiana] Indians look on the spirit-world as exactly parallel to, or more properly as a part of, the material world known to them. Spirits, like material beings, differ from each other only, if the phrase be allowed, in their varying degrees of brute force and brute cunning; and none are distinguished by the possession of anything like divine attributes. Indians therefore regard disembodied spirits not otherwise than the beings still in the body whom they see around them' (Sir E. Inglefield, Travels of Guiana, 1855, p. 353).

Such is the first stage of the purely animistic religions common to the more primitive Amerind peoples in North and South America. The essential point is the creation of sin, in the after-world, where they continue to follow their ordinary pursuits under more pleasant conditions. Thus the Eskimo has his kayak, his harpoons, and great schools of eels; the redskin his tobacco, his arrows and arrowheads, his bisons, and so on. Thus is explained the secondary part played by ancestor-worship, and also the great variety of burial rites among the Amerinds. If a man remains a man, he cannot be deified or worshipped; and if he is still interested in human pursuits, he needs attendance and attendance.

The Guiana native is buried in his house, which is then deserted, so that he may visit his former dwelling without interference from his survivors. He will also need his hammock and other necessary things, which are accordingly buried with him. In the north-west he was accompanied by a slave, who, if not dead in three days, was strangled by another slave. In Mexico, the custom of burying live slaves with the dead is general; and then they were wrapped in fine fur or less costly grasses and matting, to keep them warm. Then there were burials in pits, mounds, cists, caves; also cremation, embalming, and sepulture in trees or on scaffolds, or in the water, or in canoes that were then set on fire. The peculiar custom of the Araucanian people, who consign the departed spirits, not to an invisible heaven or hell, but to the visible
constellations of the starry firmament. Their forefathers are the bright orbs which move along the Milky Way, and from these ethereal heights are still able to look down and keep watch over their earthly children. Under their ever vigilant gaze, these Southern Amerinds had a far higher motive than the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, to avoid wrong-doing and to practise all the virtues, that is, all the tribal usages sanctioned by tradition. Thus, without any legal codes, pains, or penalties, the social interests were safeguarded, while even personal conduct was controlled; for who would dare to wrong his neighbour beneath the glittering eyes of his ancestors? scarcely any more complete fusion of the ethical and religious systems has elsewhere been realized (Eauth, 1884).

It will be seen at once that these Aracanian ancestors, though wafted aloft, still remained human, with human cares and interests, and hence could not be worshipped as gods. The Delawares also would say to a dying man, to comfort him, ‘You are about to visit your ancestors,’ or, as we might say, to join the majority, without attaching any sense of an apotheosis to the expression. So it is nearly everywhere amongst the Amerinds, and Herbert Spencer’s broad generalization that all religions and all their ancestor-worship (‘ghost propitiation’) does not apply at all to the New World. His further statement (Eccles. Institutions, p. 657), that ‘nature-worship is but an aberrant form of ghost-worship,’ has here to be reversed since there were various forms of what American writers designate as zooltheism, that is, the deification, not of men, but of animals. Deilenbaugh says emphatically: ‘Savage races worship animal gods and not man-worshippers as animals; they distinguish as Kiehtan was merely the head of a pantheon, the Zeus or Diespiter of the New World. Hence he

This is the Manitou of the early writers, who is described by the missionaries as the Creator, the Supreme Being, the one True God of the really monothetic aborigines. But this Manitou with many variants is the Devil of the New Jersey natives (Amer. Hist. Record, i. 1872), and in the Delaware Walam Olum, edited by Brinton (Philadelphia, 1835), there are all kinds of Manitou—their original ancestor-worship. But the term was applied to men and their grandfather, and ‘an evil Manitou,’ who makes ‘evil beings only, monsters, flies, gnats,’ and so on. The claim of this Manitou, the ‘grandfather of the Delawares,’ that as the Eus Supremum must therefore be dismissed with the like claims of the Dakotan ‘Wakanda’ and other Amerindian candidates for the highest honours. On the general question of a Supreme Being it is most probable that the deities of the early Algonquin natives are better known than the so-called ‘gods’ of most of the present North American aborigines. This is true, though the observations made by Capt. John Smith, Strachey, Roger Williams, and a few others prior to Christian influences. The first preachers translated ‘God’ and ‘Jahweh’ by the Algonquian terms manit, menditu, ‘he is god’; also manittoo (whereas our ‘mammon’), which simply means ‘ghost’ or ‘spirit,’ so that the name was used to express the gods of the Bible. Here m is an impersonal prefix which is dropped in polysynthetic composition (see p. 377), leaving the root anit, ant, and, i.e. any spirit, not the Spirit himself. It was an impersonal hero-worship, extended to one and all of the gods of our Bible, and to restrict it to one was reading into it a meaning puzzling to the natives, though required for the right understanding of the Christian and Biblical concepts. One of these genii was Kau-tan-you-and, the great south-west spirit, whose blissful abode all departed souls migrated, and whence came their corn and beans. The same root appears in Kehte-niit, the ‘Great Spirit, which by the epithet kehte = great’ was the chief god of the Algonquins, who associated him with Hobamow, the Evil One, thus suggesting the two principles of good and evil as more fully developed in the Walam Olum, and among the Aracanians and others. E. Winslow (Good News for Tolerant People) says, ‘It was the chief god of the Algonquins, maker of all the other gods, and himself made by none. But if there were other gods, by whomsoever made, then Kehtan was merely the head of a pantheon, the Zeus or Dispeter of the New World. Hence he
naturally dwells above, in the heavens towards the setting sun, whither all go after death. But he had a rival, Squan-tam, 'whom they acknowledge,' says Josselyn, 'but worship him they do not.' In any case he was more to be feared than loved, for squan-tam comes from the verb masquanta (= he is man, 'a man'; see the Narraganset remark at any casual mishap, masquanta maní, 'God was angry and did it' (J.A.P.L. vol. xii.).

Respecting the Dakota Wakanda, also supposed to rank as the Supreme Being, W. J. McGee clearly shows that he is not a personality at all, merely a group of configural - or perhaps, as M. de Nadallic, Prehistoria America, 1885; F. S. Dellenbaugh, The North Americans of Yesterday, 1913; A. H. Keane, Man Past and Present, 1903; W. H. Holabird, Researches in New Granada, Bevador, etc. 1890; J. J. von Tschudi, Reisen durch Südamerika, 5 vols. 1896–99; F. Ehrenreich, Die Ur- bauerwirser Brasilien, 1897; K. von den Steinen, Durch Central- Brasilien, 1886; The Annual Reports of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and the Publicans of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

AMERICA, SOUTH—The religious ideas of the savage peoples of South America are in comparison with those of the North Americans, strikingly undeveloped. They have not advanced beyond the crudest forms of belief in ghosts, such as are produced by the vague fear of the souls of the dead, or of the demons, which express themselves in certain natural occurrences. Their religious beliefs are thus not essentially superior to those of the Australians or the Papuans.

The want of a belief in gods, in the proper sense of the term, speaks less for the low stage of religious culture than for the absence of organized worship that is of gods from the civilized and half-civilized peoples of the region of the Andes and of Central America.

We find such traces among the Arhuacos (Róggaes) of Colombia, the Tainos of the Antilles, the Tajas of Eastern Bolivia, the Araucans and several nations of the Chaco and the Pampas, which are in connexion with them, especially the Guaycuru group, who have also adopted numerous elements of Peru- vian culture.

Of course the mythology of the South Americans can tell us of creators and world figures, but still these are without the character of gods. They are legendary figures without even a semblance of organized worship without influence on man and his fate, and thus also devoid of religious worship or veneration. The Peruvian religion was the first to raise the heroes of the legends, so far as they were personifications of the sun or moon, to the position of divinities. Among the Chibchas of Colombia are to be found the first approaches to this.

The earliest reports regarding the religious ideas of the savage tribes of the time of the Conquest and the first missionaries are, in general, obscure and contradictory. While some deny all religious feeling to the Indians, others tell of reverence for God, or at least of devil-worship, and others again of the dualistic opposition of a good and an evil spirit.

On the other hand, reverence for one all-ruling highest being was expressly ascribed to many tribes. In particular the following are named: Tapan among the western Tupis, Sume among the southern Tupis or the Guaris, Pillan among the Araucans, Quivas among the Queves of the Abipones, Socuy among the Patagonians, and others. As a matter of fact it is in all these cases by no means to do with more elevated ideas of God. These beings are, on the contrary, mere natural demons or defiled ancestors or heroes of the tribe.

Without doubt, the demonic figures which took part in the masked dances of the Indians have
often been regarded by the missionaries as gods or devils. The festive huts, the houses of the community or of the bachelors, in which the masks were preserved, were supposed to be ‘temples.’ And yet, all the contemporary observers even at that date emphasize the absence of specific actions of worship (prayer or sacrifices), except in the above-mentioned cases of probable foreign influence from regions of higher culture. Still, the masked dances might be regarded as the first traces of a primitive culture. As the analogies among other savage peoples teach to the ceremonial ceremonies are in the main directed towards exerting a magical influence on animals or animal spirits (in the sense of an allurement, defence, or multiplication), or towards driving out destructive demons that manifest themselves in natural phenomena.

Often too, of course, they are primitive dramatic representations of achievements of the tribe and of the legends of the heroes, as, e.g., connected with the Yurupari idol mysteries of the tribe of the Uaruêpi, and probably those of the Pasé and Tikunas, and those of the Chiquitos of Bolivia, which were described above. The sacred dances of the Taimo in Cuba and Hispaniola (Haiti), the so-called Aretios, were of this nature.

These masquerades seem to be especially important at the initiation ceremony of the young men, at funeral celebrations, and at the laying of new settlements. The use of masks seems to have been confined to the basin of the Amazon. In Guiana, wood, or in nightly regnity, the east coast, and farther south than 15° south latitude their existence has not been proved.

We know more particularly only those of the Maráton (Tikunas), the Guaycuru (Tupis), the Tangarés (Taimo), the upper Xingu (Bakairi, M pinsik, and Trumai) and of Aranyagu, those of the Karaya (which present a striking resemblance to the so-called dunduk masks of New Britain).

Idols of stone and wood belonging to a more ancient period are frequently mentioned in the Antilles, in Darien, Venezuela, and on the Amazon; still, we are ignorant of their appearance or significance. Only with regard to the Tainos do we know that they represented their ancestral gods (Zemias) in grotesque figures of wood and cotton, of which a few have been preserved. On the lower Amazon various peculiarly formed sculptures of men and animals have been found, whose dates point to the Colombian sphere of culture (according to Barboza Rodriguez and R. Andree).

The so-called idols of the Takanas of Eastern Bolivia have not yet been more closely investigated. The wooden 'Santos' of the Cadoves (Guaycuru) are in probability representations of ancestors, but perhaps influenced by Christianity.

In the older literature actual divinities of individual peoples are mentioned; in particular Tupan, the 'god of the eastern Tupi,' whose name was adopted in the popular language as the general designation of God, and, through the influence of religious instruction carried over to many tribes of the interior. Thus he frequently obtained the significance of 'the God of the white man.' In reality, Tupan is simply the thunder-demon of the Tupis, who, however, pay him all sorts of worship. In the magic rattle (maraká) his worshippers believed that he heard their voice, and so it came about that Bana Staden pronounces the name Tupan to be nothing other than the god of the tribe. In his nature he has absolutely nothing to do with the one God in the Christian sense of the term.

In other cases the supposed divine beings are of naturally social nature, the ancestors of the tribe, or culture-heroes, who are active as demi-urges, like Tami or Sume of the Tapi-Guaranis, whom even the missionaries identified with St. Thomas, who in some mysterious fashion was reported to have been the first to bring religion and civilization to America.

Other similar figures are Quetzalcoau and Ekuban in Central America, Bochica in Colombia, and Viracocha in Peru. The one is also true of Aguaraní of the Alibones, the Roscuet or Quipus of the Pocheps and Aranaís, and the fox-god of the Chiriguas (according to Campana).

We can thus gather exceedingly little positive information from the older references. The more recent material for observation is also still scanty and incomplete. The following must be regarded as certain, so far as it goes. The belief in souls (animism) forms for these peoples the basis of all their supernatural ideas. The spirits of the dead are thought of as demons which for the most part hostile, or at least different,—or good spirits stand over against these evil demons.

Of such a nature are the Opyen and Mapayan of the Caribbean islands, the Anbangas of the Tupis, the Kas不下 of the Purunas. Only among the Tainos do we find a completely systematized spirit worship of the Zemias, which are represented by idols.

The belief in the incarnation of the souls of the dead in animals is widely diffused. Jaguars, snakes, and in particular birds like araaras, hawks, eagles, are such soul-animals. Besides these, there are everywhere spiritual beings representing different states of nature; cobolís, which appear in animal or grotesque human forms, but as a rule invisible to the eye, manifest themselves in certain natural sounds, such as in the echo, in the rustling of the wind, and, of an additional kind, or have their seat in remarkable rock formations.

The best known are the forest demons of the Tupis—Kaspora, Kurupize, and Yurupari—which were adopted in the popular superstition of the colonists. Similar beings dwell in the water as gigantic snakes or crab-like monsters.

Where a special 'land of the fathers' in heaven, or more seldom in the lower world, is accepted, the souls of the dead return to it. Among the Chaco tribes the stars are the souls of warriors, which combat one another in the thunder-storm. As falling stars, they change their places. Certain constellations—in particular Orion, the Cross, Pleiades, the Milky Way—are regarded as representations of beings or objects of mythical significance belonging to the primeval time. They illustrate in this way incidents in the activity of the culture-heroes in the cosmogonical legends.

These peoples have not as yet been a deification of cosmic bodies and natural powers. Even the sun and the moon have remained, in spite of their personification in the myth, without significance for the religious ideas. Atmospheric phenomena, too, have been little observed, a fact which probably is connected with the great regularity of the rainfall and thunderstorms throughout the whole continent. In a few cases proof can be given that demons or spirits of nature were supposed to manifest themselves in these phenomena.

Among the eastern Tupis, Tupaí reveals himself in the lightning flash; among the Machakalis, Aksanua shakes the rain out of his beard. The Caribbean Indians know demons who can control the sea, the wind, and the rain. The rainbow, too, is frequently regarded as an evil spirit that brings sickness (gelok, deril), of the Caribbean peoples of Columbia peoples he is a mythical animal, snake (Ipinura) or electric eel (Karaya).

Tendencies towards the development of actual divinities and divine cults are to be found among the Tainos, who, besides the spirits of their ancestors, revered the sun and the moon; and probably also among the old tribes of Darien and of the north coast (according to Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, and others). In the western Taimo of the Takanas of Eastern Bolivia, gods of water, of fire, of sicknesses, etc. are mentioned, and their images were worshipped in temples by means of sacrifices and dances (according to Col. Labre and P. Armentas). But these details have not yet obtained scientific confirmation. Again, with
regard to the sacrifice of horses which the Patagonians or tribes of the Pampas are said to offer, we have no exact information. In individual cases the mighty phenomena of volcanic action have led to divine worship of active volcanoes.

Thus the Jirabo of Ecuador are supposed to look upon the river as a condition of the earth to whom they offer prayer. Among the Araucus, Pillan is the god of thunder and of volcanoes. Subordinate to him are the Cherusves, the indians of the summer lightning, who in like manner are thought of as dwelling in volcanoes.

The cause of this imperfect development of the belief in gods is probably to be sought in the entire condition of the culture and the whole of South America, with the exception of the slopes of the Andes. Agricultural rites of a magical nature, from which, as a rule, divine cults are developed, do not easily arise among tribes who, though practising primitive agriculture, may yet be said to follow an almost purely hunting or fishing life, and owing to the perfectly regular change of kinds of weather and the certainty of copious showers, do not require heavy reliance. Only under the more rigourous natural conditions of the lands in the eastern Tropics, did the farmer recognize his dependence on higher powers, at the head of which he placed the sun, or Light-god.

The mythology of the South America, now unfortunately little known to us, seems to have been more plentiful than might have been expected from their crude religious ideas. The most that we know comes from more recent times; still, even from the 16th cent. we possess a comparatively complete cosmogony and a heroic legend of the eastern Tropics, related by Thévet, Cosmographie, Paris, 1574 (in extracts in Dénis' Fête brésilienne, Paris, 1851). Further, we have fragments of a creation-legend of the Tainos, according to Peter Martyr. The subsequent missionary period has supplied us only with scattered and unreliable material.

It was not till recent times that more valuable sources were again furnished by the investigations of travellers, such as D'Orbigny (for the Yuruparí of Bolivia and Brazil) and E. Thümmler (for the tribes of Guiana), Cardus (for the Guayareños of Bolivia), von den Steinen and Ehrenreich (for the Bakairis, Paressis, and Karayays of Central Brazil), Lenz (for the Araúkas), Bobra (for the Kaingang of the Guaranic stock of South Brazil), and others.

Of great importance is the so-called Yurupari myth of the Uaipe tribe, communicated by Stradelli (Bol. soc. geogr. Ital., Rome, 1890), the only complete legend handed down regarding the worship of a secret society. A critical collection of all the materials discovered up to the present time was given by Ehrenreich in his Mythen und Legenden der südamer. Uvolker, Berlin, 1905. The myths deal in the main with cosmogony, the work of creation of the culture hero or heroes, conceived of as brothers, who bring to mankind the useful plants, fire, and other possessions, and appoint the course of sun and moon. The sun or highest heavenly being, thought of as a magician, is placed at times, as the progenitor of the heroes, at the beginning of the cosmogony. This is the case in the myth of the Tupis, Kamushini of the Bakairis. A destruction of the world by flood or by world-conflagration occurs more than once (see Andree, Flutemasen). The story of the birth of the hero brothers with the name of 'suns' is immediately connected with the death of their mother, their combat with monsters and with one another, their ascension into heaven or descent into the lower world, offers many parallels with myths of the old world. Still, these can be fairly considered as bearing, as lying at the basis of all these myths, which is always connected with the sun and moon and their relation to each other. The heroes themselves are often immediately recognizable as personifications of these stars, as, e.g., the pair of brothers Keri and Kame among the Bakairis.

On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many North American and even East Asiatic legendary elements which have been transferred to South America, probably following the Pacific Coast. In like manner there are common elements in the stories of the heroes of Peru and Eastern Brazil which can be explained only by immediate influence of the one people on the other.

goes to prove that the conception was well known at that period. This latter fact, among numerous others, is of weight in disproving the theory advanced by Darmesteter, that the conception of the Amesha Spentas in Zoroastrianism was late, and of foreign origin to Philo Judaeus.

The various attributes which the Zoroastrian scriptures apply to the Amesha Spentas are in harmony with the spiritual qualities represented by these allegorical personifications. This will be manifest at a glance, if reference be made to the Avesta (e.g. Yasna, xxxv. 3; Ys. 9; 9. 12; Yasna, iv, xxiv, 9, liviii. 5; Yasli, xiliii. 82–84). The Gāthic adjectives vohu 'good,' vahidha 'best,' vairiyā 'wished-for,' spenta 'holy,' which are the most common titles of the first four Amesha Spentas in the earlier period of the religion, become in later times standing epithets, practically indispensable to the qualities to which they are added by way of nearer definition. The last two personifications, Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, have no standing attributes, but are commonly mentioned together as a pair.

The Amesha Spentas were Ahura Mazda's own creation (Yasht, i. 25; Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 103), and their function is to aid him in the government of the world (Yas. 91, 92; Spenta, 9–10; Vendidad, xix. 9; Bundahish, i. 23–28). They are invisible and immortal (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, pp. 47–48), good rulers, givers of good, ever bestowing (Yasna, xxxv. 9). They have their Fravashis, which are invoked (Yasht, xiliii. 82). They receive special worship in the ritual, and are said to descend to the oblations upon paths of light (Yasht, xiliii. 84, xii. 17). They are engaged in the welfare of all things, sit on a throne of gold (Vendidad, xii. 32); but they are not infinite and unproportioned like their Lord, Ormazd (Dinkart, tr. Sanjana, p. 114). They are spoken of as the givers and rulers, mediators and saviors, protectors and preservers of the creation of Ormazd (Yasht, xii. 18). For that reason the guardianship of some special element in the universe is assigned to each. To Vohu Manah is entrusted the care of useful animals; to Asha Vahishta, the fire; to Khshathra Vairiya, the earth; to Spenta Armaiti, the guardianship of the earth, whose spirit she is; and to Haurvatat and Ameretat, the care of water and vegetation (Shahystān-Shayastāt, xv. 5; Great Bundahish, tr. Darmesteter, in Zeitschrift für die vergleichende Sprachforschung, xxiv. 9). The relation, in each case, between tutelary genius and element, has been variously explained, according to the stress laid upon the physical or the spiritual side of the concept; but it is certain that the association and the double nature are old, because the twofold character may be seen fore-shadowed in the Gāthas, and becomes pronounced, in the later texts especially, on its physical side. Each Amesha Spenta has a special month assigned to his care (Bundahish, xxv. 20). Each has a special day as holy day (Srōst, i. 17). Each has a special flower, e.g., white jasmine sacred to Vohu Manah, the 'basil-royal' to Khshathra Vairiya, musk to Spenta Armait (Bundahish, xxvii. 24).

It is impossible here to enter into a detailed discussion of the functions of each of the Amesha Spentas, the first three of which celestial group are males (or rather, neuter according to the grammatical gender, not sex), and the last three females; but it is sufficient to observe that these exalted personifications play an important rôle as archangels throughout the entire history of the Zoroastrian religion, and are opposed (more particularly in the later development of the faith) by six antagonists, or corresponding archfiends, Aka Manah, Indra, Saura, Nāzakheshtyā, Tauru, and Zātri (Vendidad, x. 9–10, xii. 43; Yasht, xii. 96). The Amshaspands will, nevertheless, vanquish these opponents at the time of the resurrection (Yasht, xii. 96; Bundahish, xxx. 29).

To draw parallels between the conception of the Amesha Spentas as a spiritual band higher than the angels (Av Michigan 337. 26), and the Celestial Supreme Being, Ahura Mazda, and the Biblical doctrine of archangels, is natural and has been done by some scholars, while others have emphasized the likenesses to the idea of the Adityas in ancient India. Opinions vary as to whether the resemblances are due to borrowing, or to some common source, or, again, to natural developments. It is premature, as yet, to attempt to give a decision on this question, which is but a part of the whole problem of the influence of Zoroastrianism on other religions or its kinship with them.

AMIABILITY—’AMM, ’AMMI

From this passage it would appear that the ’Am ha-ares was regarded by the Rabbis as a person who was accustomed to neglect the various enactments of the Law, and the general attitude of the Pharisees towards him was one of contempt and hostility. As we have seen, the Ḥabbēr is warned against having intercourse with him, and it naturally followed that the intercourse between the two classes was regarded with the greatest disfavour. 'One that gives his daughter in marriage to an ’Am ha-ares,' R. Meir used to say, 'as if he had bound her and set her before a lion' (Bab. Aboth, 56). In another place it is stated that the ’Am ha-ares is disqualified for acting in certain capacities, which are enumerated under six heads, viz. (1) he must not be appointed to receive evidence; (2) his own evidence is not to be accepted; (3) a secret must not be confided to him; (4) he must not be appointed as the guardian of orphans; (5) he must not be appointed as overseer of the charity box; (6) it is not right to accompany him on a journey (Bab. Pesah, 493, and Rashi's comment, ed. loc.). The attitude of hostility was apparent, as would appear, among other passages, from the saying of R. Akiba which occurs just before the passage cited above. He is reported to have said, 'When I was an ’Am ha-ares I used to say, 'Would that I had a talmīd ḥakham from the wise, 'scholar,' and he would bite him as an ass.' Or again, a little later, 'The hatred with which the ’Am ha-ares hates the talmīd ḥakham is greater than the hatred with which the heathen hates Israel' (Bab. loc. cit.). These passages offer a sufficient explanation of the words of Jn 7:49 'This people who knoweth not the law are accursed,' in which we may probably see a reference to the attitude of the Pharisees towards the ’Am ha-ares. Some difference of opinion exists as to the identity of the Ḥabbēr, with whom the ’Am ha-ares is so frequently contrasted in the Mishna. Schürer and others identify the Ḥabbēr with the Pharisees, making the two terms practically synonymous. Others are rather inclined to regard the Ḥabbēr as a member of some kind of religious guild bound to a strict observance of the Law. But one thing is perfectly clear, viz. that the Ḥabbēr was not necessarily himself a talmīd ḥakham, though he might incidentally be one. This would appear from the following passage: 'He that would take upon himself the decrees of the association (ḥabbēruth) must do so in the presence of three ḥabbērēm; even if he is a talmīd ḥakham, he must do it in the presence of three ḥabbērēm (Dab. Bekhor, 50b).

Two passages may be cited which appear to indicate a less hostile attitude towards the ’Am ha-ares. The first one is from Aboth de R. Nathan (ed. Schechter, p. 546), the other is from the Midrash Shir ha-Shirim Rabba. In the first of these we are told that it is not right for a man to say, 'I, the wise man, but hate the disciples, love the disciples, but hate the ’Am ha-ares'; but love them all, and hate the heretics and apostates and informers.

An attempt has been made to mitigate the severity of the statements concerning the ’Am ha-ares which have been quoted above, by suggesting that in reality they refer to informers and political enemies (see Montefiore [Hibbert Lectures] and Rosenthal, cited below), sufficient evidence for this is not forthcoming; and the quotation given above from Aboth de R. Nathan seems to point in the contrary direction. This also appears to be the view of the writer in the JE, who states as his opinion that 'there can be no doubt it was this continuous and hostile attitude of the Pharisaic schools towards the masses that was the chief cause of the triumphant power of the Christian Church.' A new and independent investigation of many points connected with the ’Am ha-ares is to be found in the recently published work of A. Büchler, cited below.

LITERATURE.—Mishna, Demai, i. 3, ii. 2, 3, iii. 4, vi. 9, 12; Shabbith, v. 9; Mo'asur shel, iii. 3, iv. 6; Hagigah, ii. 7, Gittin, v. 9; Eduyoth, i. 14, Aboth, ii. 13, Horayoth, iii. 9, Ḥinnom, iii. 8; Tosefet, iv. vii. 1, 2, 4, 5, vili. 1, 3, 5, Makkāhērīm, vi. 5; Tosefet Yom, iv. 5; Jesus. Hor. iii. 45a; Bab. Britrīth, 47b, 48a; Tosef. 35a, Seder, Ein Gedi, 4, 2; Levittica Rabbī, 67, Abodh de R. Nathan, ed. Schechter, 16, 64; Nathan de Shinah Rabbī; Scheurer, Das christliche Christenthums (1894), ch. ii.; Ad. Büchler, Das galiläisch ’Am ha-ares (1900).

H. LEONARD PASS.

AMIABILITY.—The adjective 'amiable' is obviously the Lat. amabilis modified in transmission through the French. It is thus etymologically equivalent to loveable, denoting that which is adapted to excite the sentiment of love in any of its varied forms. It has therefore been occasionally applied even to things, as, e.g., in Ps. 84, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles!' But now it is used almost exclusively to describe persons and personal characteristics. In this use it has not of course comprehended all the varieties of character which are loved by corrupt minds. Thus, in its psychological aspect, amiability comprehends both the natural dispositions and the acquired habits which, being themselves of the nature of love, are calculated to produce the same sentiment in others. In ethical and religious value amiability may therefore claim the rank that is ascribed to love; and the evolution of moral intelligence has always tended towards that ideal in which love is recognized as the supreme principle and inspiration of all morality.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

AMITĀYUS or APARIMIṬAYUS (Tibetan Tö-pa med), 'The Boundless or Everlasting Life,' is one of the mystical or superhuman Buddhas invented in the theistic development of Buddhism in India. His worship was wide-spread in India in the Middle Ages, although hitherto unnoticed, for the writer found his image frequent in the ruins of mediaeval Buddhist temples in mid-India. In Tibet, where the cult of a Buddha holding similar attributes, namely, the Sage of Longevity, had long been prevalent, his worship has become very popular as a supposed means of prolonging the earthly life of votaries. His image is to be seen in nearly every temple in Tibet; it is also worn as an amulet, and carved on the roofs of doors. He is specifically invoked in the prayer-flags which flutter from every point of the compass, and he is specially worshipped in that sacramental rite, the so-called 'Escharist of Landaism,' where consecrated bread is solemnly partaken of by the congregation. He is considered to be an active reflex or emanation of the divinely meditative Buddha, Amitābha (see ADIBUDDHA), who sits impassively in the Western Paradise (Sukhavati).

He is represented in the same posture as his prototype Amitābha, not, however, as an ascetic Buddha, but crowned and adorned with thirteen ornaments, and holding in his hands the vase of life-giving ambrosia, which is one of the eight auspicious-compelling symbols (mangala) of ancient India, and the vessel for holy water on Tibetan altars.

LITERATURE.—R. Schlagintweit, Buddhism in Tibet, Lond. 1888, 139; L. A. Waddell, Buddha in Tibet, Lond. 1895, pp. 324, 352, 444, also Lhasa and its Mysteries, Lond. 1905, pp. 86, 214, 393.

L. A. WADDELL.
and must have been found in the original tongue from which they are sprung. A comparison of its meanings in the dialects, together with a study of the social organization and religious beliefs of the several races, leads to the conclusion that the word denoted originally a male relative in the preceding generation. The Semites passed once through a stage of fraternal polyandry, and in such a society the distinction between father and paternal uncle is impossible. The mother's polyandrous husband, who might be either father or uncle, was known by the child as 'amm. Cf. Gn 3:9 where Ben-'ammi is equivalent to 'son of my father,' and the phrase יָּשָׁב אֵלָה וְיָשָׁב אֵלָה which alternates with יָּשָׁב אֵלָה וְיָשָׁב אֵלָה. The name 'uncle' was naturally applied to male deities, as 'father' was in later times. Long after polyandry had passed away 'amm continued to be used as a title of deity; and as it lost its primitive associations, it tended more and more, like Baal, Adon, Melek, and other epithets, to become a proper name. The Kataba people in South Arabia designate themselves in their inscriptions as 'Children of 'Amm (בּוֹט), just as their neighbours the Sabaeans designate themselves as Walad Binaksh, showing that among them 'Amm had become a Divine name (cf. Hommel, 'ZDMG,' 2nd ser. p. 632; G. D. Glaser, vorderasiatischen Gesellschafts, 1899, ii. p. 21). According to II. Rival. 54, 65, V. 46, 11, Emu (= Nergal) was a god of the land of Suhu on the west side of the Euphrates (cf. Sayce, ZR, 2nd ser. ii. p. 57). 'Hammurabi, iii. p. lix). Hammu = 'Amm is written with the determinative for 'god' in the name of the king Hammurabi. The proper name Dur-'Ammi, 'Fortress of 'Amm, also indicates that 'Amm was used as a divine epithet (p. 239). In this meaning also lingers in Heb. in the formula אָמֶם, 'by the life of the Uncle,' which is parallel to אָמֶם and יָּשָׁב אֵלָה.

How far this process went can be determined only by a study of the proper names compounded with 'Amm in all the Semitic dialects. Here the problem is complicated by the fact that 'Amm has developed a number of secondary meanings, and so it is not easy to determine what is its significance in each case. When spoken as a noun, it gave place to monogamy and polygamy, and the father became a recognizable relative, abu, which hitherto had meant 'husband' (cf. Jer 3:1, and old Bab. usage), came to mean 'father,' and 'Amm became for specific meanings, 'father's uncle.' This is a common meaning in Arab. (cf. bint 'Amm for 'wife,' lit. daughter of 'paternal uncle'), also in Min. and Sabean. From this 'Amm came to mean any relative in the ascending line on the father's side, just as 'father' was used to denote a remote ancestor; then it was used for 'relative in general. It is used in this sense in one of the Tell el-Amarna letters (Winckler, 457).

Jensen also cites an instance in Babylonian ('LCB,' 1902, p. 6). In Gn 3:9, 10, Ex 31:14, Lg 19:21-24 'Amm cannot mean 'people,' but only 'kinsman.' Lo-'amm, the name of Hosea's child, must mean primarily 'Not my kin,' inasmuch as it was given with reference to the mother's adultery. The Carchagnian proper name man (CIS 384) and Nabatean way, Ojebir (Eutin, Sin. Inschr. 957 358 355), may mean 'kinsman' or 'uncle,' but cannot mean 'people' (cf. Aram.-Talm. לֵו as a personal name). The final stage in the development of the meaning was reached when 'Amm came to signify 'people'—a common usage both in Hebrew and Arabic.

The question now arises, Which of these meanings is found in the numerous proper names compounded with 'Amm? These names are widely scattered through the Semitic races, and must have been one of the earliest types of name formation; it is natural, therefore, to conjecture that in them 'Amm has its primitive meaning of 'father-uncle,' and is used in some cases at least as a title of the Deity. Whether this is the fact can be determined only by an inductive study of the names in question.

1. The first class of 'Ammi-names consists of those in which 'Amm is followed by a noun, as in 'Ammi-hud. In most of these the translation 'people' for 'Amm gives a very unlikely name for an individual, e.g. 'Ammi-el, 'people of God,' or 'people is God;' 'Ammi-ba'ali, 'people of Baal,' or 'people is Baal;' and so with the other names given below. It is generally admitted, accordingly, that in all names of this class 'Ammi has the sense of 'kinsman' or 'uncle.' This view is confirmed by the fact that compounds with Abi, 'father,' and Abi, 'brother,' run parallel to names with 'Ammi, e.g. Abi-eli, 'Ammi-eli; Abi-hud, Abi-hud, 'Ammi-hud. The next question is, whether the epithet 'uncle' or 'kinsman' is understood of a human being or of a divinity. The answer to this question depends upon the grammatical relation in which 'Amm stands to the following noun. There is high authority for the view that it is a construct or the old genitive ending which frequently survives in the construct state, i.e. 'Ammi-hud means 'kinsman of glory,' which, like Abi-hud, 'father of glory;' means 'glorious one. This theory is open to many objections: (1) This construct is not a pure Abrahamism, and there is no evidence that it existed in the other dialects. (2) It is very unlikely that any man should have been named Abi-eli in the sense of 'father of God,' Abi-Yah in the sense of 'father of Yah;' Abi-'Ammi in the sense of 'father of Baal,' or Abi-Melek in the sense of 'father of Melek;' and it is just as unlikely that 'Ammi-eli, 'Ammi-Ba'ala, 'Ammi-Sin, 'Ammi-Shaddai mean respectively 'uncle (older kinsman) of God, Baal, Sin, Shaddal.' (3) These names are paralleled by names in which the same elements occur in reverse order, e.g. Eli-'am (2 S 11:1 = 1 Ch 3:4 'Ammiel), Baal-'am, Ac-'am (Yah-'am), Nabu-imme, Shutman-umme, Shamash-imme. There is no reason for supposing that this is the result of forming from 'Ammi-eli or Baal-'am from 'Ammi-Ba'ala. If the elements in these names are regarded as standing in the construction relation, they will mean respectively 'God of uncle,' 'Lord of uncle.' These have no relation to any of their paternal parts, and are most unlikely personal names. If, on the other hand, the nouns are regarded as standing in the relation of subject and predicate, the compounds are synonymous whatever be the order of the elements: 'Ammi-eli means 'uncle is God,' and Eli-'am means 'God is uncle.' (4) Conclusive evidence that 'Ammi, Abi, Abi, Bod ('uncle'), Bel ('maternal uncle'), Ham ('father-in-law') are not constructs before the following noun, is found in the fact that 'Ammi-hud is commonly used in forming the names of women. Abi-gal, Abi-noom, Hamu-tal cannot mean 'father of joy,' 'father of pleasantness,' 'father-in-law of dew,' but must mean 'father is joy,' 'father is pleasantness,' 'father-in-law is dew' (cf. Abi-tai).

If 'Ammi is not in the construct before the following noun but is the subject of a sentence, a further problem arises as to the meaning of the vowel i which appears not only in Hebrew but also in Canaanite names in the Tell el-Amarna letters and in Babylonian. It must be understood that it is of the first person, but against this view are the facts that no other pronominal suffixes are used in forming proper names, that the analogy of other names leads us to expect a general affirmation in regard to the Deity rather than the expression of a per-
sonal relation to Him, and that the š is omitted in parallel forms, e.g. Eli̇-tam = 'Ammi-El. *Ammi-Ba'at= Ba'al-šam. *Ab-shalom = Abi-shalom. Ab-ram = Abi-ram. Probably, therefore, š should be regarded as a modification of the original š, the nom. ending. The š ending still appears in *Ammu-šadin, *Ammu-nira, *Ammu-rábat, and other names in the Obelisk inscription.

It is found most frequently in the early period, and apparently Baal, Adon, and Melak, as a title of Jahweh.

It is regarded as having been a name of Jahweh in the following periods.

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3. A third class of *Ammi-formations contains names in which *Ammi is preceded by a noun; e.g. Eli̇-tam. Here also the translation ‘people’ for *Ammi gives no good sense, as the name *Ammi precedes is not construct, but absolute. Eli̇-tam does not mean ‘God of the people,’ nor ‘God is a people,’ both of which would be impossible names for an individual, but it means ‘God is a people.’ Since the parallelism between *Ammi and Eli̇-tam, and Eli̇-tam, Baal-šem and Baal-Yah, shows that *Ammi is a Divine name.

The following names belong to this class: - *Ammi-El, ‘uncle is God.’ (Nu 13: 12, 14, 17: 3, 20). *Ammi-Šem (Obelisk of Manishtusu, 19: 14, 17: 16). The name *Ammi-El is most frequently found in the early period, and apparently as a name of Jahweh in the following periods.

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AMMONITES
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See Ammonites.

were

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ab, ach, enz. zamengestelde Hebreeuwsche Eiyennamen,
41-60, 76-86; Griinwald, Eigermamen des AT, 1895, p. 46 f. ;
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p- 480ffLewis Bayles Paton.
Literature.

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1880 ;

AMMONITES. During the period covered by

the Old Testament literature the Ammonites occu
pied the eastern portion of the region now known
as the Belfca.
Dt 2s7 describes their territory as
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the whole side of the torrent of Jabbdq, and the
cities of the hill -country,' i.e. the region about the
tapper course of the modern Wady Zerfca (cf. Dt
3ft, Jos 12a). Jos 1329 speaks of the towns of Ja'z6r
and *Ar5'gr as marking the frontier between Ammon
and Israel. Ja'zer is also named in Nu 2134 accord
ing to the Gr. text (BAFL). It is described by
Eusebius and Jerome as lying 10 R.m. west of
Philadelphia (Rabbah) and 15 R.m. from Heshbon.
Its precise location and also that of 'Aro'er have not
yet been determined. The capital city of the
country was Rabbah, or Rabbath bene-(Amm6n,
at the head-waters of the Jabboq (cf. Dt 311, Jos
1328, 2 S ll1 1228'29 1727, 1 Ch 201, Jer 492S Ezk
21<30> 255, Am 1"). It was rebuilt by Ptolemy
Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247), and received from him
its Greek name of Philadelphia. Its modern Arabic
name of 'Amman is a survival of the ancient name
of the land. The other towns Minnith and Abelcheramim are mentioned in Jg ll38.
In regard to this people there are no native
Even
sources
of information.
inscriptions are
wholly lacking. Our knowledge of their religion,
must
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from
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be
accordingly,
notices of the OT and from the allusions in certain

Assyrian inscriptions.
According

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1933-88, the ancestors of Moab and

Ammon

of Lot by his two daughters. They were thus nearly
related to Israel (cf. Dt 2a- 19). In the case of the Moabites this
opinion is sustained by proper names and by the Mesha Inscrip
tion, which is written in a dialect almoBt identical with Hebrew.
In the case of the Ammonites it is sustained by the proper
were sons

names

(2337),

Nahash (1 S 111), Hanun (2 S 10*), Sh6bi
Na'amah (1 E 1421), Ba'sa and Ruhub

(1737), Zelek

(Shalmaneser,

Tablet

Monolith,
Ins., rev.
95), Sanipu (Tiglath Pileser, Clay
10), Puduilu (Sennacherib, Prism, ii. 62 ; Esarhaddon, Broken
Eeilinv.
Amminadbi
in
Prism, 18),
(Ashurbanipal, Fragment,'
schrift. Bibl. ii. p. 240), Ba'alis (Jer 401*), Toblah (Neh 2i) ; also
name
and
the
divine
the
names
Milodm,
city
Rabbin, *Ar5'r,
by
Minnith, Abl-cheramim, all of which are easily interpreted
u.

'

from the Hebrew.
The Ammonites were a part of the same wave of Semitic
migration to which Israel belonged, and their settlement east of
the Jordan did not long precede Israel's occupation of Canaan.
According to Dt 2wr-, they dispossessed a people known as the
Zamzummim, a branch of the Rephaim, which It has been pro
posed to identify with the Zuzim in Ham of On 14' (cf. Dt 3").
According to Jg ll1*-22, Jos IS25, they occupied originally the
whole of the region east of the Jordan, but were driven out of
the western half of this by the Amorites (cf. Nu 2125-31). The
Amorite kingdom of Sihon the Israelites conquered, but the
land of the Ammonites they did not disturb (Nu 21", Dt 218- 37
316, Jg ll15). Dt 234(3)f- represents the Ammonites as participat
ing with the Moabites in hiring Balaam to curse Israel, and,
according to Nu 22fi, Balaam came from the land of the children
of Ammon (read 'Ammdn with Sam., Syr., Vulg., instead of
'
According to Jg 318, the Ammonites
'amm6, his people ').
assisted Eglon, king of Moab, in his conquest, and, according to
107-1133, they disputed the possession of Gilead with the
Israelites. A similar attack upon Gilead by Nahash, king of
Ammon, was warded off by Saul, and was the occasion of his
elevation to the throne, according to the older source of the
Book of Samuel (1 S 111-11). Nahash 'showed kindness' unto
David, i.e. kept peace with him and paid his tribute, but his son
Hanun, trusting to the help of the Aram Beans of the adjacent
regions of Beth-Rehob, Zobah, and Maacah, revolted, and had
to be conquered by David (2 S 10MH 1228-31, i Ch 191-203).

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spoil of this campaign David dedicated to Jahweh (2 8 8i2*=
1311), and the Ammonites remained tributary during the
rest of his reign and during the reign of his successor. Zelek
the Ammonite appears in the list of David's bodyguard (2 S 2337).
Solomon cultivated friendly relations by marrying a wife from
this nation (1 K 111), and this account is confirmed by the fact
that the mother of Rehoboam was an AmmoniteBB (1421-3i).
According to one recension of the LXX, she was the daughter of
Hanun, son of Nahash. For her benefit the cult of Milcom, the
god of Ammon, was established on a hill near Jerusalem (1 K
116. 7. 83, 2 K 2313). After the death of Solomon, the Ammonites
appear to have regained their independence, and to have re
mained free until they fell beneath the yoke of the Assyrians
along with the other small nations of Western Asia. The vic
tories of Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, and Jotham over them rest only
In
upon the authority of the Chronicler (2 Ch 20. 268 27).
B.C. 854, Ba'sa (Baasha), son of Ruhub (Rehob), with 1000 men,
came to the help of the king of Damascus against Shalmaneser ii., along with Ahab of Israel and ten other kings of
Syria (Shalmaneser, Monolith, ii. 96). In the reign of Jero
The

1 Ch

boam ii. (c. 760 b.o.), Amos denounces the Ammonites because of
the atrocities that they have committed in Gilead (Am 113).
in
B.C. 734, Tiglath Pileser ni. records that he received the tribute
of Sanipu of Bit-'Amman (Beth-'Ammfln), along with that of
Ahaz of Judah (Clay Tablet Ins., rev. 10). From Zeph 2W-, Jer
926(26) 49l-6( it appears that after the deportation of the Israelites
east of the Jordan by Tiglath PileBer in. in 734 (2 K 1629), the
Ammonites moved in and occupied their land. Sennacherib
Prism, ii. 62) records that he received the tribute of Puduilu
Padahel) of Bit-'Amman at the time of his invasion of Syria in
701. This same Puduilu is mentioned by Esarhaddon (Broken
'
Prism, v. 18) as one of the twenty-two kingB of the land of the
Hittites' who furnished building materials for one of his palaces.
In his place in a similar list of
twenty-two kings Ashurbanipal
names Amminadbi (Amminadab) (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek,
ii. p. 240, 1. 11). At the time of Nebuchadrezzar's first invasion
of Syria the Ammonites assisted him (2 K 242). Subsequently
they joined a league against him (Jer 273, Ezk 2120.28), but
before they were attacked they managed to make peace, and
participated In his assault upon Jerusalem (Ezk 25 1 -7- 10). In
spite of this, many of the Jews took refuge among them at the
time of the siege, and Ishmael was incited by Baalis, king of
Ammon, to murder Gedaliah, the governor whom Nebuchad
rezzar had appointed at the time of the fall of the city (Jer
40H. 14 411O). The name Kephar ha-'Ammflnai in Jos 1624 (P), as
one of the villages of Benjamin, suggests that during the Exile
the Ammonites, like the Edomites, made settlements west of
the Jordan.
If so, this will explain the denunciation of the
exilic prophecy, Is 1114. As early as the time of Ashurbanipal,
two main divisions of the Arabians, Kedar and Nebaioth, were
menacing the old lands of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, and were
prevented from overrunning them only by the activity of the
Assyrian monarch. Ezk 25 anticipates that these 'children of
the East' will bring theBe three nations to an end (cf. Ob ]7);
and, as a matter of fact, after the Exile we find, instead of Moab
and Edom, Geshem the Arabian as the chief enemy of the Jews
(Neh 2J9 47 61-6). Ammonites are still mentioned, but they
seem to lead no independent national existence.
Tobiah, the
Ammonite who opposed Nehemiah (210-i9 43-7 617 134), bore a
name compounded with Jahweh, he and his son both had
Jewish wives, he was connected by marriage with the high
priest, and he appears regularly in company with Sanballat the
Horonite and the Samaritans. Apparently he had nothing to
do with the old land of Ammon, but was a resident of Kephar
ha-'Ammflnai (Jos 1824). No king of Ammon is named after the
Exile, and it seems probable that this people perished as a
nation, along with Moab and Edom, at the time of the Nabafcsean
Arabian migration. Survivors of these nations found refuge in
Judah, and gave rise to the problem of mixed marriages, which
caused Nehemiah and Ezra so much trouble (Ezr 91, Neh 131- 23).
Where Ammonites are mentioned in the later history, we have
merely an application of an old geographical term to a new race.
The AmmoniteB under Timotheue (1 Mac 56-S), and the Am
monites of Ps 837 and Dn 1141, are Nabatseans or Greeks living
in the old land of Ammon.

We must now endeavour to construct from these
meagre sources a picture of the religion of the
ancient Ammonites.
From 1K1115-83, 2K 23isf it
appears that Milcom was their chief national god,
as Chemosh was the
god of Moab, Kozai of
dom, and Jahweh of Israel. In 2 S 1230=1 Ch
202 the LXX reads Milcom instead of malcam,
'their king.' This is the reading of the Talmud
(*Abddd zara, 44a), of the old Jewish commenta
tors, and of most modern authorities. In that case
the passage reads, 'And he took the crown of
Milcom from off his head, its weight was a talent
of gold, and on it there was a precious stone.
It
David placed upon his own head.' From this it
that
Milcom
was
appears
represented by an idol of
human size which was adorned with the insignia of
like
other
ancient
royalty
images. In Jer 491*8,
also read Milcom instead of MT
LXX, Vulg.,
and
this
is
malcdm,
reading
undoubtedly correct,
'
so that the
Hath
passage should be translated,

i'ust

Syr.


Ex 23:21 enacts, ‘The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou give unto me,’ and contains no provision for redemption, such as we find in 13:13 and 34:20. The story of Abraham’s sacrifice of Isaac in Gen 22 (E) shows that child-sacrifice was practised in the early religion of Jehovah, but that the conviction grew in the prophetic circles that this should not be demanded of the nation. In spite of prophetic opposition, however, they continued to be brought (cf. 1 K 19:14, and Winckler, Gesch. Isr. i. 163, n. 3; 2 K 16, 2 Ch 28). Jeremiah repeatedly insists that Jehovah does not require these sacrifices (cf. 51:18-33), and this indicates that the popular conception they were part of His requirements. The Holiness Code (Lv 18:1) also suggests that Molech sacrifices were popularly regarded as Jehovah sacrifices. Ezekiel goes so far as to quote the law of Ex 23:14, ‘Thou shalt sacrifice unto Jehovah everything that openeth the womb,’ and to say that Jehovah gave this commandment in wrath to destroy the nation because it would not keep the good statutes that he had previously given (Ezk 20:24-25). These facts make it clear that Molech-worship was not the practice of Jehovah and that by the nation in general it was regarded as one form of Jehovah-worship. The absence of early prophetic polemic against child-sacrifice is, accordingly, to be explained by the fact that the prophets ascribed it to the heathen, while Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who hold the Deuteronomistic standpoint in regard to sacrifice, are obliged to specify that Jehovah does not require child-sacrifice, although He requires animal-sacrifice. If Molech-worship is ancient in Israel, then it cannot have been borrowed from the Ammonites in the time of Manasseh.

Another theory which identifies Milkom with Molech supposes that this cult was introduced into Israel by Solomon. This opinion makes its appearance as early as the Gr. versions, and has been the source of much textual corruption. It seems to be supported by 1 K 11:1-2, which speaks of ‘Milkom, the abomination of the Ammonites,’ as worshipped by Solomon after his marriage with an Ammonite wife (cf. 2 K 23:3, 1 K 14:21; and 1 K 11:11), which calls this god Molech. Granting the historicity of Solomon’s worship of Milkom, which is disputed by a number of critics, it appears from 1 K 11:11, 2 K 23:3, that the high place of Milkom stood on the ridge to the east of Jerusalem, i.e. somewhere on the ridge of the Mount of Olives; but the high place of Molech, according to all the OT references, was in the Valley of Hinnom (cf. 2 K 23:3, Jer 26:7; 19:22, 2 Ch 28:39). From this it is clear that Milkom and Molech were not identified by the ancient Israelites (cf. Baethgen, Beiträge, 15). The substitution of Molech for Milkom in 1 K 11:11 is evidently a textual error; the MT points without the article, and Lucian’s recension of the LXX reads Molech.

A third theory is that there was a primitive Semitic god, Molek, of which Milkom and Molech are local variants. Against this view is the fact that Milkom and Molech are not personal names, but titles, like Baal, ‘owner;’ Adon, ‘master;’ Marna, ‘our lord.’ There was no primitive Semitic god Baal, whose cult came down in the various branches of the Semitic race, but there was a multitude of Baalim who presided over various holy places and who were distinguished from one another as the Baal of the City, the Baal of the Place. These Baalim were different in functions and might have different personal names. In like manner there were as many Molek as there were nations, and there is no reason why the Molek of Ammon, or the Mólek of Israel, or the Mólek of Tyre, or the Mólek of Palmyra should...
be identified with one another, any more than why their human rulers should be identified because they all bore the name of 'king.'

Although there was no primitive god Mélek, it is probable, however, that all the various M'lakim of the Ammonians can be identified with one another, just as the Baalim bore at family resemblance, so that it is possible to draw inferences from the character of one M'lak to that of another. The Baalim were gods of nature. They manifested themselves in springs and streams and trees. They gave the fruits of the earth, and they were frequently offered with offerings of firstfruits. The M'lakim, on the other hand, were tribal gods conceived after the analogy of human rulers. They gave the fruit of the womb and, accordingly, they were worshipped with firstborn children and firstborn animals. Wherever we know anything of the cult of the M'lakim, child-sacrifice is its most conspicuous feature. When this rite was practised in Israel it was always in the name of the M'lak, even though this might be understood as a title of Jahweh. From Dt 12:29-31; 18:12-17; Ezk 15:3, 16:9, Ps 106:23, it appears that this sort of sacrifice was also offered by the Cannaanites, and this testifies by the inscriptions at Gezer, Megiddo, and Taanach, where the remains of sacrificed infants have been found in large numbers. Child-sacrifice was a conspicuous element in the cult of the Tyrian and Carthaginian Melkar, and of the Ammonites. These facts seem to show that sacrifice of infants was intimately connected with the conception of deity as M'lak, or ruler of the tribe; and it is probably warranted in thinking that wherever a god was called by this name this sort of sacrifice was celebrated in his honour. In the case of Milcom, accordingly, infant-sacrifice is probable, although this is never mentioned in the OT; and this opinion is confirmed by the fact that the closely related Moabites sacrificed children in honour of their god Chemosh (2 K 33).

In regard to the manner in which children were sacrificed we have only the analogy of Molech-worship to guide us. The title for the rite was 'making over children to the King by fire' (Lv 18:21-24; Dt 18:10, 2 K 16:17; 21:2, 2 Ch 33:2, Ezk 20:4). The same expression is used of 'making over' the firstborn to Jahweh in Ex 13:3-16; 34:19; Ex 20:1-17; Jos, 2 K 18:19; Ezk 12:21-25, etc., it appears that children were slain like calf or goat; and from Dt 12:29, 18:2, 2 K 17:1, Jer 34:17; 35:19, it is plain that their bodies were afterwards burnt in a place known as Typhath (Topheth, with the vowels of bosheth, 'shame'). Analogous rites are found among the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and we may perhaps assume that they existed also among the Ammonites.

Besides Milcom there is no clear evidence that the Ammonites worshipped any other god. Jg 10:9 speaks of a god 'like unto the gods of the other nations,' but this is a late editorial passage. From Jg 11:24 it has been inferred that Chemosh was a god of the Ammonites as well as of the Moabites, or else that Chemosh and Milcom were identified; but it is now generally recognized that the section Jg 11:12-25 has nothing to do with Jephthah's dispute with the Ammonites. It is a fragment of a narrative of a dispute between Israel and the Moabites which has been combined with the Jephthah story by the compiler of the Book of Judges (cf. Moore, Judges, 423).

More can be said in favour of the view that the Ammonites worshipped a god called 'Am or 'Ammi. The name 'Ammón (Assyr. Ammán) is apparently a diminutive or pet-name from 'Am, as Shimshón (Samson) is from Shemesh. Ammon alone is never used as a tribal name, except in the late passages, Ps 83 and 1 S 11, where the Gr. reads ρέων οίων 'Αμμών. The regular expression is 'children of Ammon.' Even the ancestor of the race is not called Ammon, but Ben-'Ammi (Gn 19:8). 'Am means primarily 'father-uncle' in a polyandrous society, then 'paternal uncle,' then 'people.' The narrator in Gn 19:8 has chosen the meaning 'father-uncle,' and has derived from this the story of the incestuous origin of the Ammonites. Their ancestor, he thinks, was called Ben-'Ammi, 'son of my father's uncle,' so his father was also his mother's father. It is more likely, however, that 'Ammi was used here originally with reference to a god who was called the 'father-uncle,' or 'kinsman' of the tribe. This use of 'Ammi as a divine name is widespread in the Semitic dialects. In Heb. we find it as the first element of the proper names 'Ammiel, 'Ammilud, 'Ammihur, 'Ammisadab, 'Ammishaddai, 'Ammishaddah, 'Ammon, and as the final element in the names An'am, El'am, Ilhé'am, Jashobeam, Jokhe'am, Jeroboam, Rechab, Ithi'am, Jokne'am, Jokne'am, Jorké'am, etc. In Babylonia it appears in names of kings of the first dynasty, 'Ammitana, 'Ammisadda, 'Ammisadu, 'Ammisadu (or Ammemit), and in South Arabia in various proper names. One of the kings of Ammon mentioned by Asurbanipal bares the name Ammisadu (Ammisaduab), 'my father-uncle is generous,' whereas else 'Ammi is a name compounded with 'Am, and one and tradition in Ps 83:25 (read 'Ammón instead of 'Ammé,-its people'), makes Baalam come from the land of the Ammonites. Cf. Dt 23:9 f. Rechobam also bears a name compounded with 'Am, and he was the son of an Ammonite (2 K 15:26). On the basis of some of these facts, Dørenbourg, in RE 25 (1889) i. 123, proposed the theory that 'Am, or 'Ammi, was the name of the national god of the Ammonites. This theory is correct, if we regard 'Am as merely a title applied to Milcom by the Ammonites, as it was applied to Jahweh by the Israelites; but it is not correct if we regard 'Am as a separate deity. There is no evidence that there was a primitive Semitic god 'Am, any more than that there was a primitive Semitic god Baal or Milcom. 'Paternal uncle' is a title like 'father,' 'brother,' 'king,' 'lord,' that might be applied to the most prominent gods (see 'AMM, 'AMMI).

The word lllu, or El, which appears in the name of the Ammonite king Pudu-ilu (cf. Patah-El, 'God of the Ammonites' of the Ammonites, as it was applied to Jahweh by the Israelites; but it is not correct if we regard 'Am as a separate deity. There is no evidence that there was a primitive Semitic god Baal or Milcom. 'Paternal uncle' is a title like 'father,' 'brother,' 'king,' 'lord,' that might be applied to the most prominent gods (see 'AMM, 'AMMI).

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tive Semitic goddess Ashtart. From the mention of the gigantic sarcophagus of Og that was preserved at Rabbah (Dt 33:11), we may, perhaps, infer that ancestor-worship was practised among the Ammonites as among other branches of the Semitic race.

From the foregoing survey it appears that there is no convincing evidence of the worship of any other god than Milkom among the Ammonites. It would be rash, however, to infer from this lack of evidence, which is due to the scantiness of our sources, that Milkom occupied the same unique place in the lives of the Ammonites as Jahweh did in Israel; and to use this, as Renan did, as proof of a tendency to monotheism in that branch of the Semitic race to which Israel belonged. In all probability the Ammonites were polytheists, like their neighbours and near relatives the Moabites and Edomites, and it is merely an accident that we know the name of only the head god of their pantheon.

In regard to the rites of their religion we know practically nothing, except what we may infer from the analogy of the religions of kindred races. J. D. W._driver, in his 'Life of the Ammonites,' gives a list of their practices, in common with the Egyptians, Israelites, Edomites, and Moabites. In other respects probably their customs did not differ widely from those of ancient Israel. From Gn 19:29 Delitzsch (1864:212) infers that they were polytheists, and that they were characterized by an extreme lewdness that aroused the moral repugnance of Israel; and he appeals to Nu 25 for proof of this in the case of the Moabites; but Gn 19:29 is so evidently derived from a fanciful popular etymology of the names Moab and Ben-'Ami that no historical conclusions can be based upon it.

Literature.—Ewald, Hist. of Isr. (London, 1876), ii. pp. 205, 283, 389, iii. (1878), p. 54; Stade, Gt'Y (1881), i. pp. 119-129; Wissowa, Gesch. Isr. (3rd ed., 1882); Winckler, Gesch. Isr. (1885), i. pp. 218-219; Kautzsch, art. 'Ammon' in Riehm's REW (1884); MacFerson, art. 'Ammon' in Hastings' DB (1899); Bulb, art. 'Ammon' in PRS; Moore, art. 'Milkom' in KB; and the literature under Molech, Ammi in this work.

Amnesty.—The word is used somewhat loosely by modern writers with reference to several episodes in Greek history. Strictly and properly, it is the word used by writers of the periodical age to describe the resolution adopted by the Athenians after the fall of the famous Tyrants, when, in the summer of B.C. 403, a reconciliation was effected, through the mediation of the Spartan king Peisanius, between the oligarchical party of the city and the democrats of the Piraeus, upon the following basis:

'All persons who, having remained in the City during the oligarchical régime, were anxious to leave it, were to be free to settle at Ecdessa, retaining their full civil rights, and possessing full and independent rights of self-government, with free enjoyment of their personal property, etc. There should be a universal amnesty concerning past events towards all persons (τοις ἐπὶ παραλαμβανόμενοι μεταφωρέθηκεν πρὸς μὴν τις μεταμισθησάμενοι ἑξώτως), except the Thirty, the Ten (who were their successors), the Eleven (who had carried out their decrees of execution), and the magistrates (ten in number) of the Piraeus; and these should, besides, be entitled to give account of their official acts (τα ἀρχηγεία ἐκδηλώμενα) in the usual way' (Arist. Ath. Pol. 39 [Koenigs's tr.]; cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 53, and references in Aristoph. Plat. 114; μεταμισθησάμενοι, εἰ δὲ Ὑφακς κατελθεί [Ἀρίστ. Ἀθ. Πολ. 39 [Koenigs's tr.]; cf. Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 53, and references in Aristoph. Plat. 114; μεταμισθησάμενοι, εἰ δὲ Ὑφακς κατελθεί])." All this was done with great deliberation.'

The children of the Thirty who were included under the amnesty are testified by Demosthenes (Or. 32) to have been ‘δέκα μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνα καὶ παλαθέντων, ὡς ὀλίγοι τοῖς δεκατέσσαροι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντας’; that is, in striking contrast with the practice usual in Greek political strife.

This agreement of harmony was ratified by the oath of the whole people, and for some years at least it seems to have been incorporated with the oath of office taken by members of the Council and the Helists—the senators swearing not to admit any information (ἀποτίμησις) or to allow any arrest (ἄναγγελος) founded on any fact prior to the archonship of Eukleides, excepting only in the case of the persons expressly excluded from the amnesty (τὰ πλῆθος τῶν φυγόντων); the dikasts swearing to neither to remember past wrongs, nor to seek any solicitation to do so, but to give their verdict in accordance with the revised code dating from the restoration of the democracy (Andoc. de Myst. 90: μην μηκέσθης, οὔτε ὁλίγοι πάσοιμοι, ψυχομάλαι δι κατά τούς κειμένους εἴσοδοι. See Grote, Hist. of Greece [vol. xii. ed. 1879], p. 410 et seq.).

The amnesty, as above described, seems to have been renewed two years later with the secessionists at Eleusis (Arist. l.c.; Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 43; καὶ ἀνακατείνετο δρόκος ἢ μὴ μηκέσθης ἐκεῖ καὶ νῦν δομήν πολιτείας προστάτησας καὶ τοῖς ἐπίστευσεν ἑαυτῷ). The energetic but high-handed action of Archilochus was a powerful factor in maintaining the amnesty. When one of the returned exiles began to violate the agreement, Archilochos hailed him before the Council, and persuaded the Councillors to put the matter to trial (Arist. Ath. Pol. xxii. 1-2), telling them that they had now an opportunity of showing whether they wished to preserve the democracy and abide by their oath.

Archilochos also carried a measure giving every one the right to raise a special plea in bar of action (παραγραφή). See Isocr. Orat. xviii. 2: ὅτι τοὺς ἀνακατεινόμενοι τοῖς δρόκοις, ἐξετάζω τὰ φύγαρια παραγράφασέν τις... δ᾽ οἱ τολμώτως μηκέσθηκέντες μὴ μόνον ἐπιτροποιήτους ἐξελήματος κ.τ.λ.).

It must be noticed that the terms of the above events by the classical writers are αἱ δικάσεις, or αἱ δικαλεῖσθαι, αἱ δικαλεῖσθαι, αἱ χρυσά—"the reconciliations," the 'oaths'; while for the specific content of the oath the phrase μηκέσθησιν, 'not to remember past wrongs,' is ordinarily used by the classical writers corresponding to the phrase ἄπαντα πάντα ἄνουσα τιμὴν ἔχειν (used in Arist. Ath. Pol. xii. 8). Compare the account given by the Latin compilers, e.g. Corn. Nep. Thra. iii. 2: 'Iegem habui, sit ne ante mea sancta rurum mulsumare, omnes fugae uredo obstriguente, discordiorum obviam esse rem.\[...\] The Greek word ἰνακάτισθαι, 'to reconcile,' is first used in Val. Max. iv. 1: 4; 'nunc obliviscatur, quam Atheniensis ἱνακάτισθαι voci'et; and by Plutarch (Oe. 12) Κιλικαί: ἢ ἵνακατισθήσῃ Ἀθηναῖκες ἄνωθεν Κιλικαῖς προσφέρειν. (cf. Plut. Plut. Pol. 17: τὸ φύγαρι τὰ πρ=value τοις ἐκ το/hash: "Atheniensis, etiam sub eō delictorum publicorum decreta est de exemplo Atheniensium"). It was probably the classical phrase ἱνακάτισθαι, which was in use in Ciceron, Ant. v. 41: "Quoniam, ad Primum Philippicum (Philipp. i. 1: 1) 'In quem templo, quantum in me sit, sed fundamenta pacis, Atheniensiumque renovati vetos exemptione: gravem quemque verbo discorsius usum civitates ille, atque omnium memoriam discordiarum obviam sempiterna defensiones esse'—where, however, the former 3d reads 'saeculis' before 'aetas'.

A similar example of an Act of oblivion, though no details are known, is furnished by the restored democracy of Samos in B.C. 411 (Thuc. viii. 73: "καὶ τοιῷδε μὴν ταῦτα ἔπετε τοῖς πόλεοις, τρεῖς δὲ τοῖς αἰτώτατοι φυγῆ ἔξωσαν" τοῖς 5 ἕλληνω ὁ μηκέσθηκτος δημοκρατοῦσα τοὺς ἐκ \\[...\] A new attempt to re-establish harmony on the basis of amnesty was made at Megara in B.C. 424 (Thuc. vii. 2).

It is clear that the above Acts of oblivion differ from those examples to which the word 'amnesty' is also applied by modern writers—that is to say, those resolutions, of which several instances are recorded, by which the government of Athens resolved to forgive past wrongs, either at the instance of the wronged, or at the instance of its enemies, or at the instance of any other party, or at the instance of the entire body of the Greeks (cf. Cic. Div. de Fin. ii. 1).
known from Greek history, taken in times of great danger, with the object of stilling disputes and uniting all forces in defense, by which political exiles were recalled and civic rights conferred upon those who had been partially or wholly disfranchised. The Athenians adopted this measure shortly before the battle of Salamis (Andoc. de Myst. 107; έγερεν των τη φρονησις καταλεξουσι και των άντιμων πνευματις. Cf. Arist. Ath. Pol. 22: καταλεξουσι πινακται διηνεκεσι ως της Δια της στερεουσι). Again, a similar resolution was passed at the time of the siege of Athens by Lysander, on the motion of Patrocles (Andoc. Or. c. 73; έτει γαρ αλ ιδία διεσθεράγαν κη πνευματα έγενετο, έσοδευσαν περι και σεισαντα των ενιστια πνευματις; see § 77 for the full text of the decree). A third example is furnished by the proposal of Hypereides after the defeat at Charonea, that exiles should be recalled and public debtors and other δανειοι be restored to their civil status on condition of military service (Lyscurg. Locr. 41; Homer. Iliad. 29; Demost. Or. xxvi. 12: έτει γαρ έντερετη αγαφης, των περι Χαιρωνειαν ανθρωπων των Ήλληνων γεγονων... έσοντων των ενιστια πνευματων, άν ως εμοιοισκεται έσπασται υπερ της θανατου των αθετησες). The penalty thus incurred may be added the measure of Solon (Plut. Sol. 19), which restored civil rights to all who before his archonship (b.c. 594) had been visited with disfranchisement, with the exception of certain classes of persons whose need not here be specified. Such acts of grace were known with reference to individuals, e.g., the recall of Alcibiades (Xen. Hell. i. 4, 11, his return in b.c. 408; the vote of recall actually passed in b.c. 11, Thuc. v. 57) and of Demosthenes, b.c. 323 (Plut. Dem. 27), as well as of the historian Thucydides—to take only conspicuous examples in Athenian history.

Such acts of grace or pardon on the part of the sovereign people in reference to individual offenders, comparatively small groups or classes are clearly different in their nature from Acts of obligation, where, in Greek history at any rate, the sovereign body itself has been sullied in twain upon a conflict of possible evils concerning the forms of government. Both, again, are to be clearly distinguished (and the confusion is not uncommon in the books of reference) from what the Greeks called δόξα, which corresponds to our Bill of Indemnity. Such δόξα or guarantees against penal consequences were a necessary feature of any privilege that did not properly belong to his status, i.e., to enable slaves, resident aliens or disfranchised citizens to perform those higher functions which were part and parcel of the notion of civic obligation. It was also necessary before a proposal for the removal of atimia or disenfranchisement (Dem. Or. xxiv. 47: άλλος ενεπτυχας, ως και περι των αντιμων εν τω φιλαθλου και αθετησες ενιστια, και των ενεπτυχας των εφημεριων ενεπτυχας, των σωστων των καθημεριων ενεπτυχας, ως της δοξας δεδομενης, και της της ελασευσες ενεπτυχας. Cf. Plut. Dem. 180-183, and i. 32). A vote of δόξα also guaranteed informers against punishment for crimes in which they might have been participants, but their evidence must be truthful. In general, δόξα was a preliminary surrender of specific rights of the State in favour of an individual for a particular purpose (see Goldstaub, De δόξαις notiones et usu in loco). But we must distinguish, then, the following three categories: (1) δόξαι, indemnity for acts which involve or may involve penal consequences; in general, prospective; only when retrospective does it coincide in practical effect with amnesty. (2) Pardon, in cases in which the penal consequences are already in operation. In this sense the word 'amnesty' is incorrectly used, as above explained. The Greeks apparently possessed no single term to cover this sense. (3) μη μερισσακον (= Lat. oblius and late Gr. ἄμφοτερα; Eng. amnesty' in its correct use), an Act of oblivion, or refusal to make the publication of matters of fact with a view to punishment.

AMPHIAROUS.—A seer and, along with Adrastus, the chief hero of the legend of the Seven against Thebes. He had early become the subject of heroic legend, and his character was portrayed in legend in Argos as well as round about Thebes. These local legends had been, too, at an early date united to the Theban cycle of legends by the two Homeric epics, 'The expedition of Amphiarous' and 'The Thebaid.' But his cult is older than the legend.

Amphiarous was worshipped in the Peloponnesus (Sparta, Pausanias, iii. 12, 5; Argos, Pausan. ii. 15, 23; Phlius, these examples 5, 7; and the colony of Byzantium, PhG iv. 140, 16, 45, and especially in Oropus near Thebes, where his sanctuary has been excavated (Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1893 sqq.)). He was worshipped as a god of the lower world, often at his own grave, where he gave oracles. That is the original form of the belief regarding him. This is the reason, too, why he is a seer in the heroic legend, and why he does not die but descends into the depths of the earth.

As seer, Amphiarous was genealogically connected with the famous seer Melampus (Homer, Od. xv. 225 ff.); and later with Apollo (Hygin. Fab. 70, 128). Argos was regarded as his home. An all but forgotten legend represents him as an Argive king and enemy of Adrastus, whose brother Pronax he kills. Adrastus flees to Sicyon to his grandfather Polybus, but returns victorious and makes peace with Amphiarous. The latter marries Eriphyle, the sister of Adrastus; and both parties are brought to a decision. When Polyneices was seeking allies for the expedition against Thebes, Adrastus his father-in-law bribed Eriphyle, who compelled Amphiarous, against his will, to march with them (Pindar, Nem. ix. with Scholium 90 and 32; Horace, v. 67; Hygin. Fab. 73). A later version of this incident which is to be regarded as detached from the epic Thebaid, related that Amphiarous concealed himself in his house in order not to be compelled to take the field against Thebes, where he knew he must die, but was betrayed by his wife Eriphyle, who had been bribed by Polyneices with the necklace of Harmony. Thus did Eriphyle become guilty of the death of Amphiarous, who at his departure instructed his youthful son Amphiloctus to wreak vengeance on Eriphyle for his deed (Homer, Od. xxv. 243 ff. with Scholium on Sophocles, Elec. 863 with Scholium; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, iii. i. 60 ff.; Hygin. Fab. 73). This leave-taking was represented on the Cypselus chest in Olympia (Pausan. v. 17, 4); and the picture on the Corinthian bowl (kopia) corresponds with it (Monumenta d. Inst. x. 4, 5).

In Nemea also, which lies on the road between Argos and Thebes, there were legends of Amphiarous, traces of which have been preserved in the legends of the founding of the Nemean Games, especially in the 3rd Hypotheseis in Pindar's Nemean Odes; Aelian, Var. Hist. iv. 5; Pausanias, iii. 12, 11, 15, 2; Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, iii. 6, 4.

In the war against Thebes, Amphiarous slays the powerful Theban hero Melanippus (Herodotus, v. 67; Pausanias, i. 18, 1). But he cannot with-
amplyotony
stand Periclymenus, and flees from him; however, as he
about to stab him in the back, Zeus divides the earth with a lightning flash, and
sinks Amphaius with his chariot alive into the
depths. This tradition is a unity, and thus prob-
ably derived from the epic Thebaids (Pindar, Nem.
iv. 14; Euripides, Supp. 225; Apollodoros, Bib-
lithos, ii. 17).

There are mirrored in these legends struggles of
the time of the settlement of the Greek peoples in
Argos as well as round about Thebes. The people
who worshipped Amphaius had brought his cult with
them to Argos, and from there migrated and moved
northwards. It was preserved between Attica and Boeotia.

The historical recollections in connexion with the cult,
which remained ever living, have provided the
material of the legend and determined its character.

literature—Welcker, Epischer Cyclos, ii. 250 ff.; Bethe,
Thebanische Heldendenker, 422, 766; Paul, Wissowa, i.
1900 ff. E. Bethe.
amphictyon.—An amphictyon was a
union of different cities or peoples, centred in a
temple and dedicated to a common
wealth god. It had a common
religious duties. The name is derived from
ἀμφικτίων, (with a variant form in later times,
ἀμφικτων), which, with its equivalent περικτίων,
is used by early writers (Homer, Pindar, Thuc.
describes in the sense of "dwellers round.
the word ἀμφικτίων is not expressly defined by
Greek writer; it is not frequent in the classical
authors, although the substantive ἀμφικτίτιος
and the adjective ἀμφικτικός are often used.
The ideas attached to these words were coloured
by the history and constitution of the Delphic
amphictyon, and we need not assume that all
amphictyonic unions were similar in organization
or function. Many local unions in early times
which were formed on a religious basis, and would
fall within the definition given above, are not
expressly described as amphictyonies. This may
be accidental, for some amphictyonic unions are
mentioned only once in ancient literature, and
there were primitive religious leagues, which did
not survive in later times, that seem to have
possessed the characteristics generally regarded
as amphictyonic, and we know of no essential
difference which should exclude them from the
present survey.

A specific form of union which can be traced
in the earliest times is the union of people
of kindred race within a continuous area round a
common temple.

Such a federation is perhaps implied in the
beginning of Odyss. iii., where the men of Pylos
in their companies feast and offer sacrifice to Poseidon.
So Strabo records (viii. 345) that the
Triphilians met at Samicum in the grove of the Samian
Poseidon, had the sacred truce proclaimed, and
united in sacrifice. So also the twelve Ionian
cities of the Peloponnesus, (which were the Ionian
migration, combined in a religious league centred
in the temple of Poseidon at Helice (Strabo, viii.
334), and on this league was modelled the federation
of the Ionian colonies in Asia. Strabo (ix.
412) refers to the "amphictyonic" league of Oin-
chus, whose meeting-place was the grove
of Poseidon in the territory of Halliartus, founded
perhaps before the immigration of the Boeotians.
The Boeotians, after their conquest, celebrated at
the temple of Ionian Athenæ, in the plain of
Coronea, the festival of the Panhellestia (Strabo
ix. 411); and we may assume that their league had
an amphictyonic character. It may have been the
original basis of the political federation of later
times.

Strabo (viii. 374) also records an "amphictyony"

of Calauria, an island off the coast of Troezen.
This met, probably at a festival period, at
the temple of Poseidon (which was always an asylum),
and included the following cities: Hermione,
Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Frasiea, Nauplia, and
the Minyan Orkomenus. At a later time Argos
and Sparta took the place of Nauplia and Frasiea.

This league combined states which were not neigh-
bours.

Whether it had any objects other than
religious we do not know; but it is possible, as is
generally assumed, that it was a union of sea-
states, designed to secure intercourse by sea.

The amphictyonic league of the Peloponnesus became so important from its connexion with
Delphi, was originally a combination of different
races (not cities), united in the worship of Demeter.

Its history will be studied in detail below.

There are possible references to an amphictyonie
of Dorian states centred in Argos (Paus. iv. 5, 2;
Plut. Parall. 3), presumably meeting at the temple
of Apollo Pythaeus. The allusion in Pindar (Nem.
v. 44) to the festival of the "amphictyonies" in the
grove of Poseidon is held by some to imply a
Corinthian amphictyony, but the word was also
used in a general sense of a religious league.

It has been suggested that we should assume a
Euboean amphictyonie meeting in the temple of
Amarynthus of Poseidon, as there is evidence of the Euboean cities combining
in a festival there (Strabo, x. 448; Livy, xxxv. 39).

Of these religious leagues centred on the mainland of Greece, those meeting at Samice, Helice, Corona, and Amarynthus are not expressly
described as amphictyonies. Of the federations of
the Greek colonies, in the Aegean or in Asia, we have warrant for calling only that of Delos an
amphictyony. This league from a very early date
united the Ionians of the islands in the worship of
Apollo, and its history will be considered below.

There are other leagues which have amphictyonic
characteristics. The twelve Ionian colonies of
Asia Minor (of which a list is given in Herod. i.
142) met at the Panionium, a precinct on the
promontory of Mycale dedicated to the Heliconian
Poseidon, and celebrated a festival called Panionia
(Herod. i. 148; cf. Strabo, vii. 384; Diod. xvi.
49).

Of these religious leagues centred on the
Peloponnesus, the Peloponnesian had also political objects,
and the meetings at the Panionium were used for
the discussion of questions of common policy and to
promote joint action (Herod. i. 144).

There was also a place of common festival for the Ionians
(Thuc. iii. 104; cf. Dionys. Hal. iv. 25, who says
the precinct of Artemis was the place of meeting,
and Diod. xvi. 49, who says the Πανίονιον was trans-
ferred from the Panionium to Ephesus). The
grove of Poseidon at Tenos seems to have been the
site of a Πανίονιον (Strabo, x. 487).

The three Doric cities of Rhodes (Lindus, Ialyus, and Camirus), Cos, and Cnidus, with
Halicarnassus (which was afterwards excluded from
the league) were the Ionian promontory at the temple of Apollo (Herod. i. 144).

Dionysius (l.c.) says that these Dorians and the
Ionians meeting at Ephesus took the great
amphictyony as their model, and attributes to their
leagues, besides religious functions, powers of
jurisdiction and control of policy for which we
have no evidence elsewhere.

The religious leagues in Greece and the colonies
which come within the definition of an amphictyony, as given above, have been mentioned. It
is possible that this was the development of
federations in early times of which all trace is lost.

Before discussing the Delian and the Delphian
amphictyonies, each of which had a special charac-
ter, it will be best to consider the general functions
of such religious leagues.
It is clear that the amphictyony was a primitive form of union, the origin of which in all probability preceded the coming of the Achaeans invaders. The gods whose temples supplied the meeting-places are for the most part the gods of the earliest inhabitants. Religion appears at Samiceum, Helice, Oncheus, Calauria, and the Iatimus (if we interpret Findar's allusion as showing the existence of an amphictyony), and at Mycale and Tenos. At Pylée, Demeter was the presiding goddess. The primary purpose was the common worship, at set times, of the gods; and the offering of a common sacrifice and the celebration of a common festival were essential elements. (Terms like τα Παναγίωτα, τα Πανώτα, τα Ἐφέσια, τα Δήμη might denote the festival generally, or the sacrifice; cf. Strabo, viii. 384, θεωρεῖ τε καὶ τα Πανώτα.) At the meeting (παναγίωτα) a sacred truce (ἀθηνεία) was proclaimed. The cities or peoples participating sent sacred envoy (θεωρὰ, in some instances denoted by special titles, Παναγίωτα, Δήμαρχοι), but usually the ordinary citizens flocked to the gatherings. Usually there were athletic and musical contests, and it is possible that the great games of Greece had their origin in amphictyonic meetings (see Gilbert, Ὁριζόντια, ii. p. 400). The Delians and the Delphians assumed the office of judge, and the Ionians were encouraged, at any event, to attend and perform sacrifices in the sanctuary of Delphi. Political purposes may have moved them, but it is probable that their choice was partly determined by the desire to represent their league as an amphictyony, centred in what had been a holy place of the Ionian race, of which Athens claimed to be the natural head. At Delos the meetings of the allies were held, and the federal funds were stored. With the growth of Athenian domination and the transfer of the treasury to Athens (in 454), Delos lost its importance; indeed, in 426-5, the Athenians purged the island and established a great festival, to be held every four years. Whether the amphictyony had hitherto served any political purpose which it might be failed to it as still existing. Thus, although the temple and its funds were controlled by Athenian magistrates (the earliest direct evidence refers to the year 434-3, CIA i. 283), these bore the title Ἀμφιχτυόνες or Ἀμφιχτυόνες Ἀθηναῖοι (BCH vili. p. 283). The probable explanation of this name is that the title had at some time been borne by the representatives of other states, and that although (with one or two exceptions in the 4th cent.) only the Athenians appointed such magistrates, the fiction of an amphictyonic government was kept up because knowledge of this was based on inscriptions; the only allusion to such officials in literature is in Athenaeus, iv. 173, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμφιχτυόνων κήμων. The amphictyony of Delos therefore ceased to be a religious union of independent states, but became an instrument of Athenian supremacy, so that its history is bound up with the varying fortunes of Athens.

The festival (Δήμη) was celebrated in the spring of the third year after the Olympiad. (A lesser festival took place every year.) It was regulated and presided over by the Athenians (Aristotle, Ath. Pol. 64. 7, refers to it as if it were an Athenian festival); the Athenians sent a θεωρὰ in the sacred ship, and at every celebration an offering
of a gold crown was made to Apollo (Άμφικτυόνοι θεοί) in 428-427, and from that year onward recorded in the inventories, the number of celebrations can be estimated. The festival was modelled on the great Pan-Hellenic festivals, and was doubtless open to all the states of the Aegaean, possibly to all the Greeks. To the old athletic and musical contests of the Panagion added for the order of proceedings see Plut. Nic. 3. Banquets concluded the festival, at which the Athenians served the tables, and hence bore the title of Ελευθραί (Athen. iv. 173). The ceremony took place in 425, and was probably the occasion of the magnificent θεωρία of Nicias (Plut. Nic. 3; others attribute this to 417). The Delians seem to have resented the magnificence of the Athenians, and in 422 the Athenians expelled them from the island (Thuc. v. 1), intending, no doubt, to make it a mere appanage of Athens. But in 420, at the bidding of the Delphian oracle, they were restored.

The festival was celebrated every four years during the Peloponnesian war. An inscription of 418 (P. del. I. Suppl. 290), states that the Delian procession in sharing in the administration of the four Λήμνων Λειστακτικά (for whose title this is the earliest definite evidence). After the fall of Athens, Delos regained its independence (the fragment of an inscription, I. E. G. A. 91, probably refers to this); but at the same time, the number of states represented at the annual festival was decreased by the Delians, and to this the Athenians still sent their θεωρία (Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 2).

Soon after the battle of Cnidus, when the Athenians were striving to re-establish a federation of sea-states, they seem to have regained the control of the Delian temple (C. I. A. iv. 2. 813b), and the festival was renewed probably in 338 (in the 4th cent. its date was changed to the second year of the Olympiad). The Athenian control was interrupted for a time (the banishment of Delians recorded in C. I. A. ii. 814 may be connected with this), and probably the festival was omitted in 380; but with the foundation of their second confederacy the Athenians were again masters of the Aegaean. The inscription containing the accounts from 377 to 374 (known as the Sandwich marble, C. I. A. ii. 814) throws much light on temple property and administration. From 377 to 375 the sacred property was administered by four Αμφικτύονων Άμφικτυών, in 374 five Athenian commissioners were appointed, and five Άμφικτυόνων Άμφικτυών. This recognition of the allies is consistent with the principles of the confederacy, but in only one other inscription do the Andrian commissioners appear (B. C. H. vii. 367), and the Athenians, sided by Delian subordinate officials (Βουνός Δημοκράτεις καὶ λεγόμενοι  mentioned in an inventory of 364-3, B. C. H. x. 461), continued to administer the temple and the sacred property. The festival was regularly celebrated with the usual offerings of a colossal figure. The resentment of the Delians was manifested in the banishment (probably about 350) of an Athenian partisan (C. I. A. ii. 116b); and, in 345-4 or 344-3, the Delians appealed to the arbitration of the Delphian or the Argive confederacy to resolve the conflict (see below, p. 308). The decision was favourable to the Athenians; even after the collapse of her power, Athens retained her control of Delos until at least 315. Before 308 Delos was independent, and a nominal amphictyony had come to an end. (For date, see von Schöfer in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2482).

The Delphian amphictyony.—The chief amphictyony is usually referred to by modern writers as the Delphian, or the Pythian, because in historical times Delphi was its most important place of meeting. It met also at Anthea, near Thermopylae. The ancients regard it as the amphictyony, and allusion to it are usually connected with the substantive 'Αμφικτυόνοι or the adjective 'Αμφικτυώνος (with σύνοδος, σύστημα, συνήθως), and the collective substantive 'Αμφικτυώνας is comparatively rare (Dem. vi. 19, xi. 4). The substantive Λειστάκτικος is used either of the amphictyonic peoples collectively, or of their representatives at the amphictyonic meetings, or of the actual council of Hieromnemones.

Its early history is legendary (Strabo, iv. 420, τὸ ᾽Ανθέα μὲν ὧν ἀντιτιθείται), and the legends are variously interpreted. The foundation was ascribed to an eponymous hero, Amphictyon, usually described as the son of Deucalion and brother of Hellen (Dionysius, ii. 25, as the son of Hellen), some 300 years before the Trojan war. He, being king at Thermopylae, united the neighbouring peoples in the festival of Pylaia. Other accounts explained the name Λειστάκτικος as meaning the 'neighbouring peoples,' and connected the institution with Delphi (for the authorities see Bürgel, Die pythiatische - delphische Amphictyon, 1880, 4. ff.). The Delian title, as the place of origin, were reconciled in the legend that Acisimus, summoned from Argos to help the Delphians, instituted a συνήθων at Delphi on the model of that at Pylae, and organized the constitution of the amphictyony (Schol. to Eur. Orest. 1098 ed. Str. 190). The establishment is recorded until the first Sacred War (B. C. 596), when the amphictyonic peoples are said to have attacked Crisa for injury done to Delphi and transgression of the amphictyonic ordinances (Euthenes, ii. 107-8; Strabo, iv. 419). After the destruction of Crisa, the Pythian games were instituted.

The truth underlying the legends may be somewhat as follows. At a remote period, probably before the great migrations within Greece, the peoples then settled near Thermopylae combined in the worship of Demeter, the festival possibly being connected with the harvest. That Pylae was the original meeting-place is probable on the following grounds. The cult of Demeter Amphictyonis was always maintained at Pylae; the meetings of the amphictyony, whether at Pylae or Delphi, bore the name Πυλαία, and Πυλαίων was the title of the official envoys; the peoples in after times belonging to the amphictyony were largely those belonging to the Pylaian league; and the Pylaia were those held at Pylae. It is a matter of speculation which of these peoples originally belonged to the amphictyony. There were, no doubt, fresh accessions consequent on the migrations, and, by the end of the 7th cent., probably most of the peoples in eastern Greece between Thessaly and Laconia had been admitted. The Thessalians were presidents. At some period before the first Sacred War, Delphi had been taken under the protection of the amphictyony, and became a regular place of meeting. (Legend places this at a very early date, and the tradition of the Greeks undoubtedly set it before the Sacred War. Bürgel argues that the war was not conducted by the amphictyony, which, he thinks, was opposed to new states after the war). The war with Crisa marks an epoch; henceforth the history of the league rests on surer information; it is more closely identified with Delphi, whose shrine and property came under the protection of the amphictyonic council, which also had the superintendence of the Pythian festivals. (a) Members.—The amphictyony was a league of twelve peoples (βουνός, called γέρον by Paus. x. 8. 2; Strabo, iv. 420, wrongly speaks of Πυλαία). Whatever changes in the composition of the amphictyony took place, the number of the peoples was constant. The earliest list that has come down to
us is that of Aeschines (ii. 116), who professes to give twelve names, though only eleven appear in the text. These are the Thessalians, Boeotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhaebians, Magnetians, Locrians, Oeaeans, Phthians, Malians, and Phocians. It is generally believed that the Dolopes should be added to complete the list, and that Aeschines describes as Oeaeans the people who more usually appear as Aenians (Herod. vii. 132, in a list of nine peoples who submitted to Xerxes, cites only amphictyonic peoples). From 346 to 345 the Macedonian King took the place of the Phocians, and the Delphians were admitted, room being made for them by uniting the Perrhaebians and the Dolopes as one people. (An inscription gives us a list of the peoples in 344-5. See E. Bourguet, L'Administracion financiere du sanctuaire pythique au IVe sicle avant Jesus-Christ, p. 145 ff., and BCH xxi. p. 322.) The subsequent changes after the Aetolians were admitted need not be followed here.

While there was at all periods a conservative adherence to the principle that races and not states should be members of the amphictyony, a measure ascribed to Acrisius, and certainly adopted at an early date, regulated the participation of separate states in the amphictyonic council. Macedonian and Greek states were included; the people admitted to membership had two votes (Aesch. ii. 116), and in some cases these votes were divided between different branches of the same race (e.g. the Locrians and the Malians), or between states belonging to the same race, and on their behalf Athens and one of the Euboean states; the Dorian votes were divided between the Dorians of the metropolis and the Dorians of the Peloponnesus, or at another time between the Lacedaemonians and some other state (cf. Aesch. ii. 116, p. 197 ff.); and the Boeotian votes were divided among the different cities of Boeotia (Thebes being usually represented).

The exclusion of a particular state from the amphictyony might be effected without diminishing the representation of the race to which it belonged, as its vote could be transferred to another state. We have no information as to how the apportionment of votes to the individual states or sections of the people was effected. While the members of the amphictyony were entrusted to the representatives of the states qualified for the time to vote, other states not so represented, or even states which had no right to a vote, might take part in the amphictyonic meetings by means of embassies.

(b) Meetings and representatives.—The meetings were held twice a year, in spring and autumn (ναυα εεαρθα και μεταραφαρ), Strabo, ix. 420), and on each occasion at both Anthela and Delphi. Extraordinary meetings might be called (Aesch. iii. 124). Any members of the amphictyonic peoples might attend; sacred embassies (θεοπαλικν) were probably sent by the amphictyonic peoples, and there were also Πυλαγοροι in some writers Πολαγοροι (in some writers Πολαγοροι) (when Athens was the only state, or see is the only office, to which the interests of the states or peoples qualified to vote, from the 3rd century Αγορατολοι seem to have taken the place of the Πυλαγοροι).

There is some uncertainty as to the respective duties of the Πυλαγοροι and the Τεσσεραμοι at different dates. In the early years of the 5th cent., the Πυλαγοροι are represented as the executive and deliberative power (Herod. vii. 213; Plut. Them. 25, 26, not mention any other officers); towards the end of the century we can trace Τεσσεραμοι (Aristoph. Nub. 683). Inscriptions and literary evidence (the account of the proceedings of the Delphic Amphictyony in Aeschines ii. 116 ff. is our chief authority) show that in the 4th cent., the Hieromnemones (who were twenty-four in number, two for each amphictyonic people) formed the council of the Hieromnemones. Pyrgaiors were still appointed, but had not voting power, and were perhaps limited in number. The amphictyony sent three to Delphi in 339. The method of appointing these officials may have been left to the discretion of the different states. At Athens we find the Hieromnemones appointed by lot (Aristophanes, Lec.) and the Pyrgaiors elected. Prominent statesmen were sometimes appointed (e.g. Demosthenes and Aeschines), perhaps to watch over the political interests of their state at the time. In the narrative of the meeting in 339 (Aeschines, Lec.) it would appear that the Hieromnemones formed the council of the amphictyony, and that the individual Hieromnemones might seek advice and support from the Pyrgaior of his state. Thus in the case of Aeschines, who was connected with the council, it is said to the council of the Hieromnemones when the other Pyrgaior had withdrawn, and after defending the cause of Athens, desired before the vote took place, of the Hieromnemones, all power, deliberative, judicial, and executive, and to be vested, and it was apparently sometimes described as ου και τους Πυλαγορους (IG vii. 651, 1. 41; cf. Aesch. ii. 139). The president is referred to as ου των γνωκων ηπειρονεχει (Aesch. iii. 134). The decisions of the council were made in the ρεπα δεφετων. It was open to the council to call an εκτελεσια of all who were attending the meeting (ου συμβουλευης και την ηπειρονεχει, Aesch. l.c.), presumably to announce the course of action proposed, or to ratify the decision of the council.

For the special boards of νομικος and νομικα see below.

(c) Competence of the amphictyony. — It is difficult precisely to define the competence of the amphictyony. There is no general statement in ancient writers that can be relied upon (Dionys. Hal. iv. 25, vaguely exaggerates), and its powers, so far as they cannot be inferred from the original aims, must in the main be deduced from the historical instances of its activity. It should be noted that the influence of the amphictyony and the amphictyony varied greatly at different periods. As most of its members were politically insignificant, states such as Athens and Sparta at the height of their power had little respect for its authority. On the other hand, when a strong state commanded a majority of votes and so became predominant in the council, it could use the amphictyony for its own ends, and find pretexts to justify an extension of amphictyonic action. It is possible here to give only broad results with detail.

We may assume that, probably from the first, the amphictyony had two main objects: the union of different peoples for common religious purposes, and the common observance of certain rules affecting the relations between those peoples. Two causes combined to increase the importance of these objects. As the amphictyony came to include representatives from most of the peoples of Greece, it tended to assume a Hellenic character, and when Delphi was the only sanctuary, and became its most important meeting-place, the universal recognition of the oracle and of the cult of Apollo increased the prestige and importance of the amphictyony. It is not always easy to distinguish the relative spheres of activity of the primitive amphictyony, but it must be remembered that the oracle, though under the protection of the amphictyony, was independent, and many institutions or observances which owed their origin to Delphi should not be credited to the amphictyony.

The members of the amphictyony united in common religious observances at both Anthela and Delphi. At Anthela they worshipped Demeter (with the title Αρμενοεις or Πολαις, and the hero Amphictyontes. Thus both the anthela and Delphi, in spring and autumn protected by the proclamation of a holy truce (εξερευση); sacrifice was offered, and probably a festival was celebrated with its usual accompaniment of contests and market. An important inscription (Claz. ii. 545) gives us much information as to the relations of the amphictyony with Delphi. The inscription dates from B.C. 380, and the assertion of the amphictyonic rules and duties may mark a recent restoration of the power of those unions, at the protection of Sparta, then at the height of her power (Björk, op. cit. p. 529; Bourguet, op. cit. pp. 158-9). At Delphi Leto, Artemis, and Athena Pronaia (or Pronia) were associated with Apollo as Amphictyonic deities (Aesch. iii. 108, 111), to whom sacrifice was offered at the spring and autumn meetings.
In the procession preceding the sacrifice, among other beasts of great price was led the beast of the Phocian line, had been paid and the temple at Delphi was finished, their work probably ceased. Before 310, and possibly as early as 326, they were no longer acting. Inscriptions thus enable us to realize in detail the activity of the amphictyony in the case of the Phocian line, and in the grants of iriXeia and dtruXfo to the guilds of Dionysiac artists (CIA ii. 551), at some date after 279. The lists of amphictyony. may be found in the inscriptions of the Sacred Land. It is possible that there were kouk νομιμα or νομι των Ἑλλήνων other than those mentioned by Aeschines, which were sanctioned by the amphictyony, (see Bürdel, op. cit. p. 198, for certain regulations, possibly not demonstrably amphictyonic). There are instances of charges being brought before the amphictyony which may have been based on the supposed violation of general rules, though we lack definite testimony. Among the historical incidents quoted in this connexion are the condemnation of the Dolopes of Seyros for piracy (Plut. Cim. 8); the price put upon the head of Ephialtes after the second Persian War (Herod. vii. 219); the condemnation of the Spartans, who were fined and excluded from the amphictyony for the seizure of the Cadmea (Diod. xvi. 23); and the charge threatened against Athens by the Amphissians in 339 (Aesch. iii. 168). Charges brought before the amphictyony were tried by the council, in cases which might be of a public character, or were brought by individuals, to exclude them from the league, or in more serious cases proclaim a holy war against the offending state. As we do not know the scope of the amphictyonic laws, we cannot say whether the charges were always based on a supposed transgression of them. Probably some pretexts were assumed to bring them within the jurisdiction, but the competence of the amphictyony might be extended by the admission of charges which did not properly come before its court. Thus an Athenian decree of 363 (CIA iv. 152.4) which A. Astyкратes has been condemned παρά τοις νόμοις τῶν Ἀμφικτύων, and in 335 Alexander apparently demanded that the orators of Athens should be tried before the amphictyony (Dem. xviii. 322). Apart from this, disputes might be referred by consent to the arbitration of the amphictyony, and we probably have an instance of this in the submission by the Athenians and Delians of their controversy respecting the Delian temple in 345-4 or 344-3 (Dem. xviii. 194, xix. 65). The amphictyony might also be involved in disputes referring to individuals, as in the honours accorded to the heroes of Thermopylae (Herod. vii. 228) and to Scyllia (Paus. x. 19. 1), and in the grants of ἀθέαν and δωδεκά to the guilds of Dionysiac artists (CIA ii. 501—at some date after 279).
We may conclude that the competence of the amphictyony was not rigidly restricted, at least in practice. It was open to a power possessing a dominant influence to extend its functions, and Alexander induced the council to confer upon him the command of the war against Persia (Diod. xvii. 4).

(d) Importance of the amphictyony. — The amphictyony in its constitution, its objects, and its possibilities involved important principles. It united many different peoples of Greece on the basis of a common Hellenic kinship; and this union was realized by a system of representation by which equal votes were accorded to the several members. It fulfilled the purpose common to amphictyonies generally, of maintaining certain religious institutions and rites, while it enforced the recognition of rules regulating the relations of its members. In this respect it tended to establish in the Greek world a system of quasi-international law, with a court to enforce it, comparable in our own days to the purpose of the Court of Europe. In its constitution it might seem to prepare the way for a federal system, if not for a Pan-Hellenic national union. This may explain why, on different occasions, the amphictyony might act as the representative of Greek forces, and why it was sometimes described as if it included the whole nation (cf. Soph. Trach. 638, Ελλήνων διόργανοι Πολέμες; Herod. vii. 214, αυτῶν Ἑλλήνων Πολεμικά). But the disruptive forces which dominated the Greek political system counteracted these tendencies. The influence of the amphictyony (apart from the oracle) in the sphere of religion scarcely extended beyond its own meetings. The rules of humanity which it laid down were not enforced, and amphictyonic cities were razed to the ground without vengeance or protest. The amphictyony had little effect in correcting the separate autarchy of the great states. Composed as it was in great part of peoples of small political or military significance, it could not impose its will on powerful states, which overshadowed it or made it a mere instrument of policy. Thus in the greater part of the 5th cent., while Sparta and Athens divided the allegiance of the other Greeks, the amphictyony receded into the background. In the 4th cent., from 380 at least, the amphictyony assumed a greater importance, mainly because it came under the influence of the new confederacies of the powerful states—at first Sparta, then Thebes, and later the Macedonian king. The amphictyony became the scene of intrigues, and the Sacred Wars, waged nominally in the cause of the amphictyony, were critical for Greek history. It is precisely at this period that Demosthenes describes the league as ἡ ἐν Δῆμοις εκμέταλλη (v. 29). The subversion of the policy of the dominant state became still more marked when the Aetolians controlled all the 4th cent.


AMRITSAR.—Amritsar, in the Panjáb, is one of the religious centres of India and the chief city of the Sikhs. It lies in what is known as the Manjha country, about 32 miles east of Lahore, and contained at the census of 1901 a population of 162,429, of whom 40 per cent. were Hindus, 48 per cent. Muhammadans, and 11 per cent. Sikhs. It is the chief commercial town of the Panjáb proper; but its commercial importance is based less on any advantages of position than on the fact that the city is built round the celebrated 'Tank of Nectar' or 'Tank of the Immortals,' i.e. the gurds (Sanskrit, Amrtasaras), in the centre of which is situated the Golden Temple, the central shrine of the Sikhs, or the 'Temple of God,' and consists of a single room, covering a square of 404 feet, with four doors, one opening to each side. The lower part of the outer walls is adorned with marble inlay, resembling that of the Taj Mahal at Agra, and the upper walls and roof are covered with plates of copper heavily gilded, from which the place has obtained among Europeans the name of the 'Golden Temple.' Among the Sikhs themselves the shrine and its precincts are known as the Gurdwara of the 'Sacred Audience'; and this title owes its origin to the fact that the Granth, or Sacred Book, is looked upon as a living Person, who daily in this shrine receives his subjects in solemn audience. The book is brought every morning with considerable pomp from the Akal Davnga (see p. 404) across the causeway to the shrine, and returns at night with similar ceremony. It is installed in the shrine below a canopy, and a grāнтā sits behind it all day waving a sword, or yak's tail, over it, as a safeguard against the attacks of a Hindu Prince. The book on the south side a selection from the pūsaṅga or hereditary incumebts of the Temple, and on the north sit the musicians (ṛāgī and ṛabābā— the latter, strange to say, being Muhammadans), who from time to time sing hymns from the Granth.
to the accomplishment of divers native instruments. In a book of this sort it is unpardonable to the faithful deposit their offerings. Although the outer precincts have since 1898 been lit by electric light, the shrine itself is lit with clarified butter or candles only. The wearing of shoes within the precincts, and, of course, smoking of any kind, are strictly prohibited; and as the Granth is always installed upon the ground, it is considered irreverent for any one within the precincts to sit upon a chair or stool.

Round all four sides of the tank runs a paved walk, some 20 feet wide, bordered by the Ramgarhia and the Sikhs Sahibs, for these menials, known as bunga or bungas (Sikhs of Akalbeghi, Sahibzada Ramgarhia Singh). These expensive fairs, the temple, too, and the Khalsa College. The former is a memorial in the form of a Sikh shrine, which was erected in A.D. 1902 in the centre of the city by the British Government in memory of the gallant manner in which a small body of the 56th Sikh Regiment held the fort of Sargarhar on the North-West Frontier against an Afghan enemy in the Tirah campaign of 1897. The latter is a denominational college which was started some twelve years ago for the encouragement of learning among the Sikhs, and lies some two miles built by the Sikhs chiefs in the latter part of the 18th cent. for the accommodation of themselves and their followers when visiting Amritsar; and among these the bunga of the Ranggarhia Sirdars is prominent by its two large towers, which dominate the city and neighbourhood of Amritsar.

Attached to the main shrine are three subsidiary institutions, which are of considerable importance in the eyes of the Sikhs. The first of these is the Akalbinga, or ' Hospice of the Immortal,' which adjoins the shrine on the west side of the causeway, and is the traditional centre of the fanatical sect known as the Nihangs or Akalis. The Granth Sahib is kept here at night, and the building also contains a fine collection of the weapons of Guru Har Govind and other Sikh Gurus and chiefs. The courtyard in front of the Akalbinga is a favourite place for the administration of the pakhali, or religious baptism of the Sikh creed; the ceremony may, however, be performed anywhere in the presence of the Granth, and the number of persons baptized at Akalbinga is only 1200 annually. The second of the well-known subsidiary institutions is the Bābā Atal, a shrine surmounted by a tower, which lies a few hundred yards to the south-east of the Har-mandar. This shrine was consecrated by the young son of Guru Har Govind (A.D. 1606-1645), and is surrounded by the cenotaphs of many of the old Sikh nobility. The third institution subsidiary to the Golden Temple is the shrine of Taran Tārā, which lies 13 miles south of Amritsar, and which was founded by the fifth Guru, Arjan (A.D. 1581-1606). The Taran Tārā shrine, which also is built on an island in a large tank, is the scene of a considerable monthly fair, and the Amritsar temple, too, is the centre of two exceedingly large fairs, the Baisahik and Diwâlī, which are held in the spring and autumn respectively, and are attended by immense numbers of persons, both for religious purposes and for commercial purposes, from the whole of northern India. The actual building of the Golden Temple and its precincts is maintained from the proceeds of a jāgīr, or assignment of land revenue from certain surrounding villages. The granthās who read the sacred volume are three in number, and are supplied by offerings made directly to them by worshippers at the shrine. The pāṭhārs, or incumbents, are a very large body of men to whom the general offerings at the shrine are distributed, after deducting a fixed sum for the temple establishment,—that is to say, the musicians, office-bearers, menials, and so forth. The whole institution and its subsidiaries are supervised by a manager, who is generally a Sikh gentleman of position appointed by the Government. The funds of the temple, as well as a certain number of precious ornaments, are kept in a somewhat primitive manner in a treasury over the main gate.

The whole importance of Amritsar from a religious point of view lies in the Golden Temple, and there is little of religious importance in the town outside the precincts of the Darbar Sahib. Mention may, however, be made of two recent institutions, maintained by the Sāragarhis, the shikar, and the Khalsa College. The former is a memorial in the form of a Sikh shrine, which was erected in A.D. 1902 in the centre of the city by the British Government in memory of the gallant manner in which a small body of the 56th Sikh Regiment held the fort of Sargarhar on the North-West Frontier against an Afghan enemy in the Tirah campaign of 1897. The latter is a denominational college which was started some twelve years ago for the encouragement of learning among the Sikhs, and lies some two miles from the city, and is largely supported by the Sikh States of the Panjab as well as by private donors.


E. D. MACLAGAN.

AMULETS.—See CHARMs AND AMULETS.

AMUSEMENTS.—A. 1. In the category of 'amusements' it is usual to include all sorts of pleasant occupations, both mental and physical, by which the attention is disengaged from the serious pursuits of life. Strictly speaking, however, an amusement is a light form of enjoyment in which little exertion either of the body or of the mind is required. In this respect amusements differ from recreation, which is a word of a higher order, inasmuch as recreation implies some considerable expenditure of energy, either mental or physical or both, although, in the nature of the case the exertion is agreeable and refreshing. Both amusement and recreation are designed to serve the same end, the recuperation of one's jaded mental and physical powers; but amusement secures that by turning the mind into channels where the time passes pleasantly without being wasted, whereas recreation effects its purpose by an agreeable change of occupation, by calling into activity other faculties and muscles than those engaged in work. Amusement, in short, is a form of enjoyment in its nature akin to relaxation; recreation is pleasurable exercise in which the energies, set free from work, are allowed to play in other directions (see RECREATION).

2. The slight demands which amusements make on the mental and physical activities, and their character as a means of lightening the mind and drawing off the attention from the more important concerns of life, no doubt explain why in a serious age the word was used in a depreciatory sense. At the close of the 17th cent. we find amusement defined as ' any idle employment to spin away time' (Phillips, quoted in Osf. Dict.). It may readily be allowed that anything which has no further aim than to kill time and to render men oblivious of the higher ends of life deserves to be condemned; and it is no less fallacious to identify amusements with amusement than to regard drunkenness as synonymous with amusement has been regarded as an unconscious and melancholy confession that amusements have no other object and serve no other end than to fill up the emptiness of a life which is devoid of nobler interests, and to make men forget themselves. This pessimistic view of
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amusements finds unquestionably some justification in the actual state of things. It cannot be doubted that amusements are often greedily sought after by those who find in the true business of life, in noble aims and strivings, nothing to excite their interest and to afford them joy; and they are indulged in with the object of appeasing the natural craving for happiness which finds no satisfaction in higher pursuits. Where this is the case, the passion for amusement is a pathetic witness to the misery of a life which has missed its true joy. But when a depraved estimate of amusements is based on the view that life itself, in the duties and relationships to which men are called, is so rich in delights that any other form of enjoyment is unnecessary, the ground is less secure. It is a severe and exacting philosophy which affirms that, to all who are conscious of the satisfactions which attend the pursuit of high moral aims, life is an absorbing interest which takes the place of all amusements. ‘Where men are rightly occupied, their amusement grows out of their work’ (Rusk in, Sesame and Lilies, 100). This, it must be confessed, is somewhat too highly pitched for ordinary human nature. It is this view of amusements which has commonly been associated with Puritanism, not always accurately. There was no aversion to pleasant things, arising out of an austere philosophy of life, that called forth the Puritan protest against the amusements of the time. Amusements were condemned, not because they had a justice, at least in the sense that it was aversion to pleasant things, arising out of an austere philosophy of life, that called forth the Puritan protest against the amusements of the time. Amusements were condemned, not because there were no others who had the serious business of life on hand, but because they were either sinful in themselves or closely associated with sinful accessories. This was the case, for instance, in the matter of dramatic representations. ‘Between the days of Elia’ (Rusk in, Sesame and Lilies, 100), the Puritan Stubbes held that some plays were ‘very honest and commendable exercises,’ and ‘may be used in time and place convenient as conducible to example of life and reformation of manners’; but the gross corruption of the seventeenth century stage drove Pryme and the majority of the Puritan party to extremest views (Traill, Social England, iv, 165). It was the unfortunate association of evil with so many forms of amusement that disposed them of their latent and innocent mirth and enjoyments perfectly innocent; their abhorrence of tainted pleasures led them to regard with suspicion every form of gaiety in which ‘the enjoying nature’ of their neighbours found expression. The(1807) the growth of self-restraint in Puritanism, and in the forging of links which bind us more closely together. There may be indeed, and there are, experiences shared with others which have a far greater uniting power than fellowship in the social pleasures of life, life, life, life. However, in the definition of amusements we include the great national games, amusements constitutes one of the harms of amusements; and, apart from the refreshing influences of such intercourse, there is a further gain in the growth of self-restraint, which, by allowing us to enjoy life in peace, and give the value of it is deserving of recognition. Moreover, amusements, like everything else which draws us into association with others, serve as an opportunity for the culture of social virtues—unselfishness, equanimity, courtesy, and the like; while, if we extend our definition of amusements to include the great national games, they afford a discipline for the growth of such qualities as patience, self-restraint, magnanimity, and a readiness to appear not important. Furthermore, the pursuit of amusements is a bulwark against the temptations of the leisure hour. Nothing exposes the heart to the inroads of evil like the want of some healthy interest; and an honest love of innocent play averts it as securely from the other end, would be valuable as a moral safeguard.

3. The Puritanic ‘gospel of earnestness’ is too narrow and one-sided to do justice to human nature. Healthy-minded men refuse to be satisfied with any view of life which ignores the natural instinct for play, and regards participation in amusements as a weakness which will be outgrown with the growth of their latent and innocent spirit, which regarded life as too serious a business to permit of indulgence in light and pleasant diversions.

4. The main ethical justification of amusements lies, accordingly, in their fitness to renew and refresh our powers for the duties of life. But they serve other ends which are ethically important. If, for instance, they have a social function, as they do, the fact that we are thrown into pleasant association with others constitutes one of the harms of amusements; and, apart from the refreshing influences of such intercourse, there is a further gain in the growth of self-restraint, which, by allowing us to enjoy life in peace, would be valuable as a moral safeguard.

5. All this must be freely acknowledged. Amusements have an undeniable ethical worth when they are wisely engaged in. But they cease to be ethically valuable, and indulgence in them becomes a dissipation, when they are sought after without due regard to the serious interests of life. When they are allowed to engross the mind and to become the main business in which pleasure is found, the pursuit of amusement in one's proper work, they become harmful and morally reprehensible. There is no amusement, however innocent in itself, that cannot be changed into a means of self-indulgence through the excessive or untimely pursuit of it. Its pursuit is untimely when there is work waiting to be done. The pleasures of amusement are stolen pleasures, and the cost of them is, at least, ‘Sport and Merriment are at times allowable; but we must enjoy them, as we enjoy sleep and other kinds of repose, when we have performed our weighty and important affairs’ (Cicero, de Off. I, 29, 103). But the abuse of amusements lies not
only in their untimeliness, but also in their excess. They are frequently allowed to bulk so largely in life that serious occupations become distasteful. If, after participation in amusements, we are unable to pass with ease to more important concerns, and, instead of feeling refreshed for duty, have an aversion to it, we may fairly conclude that we have lost an amusement, that we have been diverted, and have fallen into self-indulgence. That these limits are frequently overpassed is not a matter for doubt. There is no question that at the present day the desire for amusement has in many instances a groundless origin, which with whom we are seriously prejudicing the culture of the higher life. In the opinion of competent judges, there is a waning of intellectual interests, a decay of any genuine love for those pursuits which enlarge and enrich the mind, a growing unconcern for the graver matters of religion and social service, and in some degree at least this is to be attributed to the immoderate indulgence in lighter pleasures. The fault of our age is not in seeking amusement, but in not knowing where to draw the line. Nece luxisse pudet, sed non scidit Horae.

6. The necessity of excessive addiction to amusements is not only the destruction of the taste for serious pursuits, but the decay of any genuine pleasure in life. The rationale of amusements is that we should use both work re-vitalized and capable of finding joy in it. But when they usurp the throne of our desires, and so dominate our thoughts and interest that work is felt to be a wearisome and unmoving interlude, they kill joy in that region of life where joy is all-important, where alone joy can be solid and lasting. A predominant craving for amusement defeats its own end; it renders joyless the whole stretch of life which of necessity must be given to work, and it speedily exhausts the enjoyment that amusement itself can give. Excessive pleasure-seeking brings satiety. Amusements, when they become the chief object of pursuit, lose their power of amusing. There is a world of truth in the well-known saying, uttered in reference to the excitements of a London season, 'Life would be tolerably agreeable, if it were not for its amusements.' Excess of pleasure nauseates and takes the joy out of life.

7. In the choice of amusements, and in the determination of the extent of their indulgence, there are other considerations to be taken into account. From the individual's point of view, it is important that he should learn to avoid every form of pleasure which is physically harmful or morally debasing, and to allow himself only that measure of enjoyment which is consistent with the proper discharge of his work, and with a due concern for higher personal interests, such as self-culture and religious worship. But the question of amusements must be considered also in the light of the obligations which we have towards others. 'Life would be tolerably agreeable, if it were not for its amusements.' Excess of pleasure-seeking brings satiety. Amusements, when they become the chief object of pursuit, lose their power of amusing. There is a world of truth in the well-known saying, uttered in reference to the excitements of a London season, 'Life would be tolerably agreeable, if it were not for its amusements.' Excess of pleasure nauseates and takes the joy out of life.

8. In the last resort, the question of amusement is for each individual to decide. It is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules which have universal validity. The science of ethics of the most individual of all the sciences. The determination of duty is a matter for the earnest and enlightened conscience of each person for himself. It is not to be denied that the method, which has been largely favoured in some quarters, of drawing up lists of allowable and proscribed amusements has a certain practical utility; the deliberate judgment of good men in reference to pleasures, whose worth for the ethical ends of life is a matter of such debate, is not to be lightly set at naught. Indulgence in pleasures the most innocent is illegitimate when it leads to the neglect of our social obligations. A man has no right to seek amusement to the detriment of those of love and fellowship which he owes to those of his own family circle. Similarly, one may spend so much time or money on the gratification of one's desire for enjoyment as to render impossible the honourable discharge of one's duties to society. Those most closely identified with religious and philanthropic work are unanimous in the opinion that one of the chief difficulties in finding money for its adequate maintenance arises from the increasing expenditure on amusements.

For example, there are occasional occasions when our obligations to others raise the question whether we should not deny ourselves the gratification of an amusement which to us is perfectly innocent, but which is a cause of offence to those with whom we are closely connected. To which we owe 'weaker brethren' cannot be entirely ignored, although there must be limits set to it. One may feel constrained in certain circumstances to renounce a form of enjoyment which harms another or offends his conscience; but, in the interests of moral education, it should be recognized that one has also a duty of vindicating the freedom of conscience, and of showing that amusements which to some are noxious, and even injurious, may be indulged in with perfect safety by others. In one way or another, our obligations towards others are bound up with the question of amusements. In these days the provision of amusements is very largely in the hands of professional classes, and it has been maintained that the most dangerous to which men and women belonging to these classes are exposed is so great, that the amusements provided by them should not be countenanced by those who have the welfare of their fellows at heart. This is perhaps the chief reason why many do not wish to enter a theatre. It should be frankly acknowledged that if, as is frequently alleged, the theatrical career puts the souls of men and women in needless jeopardy, and exposes them to temptations such as no one should be called upon to face; if the conditions and atmosphere of an actor's calling are so lowering to the moral tone as to make a loose manner of life practically inevitable, the enjoyment furnished by dramatic representations is a form of amusement which a good man will refuse to countenance. Now, that there are moral risks connected with the theatrical profession, it would be idle to deny; but the fact of risk does not necessarily condemn it, any more than the inevitable risks attending all kinds of worldly business condemn them. Nevertheless it is a codal's principle of view, it is out of account in determining our attitude to the theatre; each individual is bound only to think of the effects of a dramatic entertainment on himself, but also to consider, on the grounds of the fullest knowledge at his command, whether those who provide the entertainment are prejudicially affected in character.
him, and be guided by a spirit of devotion to a lofty ideal of life. 'He that is spiritual judgeth all things.' Let a man realize the true ethical ends of life, let him recognize that life is a gift to be honourably used for self-culture and service, and that in the pursuit of amusements may be left to settle itself. He who walks according to 'the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus' will never find himself in serious difficulty. He will not ask himself in what amusements he may indulge, or to what extent he may indulge in them, without doing wrong. He will be so intent on seeking the true ends of life that only those amusements will be desired which are in harmony with these ends, and only that measure of indulgence will be allowed which helps towards their attainment. In the most natural way, amusements will take their fitting place as a means of refreshment. They will be the lighter breathings of an earnest spirit, which finds in them a new zest for duty and a preparation for more exacting pursuits. The ethical ideal which gives unity to life will govern them and lend them value; so that pleasures, which in those indifferent to high aims are simply the frivolous exercise of a low-toned spirit, are the sparkle on the surface of a deep and earnest nature, the instinctive playfulness of a heart that finds in relaxation a help for serious work.

B. I. So far we have been concerned with the general principles which should control the choice and pursuit of amusements; we turn now to consider a few of the practical aspects of the subject. It was inevitable that the vast changes which have taken place in business and industrial life within the last two or three generations should affect in a large degree the habits of men in their hours of leisure. The decay of intellectual interest has been incidentally referred to as one of the regrettable results of the increasing desire for lighter forms of amusement, but it must be confessed that it is hard to see how that was altogether to be avoided. The growing strain which the conditions of modern life have imposed on those engaged in business, the exacting demands made on brain and physical endurance by the sharpness of competition as well as by the necessity for providing the comforts and aesthetic refinements of a refined life, have made such inroads on the energies of men that their pleasures have inevitably taken the form of amusements which agreeably relax the tension of the mind. In former days, when the struggle was one of leisure to devote oneself to interests which required some intellectual effort; but under the conditions of present-day life the tension in the case of many is so great that, if the balance is to be re-established and the powers re-energized for the proper discharge of work, amusements must often be of a nature to quench sensation and act as an agreeable opiate to serious thought. This may be regretted in the interests of wide and harmonious social ends, but it is in keeping with the conditions of modern life. The same consideration is a fair answer to the criticism which decries the craving for spectacular amusement in the name of robust methods of recreation. It is blindness to the facts of modern life that leads to the wholesale condemnation of pleasurable excitement which is not accompanied by the healthy glow of exercise. That some measure of recreation in its nobler sense is both desirable and necessary for health of body and mind is undenied, but it may be questioned that for the vast proportion of the toilers in our cities what is needed is not so much a further expenditure of energy, as some form of diversion which will quicken the pulse of life by its appeal to the imagination through the senses; and the hard-driven poor ought to be able to secure this in ways that are free from moral danger. Nothing, indeed, is of greater importance for the true welfare of those who are exposed to the strain of city life than the establishment of centres where healthy amusement, freed from all contaminating associations, can be had at a small cost. The Churches are moving in this direction already, and the time should not be far distant when municipalities will realize that it is their highest interest to devote some attention to the amusements of the working classes.

2. It is not merely the strain which our modern civilization imposes that makes the question of amusements of such vital importance; it is much more the unnatural conditions which have been created by the highly specialized character of modern industry. For large sections of the population there is under present conditions nothing in the nature of their work itself to excite any deep and genuine interest. In earlier days, handi-
craftsmen found in the varied operations of their calling, and in the freedom in which their skill found scope, a zest which in our mechanical age is almost entirely lacking. It is by no means surprising that men have sought an escape from the colourless routine of uninteresting work by an effort of least resistance, and have endeavoured to satisfy their craving for a wider and more joyous life by indulgence in various pleasures or in forms of excitement which sap instead of renewing the energies. To the average modern workman there is no toil which can be made agreeable again, to find some way by which interest may be re-awakened in the performance of work which in itself is largely devoid of interest. Unquestionably the noblest and best of all is to endeavour to give men in mind's a new sense of the deeper meanings of work, a feeling for its ethical significance to the individual himself, and for its significance as the contribution which he is able to make to society in return for the privileges which society confers upon him. But the same end may be served in another way. It has been remarked that 'the most powerful moralizing influences are not always those which are directly moral' (MacCunn, Making of Character, p. 163). At any rate, in the conditions of modern life, there is much to be said for the association of the formation of good habits which implies, may be secured by the provision of healthy amusements which will stir the imagination and satisfy the instinctive desire of a larger life. In this sense, and not at present restricted to the exploitation of the public by private individuals, with results that are frequently far from beneficial, the aim of the community ought to be to supply forms of entertainment which shall prove a stronger attraction than questioning and vicious pleasures, and shall so enlarge the horizon of men's better desires that they will feel a new inducement to enter into work with all the energies at their command. As an indirect means of attaining moral ends, amusements may be deserving of the greatest attention, and in the hands of a people clarifying purposes along the lines of the settlement can socialize the material ready in the industrial world' (p. 143). See also GAMES.

Literature.—Martenssen, Chr. Ethik (Gen.), 1885, p. 415 ff.; 4th (Soc.), 1882, ii. 77 ff., 524 ff.; Schiefler, Die chr. Sitte; Rothe, Chr. Ethik; Richard Baxter, Christian Directory;
AMYRALDISM was the name given, more generally, to the theology of Moyse Amyraut (Moses Amyraldus, the Amico di Baille's Letters), and, more particularly, to his way of defining the doctrine of Predestination. In the latter sense it was called, not Amyraldianism, but Hypothetical Universalism. It was one of three attempts (the others being Arminianism and the Covenant Theology) made during the 17th. cent. to break through the iron ring of Predestination within which the Reformed Scholastic of that century had enclosed the theology of the Reformed Church. To understand the theory it is necessary to know something of the workings of that Scholastic, and something too of the life and aims of Amyraut.

The second leads naturally to the first. Moyse Amyraut was born in the little town of Sion in Switzerland in 1556. His life was, if not exclusively, at least to a large extent, devoted to the Reformed religion. The boy was destined to a lawyer's career. He had begun his studies, and was greatly inclined, when the reigning preceptor of Calvin's school turned all his thoughts to theology. He entered the Theological College of Geneva in 1577. Lambert, the French theologian, John Cameron, made a profound impression on him—second only to that already produced by the study of the Bible. In 1580, when the University of Geneva opened, he became minister at Saumur (1580). He had rapidly acquired a high position in the Reformed Church of France, and was deputed by the National Synod, which met at Lyon in 1595, to carry their respectful congratulations to King Louis xiii. At the same period, he became professor of Cardinal Richelieu, and retained his friendship. In 1593 he was appointed Professor of Theology in Saumur, having as colleagues, appointed at the same time, John of the Preacher and Contre-Capelle. All three were students under Cameron, and all had a fervid admiration for the theology of Calvin as that was exhibited in the Institutio. All three believed that the so-called Calvinism of the day differed widely from the teaching of the master, and they were not slow to make it known in their lectures. The College soon acquired a great reputation. Students came to it from the Reformed Churches beyond France, especially from Switzerland. The doctrine of conversion is thus a part of the system of Amyraut.

The doctrine of Amyraut was to be tested by the Reformed Scholastic of the day. It was his aim to bring back the Calvinism of the Institutio, which differed widely from the Scholastic, and in nothing more than in the doctrine of predestination. Amyraut's predestination is not set forth at the beginning of his theological system; it is never used as the fundamental thought under which everything else is to be classed. It is simply an explanation of the sovereignty of grace, which overrides man's sin and man's weakness. Still, in spite of the smaller place and special position which the word and idea of predestination held in the Institutio, there was a master-thought running through Calvin's theological thinking which might easily be named predestination, and in that connection the devout imagination has never made grander or loftier flight than in the thought of the purpose of God moving slowly down the ages, making for redemption and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. In this the function of the divine will is one in the Institutio. It was full of life and movement, and had for its living spirit, the Kingdom of God. If this conception of the Kingdom of God be kept in view, it is impossible to crystallize or stereotype this thought into a purpose. The Kingdom comes into being in such a variety of ways, none of them able to be expressed in exact definition. Its conception can never be summed up in a few dry propositions. It is something which from its very nature stretches forward to and melts into the infinite. But if a keen and narrow intellect, coming to Calvin's theology, fastens on its nerve thought of purpose, and manipulates it according to the presuppositions and formulae of the second-rate metaphysics within which his mind works, it is possible to transform the thought of purpose into a theory of predestination which will master the whole system of theological speculation.

This is what the Reformed Scholastic of the 17th. cent. did with the experimental theology of the 16th. century. They created from it a second-rate metaphysics which they called the Divine degree. Moreover, they effected the transformation in the very same way that the medieval Scholastics had done. They began with a definition of God borrowed from the Aristotelian philosophy, and put its abstraction in the place of the thought of the Divine degree occupied by the Father, who has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ. The Principium Etsendi was their starting-point. The abstraction which did service for God in the Aristotelian philosophy needed another abstraction to bring it into relation to the universe of men and things. The Aristotelian thought which mediated between the principles of existence and the variety of life and motion in the universe was the category of Substance. Substance, the first and unique category, collected everything into a unity of being, and so brought the All into relation with the One. A second abstraction was also needed by the Reformed Scholastic. This was found in the theologia naturalis, the highest category, embracing all existence, including everything knowable, everything which proceeds from the idea of Substance. The Supreme Being which was conceived, and held to be the Father of all, was the personification of God (Trinity) alone outside this category; everything else lives, moves, and has its being within the circle of the Divine degree. Then followed the interaction which delivers Himself in action outside His essential nature. It includes, it is, all existence, still immanent within the Godhead. Speculative in character, and exercised in the life of men, and the election of some and the reprobation of others. When existence emerges, it comes forth on the one hand from the Divine degree, which includes all creation, all actual providence, all Divine work of redemption.

It was this Scholastic that Amyraut and his colleagues protested against—this enrolling every-thing thinkable under the name of Providence, and in every form of the Divine degree, which was simply the Aristotelian category of Substance under another name. They wished to get back to the experimental theology of the Reformation age as that was exhibited in its greatest master. They felt that the first thing to be done was to break through this ring-fence, within which the metaphysics of the time made all theological thought move. The attempt made before them, which went by the name of Arminianism, did not appear to them, it had to do with the experimental theology of Calvin, and was simply the revolt of a shallower metaphysics against a deeper. They accepted the decisions of the Synod of Dordrecht. But they wished to bring theology back to life, to connect it with the needs of men and with the necessities of reason. The special doctrine of Amyraut is known as Hypothetical Universalism, or the Double Reference Theory of the Atonement. It was suggested by, if not based on, Cameron's doctrine of Conversion. That doctrine, as Amyraut understood it, was: Conversion may be described as a special case of the ordinary action of the intelligence on the will. According to the psychology of the day, it was held that the will acts only so far as it is influenced by the intellect—action follows enlightenment. The special case of this action of intellect upon will—special, because in this case the Holy Spirit enlightens the intellect, and the intellect, charged with this spiritual enlightenment, acts upon the will. Conversion, then, is the act of the prevision of the intelligence on the will, and yet is, at the same time, an altogether extraordinary work of supernatural grace. The grace of God, which is supernatural when it acts upon the will in conversion, follows the ordinary process of thought. This relation between the intellect and the will in conversion suggested to Amyraut a similar parallel between Providence and Election, and between Creation and Redemption. Providence may be looked on as belonging to the course of nature; but Election is a special instance of Prov-
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dence and at the same time the peculiar and gracious work of God. Creation belongs to the ordinary course of nature, and Redemption is a special instance of Creation, and is nevertheless a unique and gracious work of God. Just as the intellect to the will may be called the universal of conversion, so Election may be looked at as set in the environment of Providence, and Redemption in the environment of Creation.

Amyrart, whose devotion to Calvin was unbounded, insisted that these thoughts of his were the legitimate and historical development of ideas presented in the Institutio. He keeps to Calvin's great thought of the purpose of God unfolding itself down through the ages. This purpose of grace, when viewed out of all relation to time, is universally Creation, specially it is Redemption; viewed historically, it is Providence and Election; viewed individually, it is Intellect acting on Will and Conversion. He has thus three pairs of ideas — the one universal and natural, the other special and of grace; and that which is of grace is always set in the environment of the natural.

This mode of thought, however, embodied a practical ecclesiastical purpose. In those days God was neither the living God; the Thirty Years' War—a struggle hideously prolonged, all men saw, in consequence of the mutual jealousies between Calvinists and Lutherans. Since the Synod of Dordrecht, the Lutherans had grown more embittered against the Calvinists. It was clear that its doctrinal conclusions had been directed against them indirectly. Amyrart hoped to make it plain to the Lutherans that Calvinist theology could be stated in a form which might be more acceptable to them, by profitably taking special notice of objections to the Calvinist doctrine of a limited reference in the Atonement, and he hoped to overcome that difficulty.

Two modes of dealing with the Lutherans were possible to Reformed theologians. (1) They might have insisted that Lutheran theology was quite distinct from Arminianism, and that the condemnation of the Arminians at Dordrecht was not meant to, and did not, involve a condemnation of the Luthers, and that the pressure of the Arminian controversy had never been before the Lutheran Churches, and had never been settled by it; and that in any attempt to bring the Lutherans and the Reformed Churches closer to each other, the benefits of a limited reference in the Atonement might be left an open question. This was the view of the great French Reformed theologians Claude and Jurieu. (2) They might, while adhering strictly to the Reformed doctrine as laid down at the Synod of Dordrecht, have endeavoured to shape that doctrine so as to make it approach the Lutheran type in statement at least. Amyraldus selected the latter method. He tried to show that there might be the general reference of the Atonement that the Lutherans insisted on retaining, while the Reformed thought of a limited reference was also correct. He worked out his scheme of conciliation by the use he made of the three pairs of ideas already mentioned. The purpose in Creation, he said, was Redemption; the purpose in Providence was Election; the purpose in the gift of intellectual endowment was Conversion. Applying this to the matter in hand, he declared that, if the whole design of God in Providence is to make all things work together for the good of them that are called, Providence itself is but a wider election—an election which may be described as universal.

His argument condensed somewhat as follows: The essential nature of God is goodness; and by goodness Amyrart means love plus morality—love limited by the conditions which the universal moral law must impose upon it. This Divine goodness shines forth on man in Creation and in Providence, which is simply Creation become continuous. But sin has through the fall entered into creation, and it has destroyed the aim and aim of man's life. In presence of sin God's goodness shines on, but it must, from its very nature as love plus morality, take a somewhat different form, its worldliness, which is goodness in the presence of sin; and this righteousness demands the separation of Christ. At the same time through which men are saved from the consequences of their sin. The goodness of God remains unchanged; it is seen in the desire to save; but the presence of sin has given a special form. When this thought is applied to assert the theological ideas of the 17th cent. it becomes the purpose of God in salvation is weird infra-lapsarian, because it arises from goodness in the presence of sin, and therefore faces to the face with the thought of the Fall. But it is also presented as supra-lapsarian, because it is simply a continuation of the original goodness of God. In this purpose of God there is no theoretical limitation save what is implied in the means which the goodness of God in presence of sin is morally compelled to take, i.e., the work of Christ. The purpose of God to save is simply the carrying out of the original and universal goodness of God. The work of Redemption is thus the carrying out of the original work of creation. The purpose no doubt is set in the environment of the original purpose to create. When looked at from the point of view of Creation, the supra-lapsarian, there is a universal reference in the work of Christ. But when we look at this purpose of God in presence of sin, and when we know that some men do dis impose save—then we take the infra-lapsarian purpose to save—we see that the theoretically universal reference is limited practically by the fact that some are not saved. The universal reference is theoretical or hypothetic; the limited reference to the particular is practical. The Thirty Years' War broke off the righteous ness (which is His goodness in the presence of sin), He declared that this thought lay implicitly in the well-known phrase of the divines at Dordrecht: 'Christum mortuum esse sufficienter pro omnibus, sed efficaciter pro electis'; and to make plain what he believed to its meaning, he changed it to: 'Christum mortuum esse sufficienter et non actualiter pro omnibus.' This gave him a hypothetic universalism and a real limitation to those who are actually saved. The original purpose to save, of which 17th cent. divines had reared against the possibility of the salvation of the heathen, by their statement that those to whom the external call is not addressed cannot be held to be recipients of the benefits of the saving grace, was not abandoned, followed Zwingli, that God in providence did bestow upon pious heathen what in their case did amount to an external call. This gave a real and not a hypothetical, universal, external call, and with it the offer of salvation to those who had not heard the Gospel message. (3) He widened the precisely fixed sphere of conversion by insisting that every illumination of the intellect was an analogue and prophecy of the spiritual enlightenment which preened, which preened, which preened.

But while all these three conceptions were discussed in his many treatises on Predestination, the controversy which followed the publication of his views was really confined to the first line of thought. The controversy on whether this hypothetical universal reference into a real particular reference? Is it the action of God or of man? If the change arises from man's power to resist what God has purposed to do for all, then Amyrart was an Arminian, as the Dutch and the Swiss theologians were. If he thought the change lie hidden in God? Then his theology did not differ substantially from that of the divines of Dordrecht, save perhaps in sentiment. The latter was the view taken by the French Reformed Church. Amyrart was summoned before the
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National Synod of 1637 along with his friend Paul Testard, pastor at Blois. The accused were ener-
gegenerally defended, and allowed full liberty to ex-
plain their position. They were acquitted of all
heresy. The accusation was renewed at the National
Synods of 1644 and 1645, with the same result.
The Swiss theologians were not satisfied. Their
Formula Concursu Ecclesiae Helvetiorum Re-
formatarum (1675) witnessed their protest.
The doctrine of Amyraut has maintained a firm
hold on many evangelical Calvinists since his day.
It was professed by Baxter, Vines, and Calamy in
the days of the Westminster Assembly. It was not
new to learn from the minutes, most of which
were excluded by the definitions in the Westminster
Confession. It was taught by Professors Balmer
and Brown within the Secession Church in Scotland.
It is part of modern evangelical theology.

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THOMAS M. LINDSAY.

ANABAPTISM.—I. HISTORY. —The Ana-
baptists, or Katabaptists (Wiedertaufer or Täufer)
formation was made by early Reformers at Zürich,
Wittenberg, and possibly elsewhere. They spread
swiftly over those parts of Europe affected by
the Reformation, making a profound
impression in the early years of that movement.
All the leading Reformers (Luther, Zwingli, Bucer,
Oecolampadius, Calvin, Knox, and many others)
combated their views in one or more publications
and disputations; their doctrines are condemned
explicitly or by implication in all the leading creeds
of the 16th and 17th cent. (Augsburg, Part I. Artt. ix.,
xx.; Dordrecht, Art. vi., xxx.; Leiden, Art. vi.,
xxv.; and French, xxxv.); 2nd Helv. Conf., Artt. xx.,
xxx.; Belgo Conf., Art. xxxiv.; Scotch Conf., Art. xxii.;
Formula of Concord, Art. xii.; Thirty-nine Artt.
xxvii., xxxv., xxxix.; Westminster Conf. xxvii.,
etc.); and the various Swiss and French works
are largely to prove to Francis I. that the Reformers
were not all Anabaptists; they were put under
the ban by the Diet of the Empire in 1529; and
most other civil governments, including that of
England, took action against them.

They were the radical party of the Reformation
period, regarding Luther and Zwingli as half-
reformers who had pulled down the old house
without rebuilding in its place. Dispersing of
the Consistory Court was sought to build
anew on the foundation of Scripture literally in-
terpreted, without the help of the State or any
other existing institution; this religious ideal
involved fundamental social and political changes
(Baumler, 'Geschichte d. Wiedertaufer,' p. 12).
They differed essentially among themselves in
spirit, aim, and many more or less important
points of doctrine, but strove together towards a
great and far-reaching reform. They sought to
reform the work of the Reformers.

The feeling between many of their doctrines and
those of some earlier sects has led to an effort to show
some historical connexion. Ritschel ('Gesch. d. Pietismus') has sought
to trace their teaching to the spiritual Franciscanics; Likewise
Keller and others have sought to show some connexion with
the Waldenses, who a little earlier were widely scattered over
central Europe. The similarity in doctrines, spirit, and organiza-
tion is so marked as almost to compel belief in some sort of
historical succession; and yet the effort to trace this connexion
has not so far been successful. Moreover, several considerations
serve to lead against such a connexion, for the Reformers
were themselves not conscious of such connexion, regarding them-
selves as the spiritual children of a renewed study of the Bible.
(2) All their leaders, so far as their existence is known, came out
of the Catholic Church. (3) They had little or no communion
with older sects after their rise. These considerations render it
probable that they, like the sects of the Middle Ages, were the
offspring of a renewed Bible study, and that the similarity is the
result of independent Bible study under similar circumstances
and controlling ideas.

The history of the party can perhaps be best
followed by dividing them into German, Swiss-
Moravian, and Dutch Anabaptists. These divisions
are by no means more or less, but they are largely distinct

1. The German Anabaptists.—It is commonly
held that the German Anabaptists rose with Thomas
Münzer and Nicholas Storch at Zwickau in eastern
Saxony. Münzer, a well-educated man, deeply
imbued with the mysticism of the later Middle
Ages, a friend and follower of Luther, became
pastor at Zwickau in 1529. Here he came under
the influence of Nicholas Storch, a weaver, who
had become deeply tinged with Bohemian views:
chiliasm; the rejection of material comfort and
fare, and infant baptism; and the insistence on
community of goods. Under this influence he at
once began drastic reforms. With his approval Storch
set up a new church on the Bohemian model,
claiming new revelations and the special guidance
of the Spirit. Their socialistic teachings and re-
publican proceedings soon forced them to leave.
Storch, in company with a former Wittenberg
student named Stübner, proceeded to Wittenberg
in the hope of winning the support of the University
for their views. Luther was then in hiding at the
Wartburg; Carlstadt and Cellarius, two of the
professors of the University, were speedily won
over by the new prophets, and even Melancthon
was deeply moved. Various reforms were put
into effect immediately. Luther, hearing of these
radical proceedings, and believing they would
bring the whole reform movement to ruin, hastened
to Wittenberg in spite of the protest of his friends,
and in eight powerful sermons succeeded in sup-
pressing the movement at once. Storch and
eventually the two professors whom he had
influenced found that his views were driven away,
Melancthon was saved, and the radical reforms revoked.
Henceforth Luther was one of the most powerful
and uncompromising opponents of the Anabaptists.
Storch now went over to place to place, and
finally disappeared about 1525.

In the meantime Münzer had visited Prague
for several months, had then laboured as pastor and
agitator at several places in Thuringia, and had
made a visit to southern Germany and the border
of Switzerland in the interest of his views. He
was becoming more socialistic, more chiliasmistic,
more bitter towards the ruling and upper classes.
At last in 1525 the peasant uprising broke out.
It spread, and had his enthusiastic support, and
overthrew at Frankenhausen he was arrested and
executed. With this catastrophe the Anabaptist
cause in Germany suffered a permanent defeat.
Henceforth Anabaptism was associated in the
minds of Germans with the wild socialism and
chiliasm of Münzer and the horrors of the peasant
War. And yet neither Münzer nor Storch is
known to have been re-baptized or to have practised
believers' baptism. Both opposed infant baptism,
but Münzer specially provides for it in a German
service which he drew up and which he put in
print in 1523. It is impossible to determine the extent
to which these men reached the necessity of
believers' baptism, and thereby became the founders
of the Anabaptism of Hesse and other regions of
western Germany. They were chiefly interested

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in socialistic-chiliastic ideas, and probably did not press the demand for re-baptism. If this be true, the Anabaptists of the Rhine region had another origin, to be traced later.

2. The Swiss-Moravian Anabaptists.—Bullingr says that the Swiss Anabaptists sucked their Anabaptism from Münzer (Acten, p. 293 f.), but this is improbable. Münzer, as we have seen, did visit the border of Switzerland in 1524, and was in conference with some men who later adopted Anabaptism; but in a letter still preserved (Cornellius, Gesch. d. Münzer, Aufr. v. Ber. 115, p. 56), written September 5, 1524, they showed marked independence, even chiding Münzer for some of his views. Moreover, the whole tone and spirit of the Swiss was different from that of Münzer. Chiliastic and violence had no place in their scheme, and socialistic tendencies were much less prominent. Besides, there was in southern Germany and Switzerland at this time widespread doubt about the Scripturalness of infant baptism, Bucer, Oecolamnus, and others had expressed doubts. If Münzer’s views were in doubt (‘Vom Tauf, vom Widertauf’, etc., Opp. ii. p. 245, ib. i. p. 239 f.; Egli, Actensammlung, 555, 692).

These Anabaptists rose from the circle of Zwingli’s intimate friends and associates at Zürich. Zwingli, some say that the then pastor there on 1st Jan. 1519, and by his powerful evangelical preaching had by 1523 brought many of the population to a readiness to abolish Catholic worship and doctrines. But he was anxious to avoid division and strife, and delayed and would not convince the whole mass of the people and then proceed to reform with the authority of the cantonal government. Under these circumstances there sprang up a radical party who favoured proceeding at once with reform without waiting for a judgment of the Mass. Of some points were in advance of Zwingli’s. They urged him to remove or destroy the images, abolish the Mass, begin the celebration of the Supper in both kinds, and finally, to set up a church composed of saints (believers) only. His delay in adopting their earlier demands and his flat refusal to entertain the last led to a final break with the party in 1523 or 1524 (Bullingr, Der Wiedertauf. Uebr. Bi. 9).

The extreme members of the party at this time were Simon Stumpf, pastor at Höög, Froschauer the famous printer, Hein Aberli, and Ulrich Zwingli, a:crisis, Conrad Grebel, a lawyer of the ancient historic family, Felix Mans, Wilhelm Reublin, pastor at Wyttikon, Ludwig Hätzer an excellent Hebraist and last, and from the Preachers of Prophets, and Georg Blaurock a convert, last, who was the most powerful popular preacher among them. Grebel and Mans were the real leaders of the party at Zürich, Grebel was trained at Vienna and Paris, and possessed a fine Greek culture; Mans was an excellent Hebrew scholar, habitually using his Hebrew Bible in preaching. These men held private meetings for Bible study, and here their views were gradually developed and perfected (Egli, op. cit. No. 653). Early in 1524 they reached the conclusion that infant baptism was without warrant in Scripture, was an invention of the Pope, rea of Satan himself; it was therefore invalid, was no baptism, and hence the duty of beginning new the baptism of believers was felt to rest upon them. This they proceeded to do in Nov. 1524, or 1525, when in a private house Grebel baptized Blaurock, who in turn took a dipper (cistern) and baptized several others in the name of the Trinity (Egli, 636, 646). This was followed by the celebration of the Supper in the same simple way.

The civil authorities now resorted to repressive measures. After a public disputation with the Anabaptists (17th Jan. 1526), it was decreed that all infants should be baptized within eight days, that all private religious meetings be abandoned, and that all foreign Anabaptists be banished. Soon afterwards several were arrested, warned, threatened, and released. Continuing their activity, they were arrested, thrown into prison, and a second ineffectual disputation was held on 20th March. On 5th April most of them escaped from prison, and leaving for a brief period the Canton of Zürich comparatively quiet, they spread their views far and wide in other cantons. Re-
disputations with Pfister Meyer in 1531 and at Zofingen in 1532 failed to retard their growth. Berns then proceeded to blood, and between the years 1528 and 1571 no fewer than forty were executed. But even this severity was not sufficient to root them out of this canton. During the succeeding centuries they were sent to the galley, deported, banished, persecuted; but they had maintained their existence to the present time.

In St. Gall, persecution drove the Anabaptists, especially the women, to the most absurd and childish and even immoral practices (Kessler, Sobotta). One case in particular wrought disastrous results—name and cause. On 7th Feb. 1532 a half-witted man named Schugger struck off his brother’s head ‘by the will of God.’ Later Anabaptists denied all connexion with such an act. It could not escape the consequence of the deed. Anabaptists lingered in this canton till the 17th century.

By 1532 all the leaders, such as Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, Denek, Hätzer, and Hübmaier, were dead; hundreds had been forced to recant, many had died in prison, and perhaps thousands had been driven from the country. The movement in Switzerland lay in ruins, destroyed by the civil power. The causes of this bitter persecution are not far to seek. The Anabaptists in this region, with few exceptions, were quiet, pious, law-abiding people; they were converted to their stricter form of the Church and the individual conscience. Failing to obtain their demands, they divided and weakened the Reformer, causing endless strife and difficulty. Their refusal to bear arms, to serve as civil officers or take the oath, made them dangerous to the State, while their attitude towards property, usury, and certain forms of taxes threatened the whole social order. Hence suppression and extermination were felt to be the only paths to safety.

The intimate relations of the south German cities with Switzerland made them peculiarly susceptible to all spiritual and religious movements in that country. Accordingly we find large Anabaptist circles in Strassburg, Worms, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. In each of these circles such leaders as Ludwig Hätzer, Hans Denek, and Hans Hut were won for the Anabaptist cause. One of the most important conquests was in the small border town of Waldshut in Austrian territory. Here in favour of several gifted scholars, and eloquent preacher, some time rector of the University of Ingolstadt and Cathedral preacher at Regensburg, was the leading pastor. He was early converted to Reformed views, and in 1524 succeeded in introducing them into the city. But he was unable to stop here. Gradually he found himself compelled to accept Anabaptist views; about Easter 1525 he and some sixty members of his church were re-baptized. This was soon followed afterwards by the baptism of several hundred others, and the Anabaptists succeeded in a fair way to win the town. But for some months the Austrian authorities, who were strict Catholics, had been threatening to punish the town for its evangelical doings. Hitherto the support of Zürich had enabled Waldshut to preserve Anabaptist deflection caused the withdrawal of this support, and in December the storm broke over the devoted city. Hübmaier fled to Zürich, was arrested as an Anabaptist, imprisoned, and forced to recant as the public property. Released on 11th April, 1526, he fled through Constance to Augsburg, and thence in June to Nikolsburg in Moravia, where his persecuted brethren were already gathering.

Driven from Switzerland, the Anabaptists fled eastward into the Austrian lands from 1526 onwards. Their doctrines found ready acceptance, and soon large bodies had been gathered at Rottenberg, Kittbühel, Brixen, Bozen, Linz, Steyer, and elsewhere. Here they came under Catholic governments which hunted them down, if possible, even more strenuously than the Swiss. King Ferdinand himself was very active in the work of extermination, and in a few years hundreds had suffered martyrdom. The character of the country and the sympathy of the common people, the Anabaptists continued to maintain an existence for more than a century, until the Catholic reaction swept all forms of evangelical life in these regions out of existence.

Persecution in the Austrian lands was fair, if severe, to the Anabaptists onward to Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland. The religious history and the social and political condition of these lands made them an asylum for various sects, and here for a brief period the Anabaptists found rest and safety. At Nikolsburg, under the protection of the lords of Lichtenstein, they found ‘a goodly land,’ a new Jerusalem, from 1526 onwards. Thither they streamed in great numbers from Switzerland, the Austrian lands, Germany, and elsewhere; names were registered, and they numbered thousands. Among the first to arrive was Hübmaier. Learned, eloquent, free from fanaticism, without rancour in debate, a careful exegete, possessed of an excellent literary style, he was the chief prophet of the Anabaptist cause. In little more than a year he published no fewer than fifteen tracts, in which he set forth with force and clearness the great principles that characterized his people. Had he lived, their history might have been different. But the Austrian authorities soon learned of the presence in their dominions of this fugitive from Waldshut, and demanded his apprehension as a traitor. After some delay, the lords of Lichtenstein delivered him up in July, 1527. He was imprisoned at Vienna, where he was burned at the stake on 10th March, 1528. Thus perished the most important of all the Anabaptist leaders.

The community in Nikolsburg could ill afford to lose a man of such wisdom and sanity. Already in 1526 Hans Hut, one of Zürich’s followers, who had escaped from Germany, appeared among the brethren as a powerful and impressive herald of Christ’s speedy return, a determined opponent of magistracy and war. Others soon began to agitate and agitate the austere Hübmaier. Chief among these was d lower, an eloquent preacher, some time rector of the University of Ingolstadt and Cathedral preacher at Regensburg, was the leading pastor. He was early converted to Reformed views, and in 1524 succeeded in introducing them into the city. But he was unable to stop here. Gradually he found himself compelled to accept Anabaptist views; about Easter 1525 he and some sixty members of his church were re-baptized. This was soon followed afterwards by the baptism of several hundred others, and the Anabaptists succeeded in a fair way to win the town. But for some months the Austrian authorities, who were strict Catholics, had been threatening to punish the town for its evangelical doings. Hitherto the support of Zürich had enabled Waldshut to preserve its autonomy, but the Anabaptist deflection caused the withdrawal of this support, and in December the storm broke over the devoted city. Hübmaier fled to Zürich, was arrested as an Anabaptist, imprisoned, and forced to recant as the public property. Released on 11th April, 1526, he fled through Constance to Augsburg, and thence in June to Nikolsburg in Moravia, where his persecuted brethren were already gathering.

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now caught in the great Catholic reaction led by the Jesuits, and gradually declined. Greatly reduced by the Thirty Years' War, they were completely ruined by later invasions of Turks and others, as well as by persecution. Some of them fled to Hungary and Transylvania, where they disappear in the 18th century. Others fled to southern Russia, whence a remnant removed in 1874 to South Dakota, in the United States, where they still preserve their communal life.

The Anabaptists of two other regions, both with some relations to the Swiss-Moravian movement, must be mentioned in this connexion. About 1526, in connexion with the work of Schwenckfeldt, the Anabaptists appeared in Silesia. Soon they had flourishing congregations in several important cities, but persecution from 1529 onwards gradually exterminated them.

By the middle of the 16th cent. there was a strong Anabaptist body in N.E. Italy, chiefly anti-Trinitarian in Christology. The Inquisition then got on their track, and in a few years the movement was stifled. Many of them fled to Poland, where they built up a flourishing connexion. In 1608 they issued the Racovian Catechism, which provides for immersion as the mode of baptism, though they believed in the authority of Scripture and the lordship of Christ. They suffered the fortunes of the other evangelicals in this region during the Counter-Reformation.

The Anabaptists of the Rhine regions. — As far as their history can be traced, the Anabaptists of the lower Rhine-lands owe their origin and peculiarities chiefly to Melchior Hofmann. This wonderful man was born in Hail, Swabia, and was a carrier by trade. He accepted the views, and by 1523 was a zealous evangelical preacher in North Germany. He was without education, but early acquired a remarkable knowledge of the text of Scripture, along with an intense interest in the prophetic and apocalyptic portions. He developed a burning enthusiasm as well as a powerful eloquence in propagating the Lutheran views. His zeal and power usually aroused intense opposition, and frequently occasioned something like a mob. He moved rapidly from place to place, and always made a profound impression. In 1523 he was in Wolmar, in Livonia; banished from there, in 1524 he was in Dorpat; in 1525 he was in Sweden, where he was converted, and in 1527, at a place where he made a profound impression on King Frederick I. of Denmark. Banished from there, he entered East Friesland, with Carlstadt, where he threw himself into the controversy between the followers of Luther and Zwingli over the Supper, supporting the latter party, and by his power and eloquence carrying the day between the leaders. In June 1529 he reached Strassburg. By this time he had developed most of the peculiarities of his system, including the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, a method which fixed the beginning of the reign of Christ on earth in the year 1533, the assertion that the human nature of Christ was not derived from Mary, and, therefore, not ordinary flesh, a denial of the oath, etc. During this visit he is supposed to have come in contact with Anabaptists, who were then numerous in Strassburg, and to have been baptized into their fellowship. Returning to East Friesland in May, 1530, he began a truly wonderful Anabaptist movement, which, with brief interruptions, to 1533, and covered much of the Low Countries. Most of the Lutheran and Zwinglian work was swept away, and it is probable that the majority of Evangelicals in the Netherlands from 1533 to 1566 were of the Hofmannite type. In 1531 he suspended baptisms for two years, intimating that the Lord would then assume the reins of government and at Strassburg, and bring the era of righteousness and peace for all the oppressed. The effect was magical, the religious and social excitement intense. In order to be present when the Lord came, he publicly returned to Strassburg early in 1533. He was soon apprehended and thrown into prison, where he died ten years later. But the seed which Münzer and others had sown was destined to bear some horrible fruit.

The episcopal city of Münster, in Westphalia, had been ruled by a succession of exceedingly dissolute and oppressive bishops, who, however, succeeded in holding reform at bay for several years. But in 1532 Bernard Rothmann, a gifted young preacher near Münster, began to preach evangelical doctrines. He was suspended, but returned to his work in 1531, and soon made an alliance with Knipperdollinck and the social democrats of the city. The bishop was driven away in 1532, and the next year reform was introduced. Persecuted Evangelicals from surrounding regions found their way into Münster, and there was great rejoicing and naturally great new triumphs of the truth. Heinrich Roll, a fugitive from Cleve, became an advocate of believers' baptism in 1532, and the next year Rothmann reached the same conclusion, and began a crusade against infant baptism. He was followed by a number of the leading men of the city. The City Council undertook to force the preachers to administer infant baptism, but popular sentiment was so strong as to prevent the execution of their will. This was the tense and excited condition of Lutheranism, the year 1533; Anabaptists, Lutherans, Catholics, and social democrats were all struggling for supremacy, when a horde of still more excited Anabaptists poured into the city from the Netherlands, believing it to be the hour for setting up Christ's kingdom at Münster as the New Jerusalem.

Jan Matthys, a baker of Haarlem, a disciple of Hofmann, inspired with a fanatical hatred of the upper classes, now proclaimed himself the promised Prophet Enoch, and baptism as a final preparation for the coming King. In a short time thousands were baptized. In January 1534 two of his missionaries entered Münster, where they baptized Rothmann and other leaders, and then in the streets the earthly kingdom, in which there should be no magistracy, no law, no marriage, and no private property. Soon John of Leyden, a gifted young man of twenty-five years, appeared and took over the leadership of the new theocracy. Catholics and Lutherans fled, and the city fell completely into the hands of these fanatic Anabaptists. Matthys now declared Münster to be the New Jerusalem, and invited all the oppressed Anabaptists thither. Thousands of deluded and persecuted people soon wished to remain with safety and happiness, only to be destroyed on the way or ruined at last in the city. The city was soon besieged by the forces of the bishop, assisted by neighbouring princes, while within its walls murder, polygamy, and crime ran riot. After more than a year of ever increasing shame, the terrible orgy ended in massacre and cruel torture in 1535.

The effect of this Münster kingdom was most disastrous to the Anabaptists. Everywhere persecuting measures were sharpened, and the name became a byword and a hissing throughout Europe. This episode was regarded as the legitimate outcome of Anabaptist principles.

Menno Simons gathered up the fragments of
the quiet Anabaptists and re-organized them in 1536, and dissolved all connexion with the Münster fanatics. From him they have been called Mennonites (wh. see), and in Holland and America they still constitute a respectable folk.

Before and after the Münster episode some Anabaptists found their way to the eastern sections of England, where they were severely persecuted. It is possible, indeed probable, that there is some connexion between them and the Independents, English Baptists, and Quakers, all of whom show some of the peculiarities of the Anabaptists.

II. System.—Anabaptism offers a case of arrested development with scarcely a parallel in Christian history. Arising spontaneously at different points, the movement seized Central Europe with a powerful grip, and bade fair to divide the population with other forms of Protestantism. But the machinery of ecclesiastical and civil government was soon set in motion to suppress it, and in ten years there remained only a persecuted, federated remnant of the original movement. Without any great leader to crystallize its doctrines, and suffering persecution from the beginning, the party never attained unity and harmony. It is, therefore, often necessary to set forth the prevailing tendency, and at the same time to point out the important variations from the general trend.

The immediate, direct accountability of each individual soul to God in all religious things was the fundamental principle of the Anabaptists. No institution, sacred or secular, no ordinance, no parent or priest, could mediate between the soul and God. Communication between the two was open; they must approach each other through Jesus Christ. This principle determined the character of their religious views; and its corollary, the absolute brotherhood of believers, determined their conception of all human relations, their attitude towards society and the State. Both these principles they regarded as revealed and illuminated by the Scriptures, which, when properly interpreted, were authoritative for all the relations and duties of life. For their proper interpretation, only piety and spiritual enlightenment were necessary; learning might be useful or harmful, according to the spirit of the interpreter. In order to set forth these points in more detail, it is best to group them under the three heads of Religious, Political, and Social.

1. Religious views.—(1) In general, the Anabaptists accepted the common Catholic and Protestant doctrine of God as set forth in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds. A few, like Denck and Hätzer, doubted, or denied, the essential Deity of Christ; and, on the other hand, Melchior Hofmann and his followers denied the humanity of Christ, maintaining that His was a sort of heavenly flesh, descended through Mary, but without essential relations to humanity.

(2) They opposed the Augustinian theology of the Reformers, insisting vehemently on the freedom of the will and complete moral responsibility. The theology of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin appeared to them to be contrary to the Scriptures, dishonouring to God, and dangerous to morality. In these views they anticipated Arminius at almost a century.

(3) The Anabaptists maintained the right of the individual to interpret Scripture for himself; and some of them, at least, asserted the superior authority and sanctity of the NT over the OT as the fuller, clearer revelation of God, thus approximating to the modern view of a progressive revelation. Pieter Meier says: 'I obey that in the Old Testament which I find confirmed in the New.' The chief qualification for correct interpretation of the Scripture was the illumination of the Holy Spirit—a doctrine which was strongly emphasized. It was charged that they claimed to have revelations and visions which they regarded as more important than Scripture; but this charge was probably an exaggeration of their actual belief in the fact and importance of spiritual illumination.

(4) The true Church was composed of believers only—"saints." Despairing of bringing the State Church to this standard, they proceeded to set up a new Church on this model, thereby introducing Anabaptism into the Protestant ranks. The purity of the Church was to be secured by the baptism of believers only, and preserved by the exercise of strict discipline. (a) Infant baptism was regarded as without warrant in Scripture, contrary to the principle of voluntary action in religion, an invention of the devil, and the chief source of the corruption in the Church and of its subjection to the State. In its stead they practised believers' baptism, administering the rite to those who had been baptized in infancy, thus winning the name 'Anabaptists.' The ordination of officers and organization of the Anabaptists. Ordination seems to have been in abeyance in the earlier stages of the Anabaptists.

2. Political views.—(1) The Anabaptists were the first to demand a more equitable distribution of wealth. They believed in the necessity of the community of goods, and practised it in their societies. The belief in the community of goods was the result of their doctrine of the brotherhood of believers, which was in turn the result of their acceptance of the Bible as the final authority. They believed in the necessity of the community of goods, and practised it in their societies. The belief in the community of goods was the result of their doctrine of the brotherhood of believers, which was in turn the result of their acceptance of the Bible as the final authority.

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movement, which was a great outburst of missionary activity among laymen. When charged with preaching in improper places and without proper authority, they claimed the authority of a Divine call which needed no ecclesiastical ordination or sanction. Later abuses in their own ranks forced them to adopt ordination. Preachers were chosen by lot and ordained by the congregation as a recognition of the Divine call, which they still regarded as the necessary part of their qualification for preaching. They rejected with decision the principle of State support in every form, and claimed that preachers ought to be supported by the free-will offerings of the congregation when located, and by Christian hospitality when traveling. They reproached the ministers of the State Church with inactivity and want of care for the people, among whom they should go as shepherds among the sheep.

(7) An eschatology there were great differences of opinion. The majority, perhaps, held sane and Biblical views; but expectation of the early return of Christ bred the wildest fanaticism in others. From the belief of Hofmann that Christ was soon to set up His Kingdom on earth and destroy the wicked, it was but a step to an effort to set up the Kingdom among the Anabaptists in every form, and with the ‘fanatical’ Anabaptists and John of Leyden’s horrible ‘kingdom’ at Münster as the outcome. Thomas Münzer also had believed in the use of the sword, and his powerful personality had given the whole movement a fanatical and dangerous chiliasm, which brought ruin on his cause.

(8) Anabaptist worship was necessarily very simple. Persecution and the lack of church buildings necessitated its celebration in small companies, in such a fashion as to attract as little attention as possible. In the earlier years worship probably consisted almost wholly of prayer and instruction; later, singing occupied a large place. Their own compositions were set to popular music and sung far and wide. These songs, often written in prison, reveal profound religious feeling and unwavering faith and hope (cf. Wolkon, *Lieder der Wiederkehr, Aus Bundt*).

(9) The Anabaptists regarded the State as a necessary evil, ordained of God indeed, and therefore to be obeyed where its obligations were not in conflict with conscience. The charge that they were opposed to magistracy and authority is often made. It is true that they denied the supremacy of the State in the realm of conscience, and resisted its assumption of authority here, even to death; as to other things they inculcated obedience. The conscience was absolutely free under God. The State could have no religious duties; it was needed only to protect the good and punish the wicked. This doctrine involved complete disestablishment; universal toleration; freedom of worship, organization, and teaching. These views came in fear, and were repudiated with horror by Hübmaier especially. Repudiated and execrated then, this contention has been adopted in modern times with more or less completeness by all civilized lands.

(2) Many of the Anabaptists maintained that no Christian could hold civil office, because such elevations were in conflict with the principle of Christian brotherhood and equality; besides, it often required the infliction of capital punishment, and to kill was under no circumstances permissible to a Christian. They not only regarded their opposition as destructive of all government, but was not so understood by themselves. They did not believe capital punishment was necessary to the suppression of crime, nor did they regard all who bore the Christian name as Christians. Their opponents said: ‘If no Christian can act as magistrate, we must go to the heathen or Turks for governors.’ ‘No,’ replied the Anabaptists, ‘there are but few Christians even in Christian lands, and hosts of men are left for rulers.’ The different meanings attached by the two parties to the word ‘Christian’ were the source of the misunderstanding. Their opposition to the modern movement for the abolition of capital punishment is noteworthy. Hübmaier and others, however, maintained the right of a Christian to hold civil office.

(3) They opposed the oath under any and all circumstances, on purely Biblical grounds (Mt 5:3). This, again, was regarded by Zwingli and others as destructive of civil government, which was thought to rest upon the inviolability of the oath. Such importance and sacredness were attached to it by the Anabaptists, who taught that one’s assertion should be as sacredly kept as the oath. Under the threat of execution they sometimes took the oath; but it was not regarded as binding, because taken under duress.

(4) The Anabaptists were relentless opponents of war as the great destroyer of human life, which they held to be inviolable. Under pressure they paid war taxes, assisted in building fortifications, and rendered their destroyers, and were willing to suffer imprisonment and death rather than bear arms. The Münster kingdom was a hideous caricature of the whole movement, and cannot be cited in opposition to this statement. Indeed, the Anabaptists’ influence on peace was the greater in cause of the constant war made upon them. The military basis of society in the 16th cent. made such advocates of peace appear exceedingly dangerous to national existence; but this cause of bitter opposition may yet become their crown of glory as the world swings into the era of universal peace.

3. Social and economic views. (1) In imitation of the primitive Christian Church, the Anabaptists were strongly inclined to a voluntary and benevolent communism in the acquisition and administration of property (Ac 2:42). This opinion, which appears in the earliest stages of the movement, was fully developed in Moravia, where many of them lived and worked in great settlements (Loserth, *Communismus, etc.*). Among the German and Dutch Anabaptists appeared a tendency towards enforced communism, as seen in Thomas Münzer and in the Münster kingdom. But a large number of the Anabaptists, perhaps in fact, did not oppose actual communism in any form; they strenuously maintained, however, that all property belonged primarily to the Lord, and must be freely used in ministering to the needy. They conceived themselves in the position of stewards, under solemn obligation to administer the Lord’s money for the highest good of mankind.

(2) They opposed the lending of money at interest, refused to accept interest themselves, and paid it unwillingly to others. Money, they held, should be lent for the benefit of the borrower rather than the lender. Proper fraternal relations forbade the exploitation of the needs of a brother; besides, the practice was regarded as contrary to the explicit teaching of Scripture (Dt 23:19, Ps 149).

(3) They refused to pay ecclesiastical taxes, believing that religion should be supported by the voluntary gifts of religious people.

Glancing backwards over their views, we see that the Anabaptists were several centuries ahead of their time, and have been by modern men of their time. Some of their tenets, then universally anathematized and persecute, have been adopted by all civilized lands, e.g. universal religious toleration; others have been widely incorporated in the newer lands (America and Australia),
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and are making headway in the older societies, as, e.g., complete separation of Church and State; yet other objects of endeavour, only seem as far-off boons, as, for example, abolition of war; some, as communism, are not likely ever to be adopted widely. It is remarkable that these simple people should have drawn from a fresh study of the Bible so many great ideas that still float before the races as high and distant ideals.

LITERATURE.—Anabaptist writings and disputations, now very rare and widely scattered in the libraries of Europe, of which only a few are printed or translated; the pertinent writings of their opponents in 16th cent.; various court records, published and unpublished; pamphlets. The earlier works on the Anabaptists, such as Fischer, Gast, Meschovius, Otius, Sender, and others, are more or less partisan and unreliable. To large extent literature, of which only a few of the more important works can be mentioned, is more just.


W. J. McGlothin.

ANÆSTHESIA.—Dissorders in treating of mandragora gives a description of its virtues as an anesthetic, and prescriptions for its use. Of one preparation he says that it is given to produce amnesia (βολικών ἀνέσεσις νοσήμα) in patients to be cut or canerized; and of another, that the patient can be put to sleep for three or four hours so as to be cut, or to have nothing (caedere ὀμνων ὀκλούς). Before his day and since, various drugs have been used to produce insensibility to suffering. The most efficacious of them, besides mandragora, were opium, Indian hemp, hemlock, and to some extent alcohol. They were given either internally in the form of infusions, tinctures, and extracts. More rarely they were smoked when incandescent, or inhaled in the form of hot vapours. When chemistry took the place of alchemy and philosophy, the results of tests and substances, it was found that among them were some properties of sedative properties; and in 1795, Dr. Pearson declared the use of sulphuric ether to relieve the cough in cases of asthma. When the various gases were discovered and their properties investigated, Sir Humphry Davy decided that of nitrous oxide—"laughing-gas," as it was called—had the power of alleviating pain; and in 1800 he said, "As nitrous oxide in its extensive operation appears capable of destroying physical pain, it may probably be used in surgical operations in which no great effusion of blood takes place." His suggestion was not taken up. Laughing-gas continued, however, to be administered from time to time in chemical class-room experiments. In 1844, Dr. Horace Wells, a dentist in Hartford, Connecticut, observed that individuals might be injured when under the influence of the gas without being conscious of any pain. He conceived the idea of using its effects during the execution of teeth, and got his assistant, Dr. Rigg, to extract one of his own molars after he had produced insensibility in himself by the inhalation of nitrous oxide. After having proved its efficacy in a series of cases, he went to Boston to give a demonstration of its value in the Massachusetts General Hospital. In the test case, by some mischance, the anesthesia produced was imperfect, and he was dismissed with something of contempt. His health broke down, and he went to Europe to recruit.

On 16th October 1846, Dr. William Thomas Green Morton, who had been assistant to Wells, put to sleep with sulphuric ether, in the same Boston Hospital, a patient on whom Professor J. C. Warren operated for a stone in the neck, and on the day following he put to sleep another patient operated on painlessly by Dr. Hayward. Morton had consulted Wells, after his return to Hartford, as to the preparation of nitrous oxide, and had been advised to get from Professor Jackson, Professor of Chemistry in Harvard University, the necessary directions. Professor Jackson suggested that instead of nitrous oxide he should make trial of sulphuric ether, and Dr. Morton had experimented on himself and some of his dental patients before he offered to demonstrate its effects in the public theatre. He called his preparation ethérons, and took out a patent for its use. He associated Dr. Jackson with himself in obtaining the patent, and admitted that Dr. Smiles, who had previously anesthetized a patient by causing inhalation of sulphuric ether with opium dissolved in it, might continue the use of his preparation without infringement of the patent. It was Morton's demonstration on the 16th of October 1846 that truly marked the beginning of the era of anaesthesia, and gave the first clue to its adoption in all branches of the profession throughout the world. But for a time there was unseemly strife as to priority of the discovery. Jackson and Wells both disputing the claim of Morton to be the discoverer of the new mode of producing insensibility to pain. So that, although a monument in honour of the great event was set up in Boston, years passed ere it was finally decided to inscribe on it the solitary name of Dr. Morton, and Wendell Holmes is credited with having made the suggestion that E(ther) might do.

Meanwhile news had come to Europe of the great discovery that the inhalation of ether vapour could be employed with safety so as to control the pain of surgical operations. The benefit of etherization in surgery was established. Meanwhile had the practice of midwifery? Would the pain of labour be removed without interference with the labour effects? Could the patient be kept for the necessary time under the influence of the narcotic? What might be the effect upon the child? The test case was one in which Simpson had predetermined, because of pelvic deformity,
to extract the child by turning, and the result showed that labour could go on in its course although the sensations of pain usually attendant on it were for the time being altogether abrogated. When the virtue of the anaesthetic had been proved in the cases of both these natural and instrumental labour, he claimed for women the right to be relieved of this sorest of all human suffering—their labour-pains. There had been misgivings in some minds as to the propriety of the administration of ether to surgical patients, and when it was proposed further to abolish the pains of labour, there arose a perfect storm of opposition to the practice. Simpson had to bear the stress of it because of his application of it in midwifery, and because some months later, searching for a substance that might be free from some of the drawbacks of ether, he discovered, on the 4th of November 1847, the anesthetic virtue of chloroform, and introduced it as a substitute for the earlier anaesthetic. Oliver Wendell Holmes had suggested that the term 'anaesthesia' should be applied to the process; but Simpson's papers, like those of most of the other writers up till the end of 1847, spoke of 'Etherization in Surgery,' 'The Inhalation of Sulphuric Ether in Midwifery,' and such-like. It was only after the failure of the product he had substituted was an animal magnetism, a series of phenomena which were more carefully investigated in the middle of last century by Mr. J. Braid. Under the designation 'hypnotism,' Braid described a state of the saving pain was later to be brought by having their attention fixed on a given object for a length of time until there ensued an exhaustion of some elements in the nervous system and the subject became amenable to the control of the operator. The operator so hypnotized can be made insensible to suffering at the suggestion of the hypnotizer. Dr. Eddle and other surgeons in the Indian medical service reported a series of cases where operations, both major and minor, were performed on patients in a condition of unconsciousness thus produced. But hypnotism has been found applicable mainly to cases where there is disturbance in the nervous system, and its use for the relief of the pain of surgical operations has never been successful. The process was thus sufficiently commended itself to the medical profession, even so far as to encourage more than a few members of it to try for themselves whether they were capable of exercising a hypnotic influence.

ANKAGATA VAMSA—ANAHITA

ANKAGATA VAMSA (‘Record of the Future’).
—A Pali poem of 145 stanzas on the future Buddha, Metteyya. It is stated in the Gandha Vainesa (JPTS. 1886, p. 61) that it was written by Kassapa; and in the Säsana Vainesa Dipa (V. 270) we are told that he was a poet who lived in the Chola country. We may probably conclude that he did not reside at Känchipuram, the Chola capital, as in that case the name Känchipuram, which would have suited the metre equally well, would probably have been put in the place of Chola-rátha. The further statement (Gandha Vainesa, i.e.), that he also wrote the Saddha Vainesa, seems to be a mistake not to be made. We know nothing either of his date or of the other books attributed to him. The poem has been edited for the Páli Text Society by the late Professor Minayeff (JPTS, 1886, pp. 33-53), with extracts from the commentary, which is by Upatissa (see Gandha Vainesa, p. 72). Of the latter writer also nothing is at present known, unless he be identical with the author of the Mahá Bodhi Vainesa who wrote in Ceylon about A.D. 970.∗

Our ignorance about the date of the Anagagata Vamsa is, as is evident from the original, in no part less than the growth of the belief held by the later Buddhists in this future Buddha, Metteyya, is important. As is well known, there are statements in the Nákhyas (e.g. Digha, ii. 83, 144, 255) that future Buddhas would arise, with one exception, neither the Nákhyas nor any book in the Pitākas mention Metteyya. His name occurs, it is true, in the concluding stanza of the Buddha Vainesa, but this is an addition by a later hand, and does not belong to the poem. Neither is Metteyya mentioned in the Nitti Pakarana. There is also a passage in the 26th Dialogue of the Digha which records a prophecy, put into the Buddha’s mouth, that Metteyya would have thousands of followers where the Buddha himself had only hundreds. This passage is quoted in the Milinda (p. 159); but the Milinda does not refer anywhere else to Metteyya. In the Mahávasutu (one of the earliest extant works in Buddhist Sanskrit) the legend is in full vogue. Metteyya is mentioned eleven times, two or three of the passages giving details about him. One of these agrees with the Anagagata Vainesa in its statement of the size of his city, Ketumati (Maháv. ii. 240 = Anag. Vain. 8); but discrepancies exist between the others (Maháv. ii. 240 and 250 differ and 250 differs from 240 in lines 107).

It is in this poem that we find the fullest and most complete account of the tradition, which evidently varied in different times and places.

This is really conclusive as to the comparatively late date of the poem. In earlier times it was enough to say that future Buddhas would arise; then a few details, one after another, were invented about the immediately succeeding Buddha. When in the south of India the advancing wave of ritualism and mythology threatened to overwhelm the ancient simplicity of the faith, a despairing hope looked for unutterable scenes of the next Buddha, and decked out his story with lavish completeness.

Three points of importance are quite clear from the statements in this work. (1) There is little or nothing original in the tradition of which it is the main work. It is simply built up in strict imitation of the early forms of the Buddha legend, only names and numbers differing. But it is the old form, both of legend and of doctrine.

(2) There is sufficient justification for the comparison between Metteyya and the Western idea of a Messianic prophet. The ideas are, of course, not at all the same; but there are several points of analogy. The time of Metteyya is described as a Golden Age in which kings, ministers, and people will vie one with another in maintaining the reign of righteousness and the victory of the truth. It should be added, however, that the teachings of the future Buddha also, like that of every other Buddha, will suffer corruption, and pass away in time.

(3) We can remove a misconception as to the meaning of the name. Metteyya Buddha does not mean ‘the Buddha of Love.’ Metteyya is simply his gotra name, that is, the name of the gens to which his ancestors belonged; something like our Gordon or Smith; and this is not a panegyric, but a patronymic, and means ‘descendant of Mettaya.’ Another Metteyya, in the Sutta Nipāta, asks the Buddha questions, and is doubtless a historical person. We can admit only that whoever first composed this part of the text, and whoever the Buddha may very likely have associated, and probably did associate, it in his mind with the other word mettā, which means ‘love.’ It would only be one of those upon words which are so constantly met with in early Indian literature. The personal name of the future Buddha is given in the poem, and elsewhere also, as Ajīta, ‘unconquered.’

The poem in one MS has the fuller title Anagagata-Buddhassas Vannand, ‘Record of the future Buddha’ (JPTS, 1886, p. 37). There is another work, quite independent of this, which describes the Buddha himself and is the same as the Anagagata Vainesa, but is written in a different language. Both are in the same manuscript, and are, undoubtedly, ‘the high, powerful, immaculate one,’ is a goddess of fertilizing waters, and more particularly of a supernatural spring, located in the region of the stars, from which all the rivers of the world flow (Darmesteter). The fertility which the divine water caused in the earth was extended to the animal kingdom, and, according to the Avesta, Anahita, that is, undoubtedly, ‘the high, powerful, immaculate one,’ is a goddess of fertilizing waters, and more particularly of a supernatural spring, located in the region of the stars, from which all the rivers of the world flow (Darmesteter).

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In the Avestan hymn, after enumerating all the heroes of the past who sacrificed to Anahita, including Zoroaster, whom she instructed in her worship, concludes with a very exact description of her appearance and her dress (Yast, v. 126 ff.). ‘She is a beautiful maiden, powerful and tall, her girdle fastened high, wrapped in a gold-embroidered cloak, wearing earrings, a necklace, and a crown of gold and thirty otter skins.’ These minute details are undoubtedly inspired by a sculptural type, and this passage of the Avesta has rightly been connected with the famous text of Berossus (Clem. Alex. Protrept., 5), which says that Artaxerxes Mmnon (S.C. 404-361) was the first to teach the Persians to worship anthropomorphic statues in the temples of Babylon, Susa (cf. Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 27, 135), and Ecbatana (cf. Plutarch, Vit. Artax. 27); Polibius, 2 and 12, in Persia, Bactriana, Damascus, and Sardis. These statues were probably productions of a Babylonian original, and perhaps, as has been suggested, Anahita might even be identical with the Semitic goddess Anat. This would accord for the passage in Herodotus (i. 131), according to which the Persians learned from the Assyrians to sacrifice to the “heavenly” Aphrodite, whom they

call Mithra.' The ancient historian had probably written 'Mithra' by mistake for 'Anahita.' As a matter of fact, the two divinities are united, and form, so to speak, a pair in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenians, in which they figure prominently from the reign of Artaxerxes Mmenon (Wulff-Hademanna, *Die altperischen Reliefschriften*, 1933, 44, 46).

The information of Berossus on the diffusion of the Anahita cult throughout the Persian empire is confirmed by a mass of evidence. Outside of Iran, the Persian divinity was worshipped (Dilger, *Sitz. Gesellschaft. Wiss. Leipzig*, 1896, 111 ff.; see also art. ARMINIA [Zoroastrian]). She had temples at Artaxata, at Yashishat in Tauraitis, and especially at Erê in Akilise, the whole region of which was consecrated to her (*Anastasia regia*, Pliny, v. 83). The Erê sanctuary, which contained a golden statue of Anahita, was famous for its wealth, and the daughters of the noble families of Armenia used to go there and prostitute themselves to strangers before their marriage (Strabo, xi. 632 C). This sacred custom, which is probably of Semitic origin, seems to be a modification of the ancient exogamy (cf. Cumont, *Religions orientales*, Paris, 1907, 287). Old traditions connected the god with the sacred buffaloes of Anahita wandered at liberty in Akilise, and the victims for sacrifice had to be captured by hunting (RA, 1905, i. 28 ff.).

The Persian goddess was worshipped also in Pontus and in Mesopotamia, s. v. Pontus, in C Xi. 512 C, xii. 559 C, xx. 733 C), perhaps also at Castabala in Cilicia (Strabo, xii. 537 C). In these districts she became identified with the great autochthonous divinity Mâ, and her temples were attended by a mass of slaves as vassals of both sexes. At Zela in Pontus, a festival, the Sacsâ, which was probably of Babylonian origin, was held annually. It is especially in Lydia that Anahita has left numerous traces of her presence. She was probably, as Berossus states (cf. above), brought into Sardis by Artaxerxes II., and became amalgamated with Kybebe (Cybele), the Great Mother honoured throughout the country. The well-known figures of a winged goddess holding a lion in either hand, under the designation of the Persian Artemis, has given, really represent this syncretic divinity worshipped as 'mistress of the beasts' (*φωρία τηρών*) (Radtet, *CAIIB*, 1906, p. 285). Descriptions of her noisy rites exist as early as in the tragic poets of the 6th century B.C. (Nauck, *Trag. Græca*, v. 716). Her principal temples were at Hierocoesa (Paus. v. 27, 5, vii. 6. 6; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 62: 'delubrum regis Cyro dicatum'; cf. *Bull. Corr. hellen.* xi. 93), and at Hypoepa (Paus. l. c. cf. RA, 1885, ii. 114; Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graec Inscriptiones Selectae*, 1903-45, 470); but her name also appears in a large number of inscriptions in this vicinity (Rennsch, *Chronicum d’ Orient*, 157 ff., 215 ff.; Bureesch, *Aus Lydien*, 1896, 58, 66 ff., 158; Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, s. v. Persis, etc.). The Harvard Studies, 1895, vi. 55 ff.). The conception formed the goddess and the ceremonies by means of which she was worshipped seem to have remained faithful to the ancient Iranian traditions; she was always regarded as the goddess of sacred waters (*Άναίτις τῷ ἀθάνατῳ καὶ τῷ θάνατῳ*, Bureesch, l. c. p. 118), and her liturgy was repeated in a 'barbarian' language (Pausanias, v. 27. 5).

The Greeks identified Anahita, on the one hand, on account of her name, with Athena, and, on the other, as a goddess of fertility, with Aphrodite (Berossus, l. c.; Agathias, ii. 24; Ptolemy, *Bibli.* 94). Already, in Iran, as noted above, under the influence of the Chaldean star-worship, Anahita had become the planet Venus. But the name usually applied to her in the West was 'Persian Artemis' or 'Persian Diana' (*Ἀπρίμας Περσικής ή Περσίδα*, *Diana Persica*) (Pausanias, vii. 6. 6; *Bull. Corr. hellen.* xi. 65; Diodorus, v. 77; Plutarch, *Lecull* 24; Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 62). As the bull was sacred to her, she was confounded especially with 'Artemis Tauropolis' in Lydia, as well as in Armenia and Cappadocia. It was probably from this composite cult of the Asiatic Tauropolis that the 'taurobolium' penetrated into the Roman world (Paul Wisowa, *s. v. 'Anahita*; RA, 1905, i. 28 ff.). In the Latin countries, the Persian goddess was associated with the Magna Mater of Phrygia, certainly remained in close connexion with Mithra, whose mysteries spread to the west after the 1st cent. of our era (Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, i. 233 ff. and passim).


Fr. Cumont.
resemblance not between things, but only between relations.

'...things,' writes Dr. Whately, 'may be connected together by analogy, though they have in themselves no resemblance; for analogy is the resemblance of ratios or relations; thus, a sweet voice excites the palate, so does a sweet sound grate the ear; hence the word sweet is applied to both, though no flavour can resemble a sound in itself' (Elements of Logic, p. 4).

The last words of the sentence are noteworthy. They indicate that upon this view of analogy no legitimate inference can be drawn from the nature of the one pair of related terms to the nature of the other pair, and that inference may be strictly similar to the relation between ear and sound, but we cannot therefore draw inferences as to the nature of the one from what we know of the other. This is an important contention with far-reaching consequences, and its influence upon theological argument will appear presently.

This definition of analogy has the merit of scientific exactness, and of being in strict accordance with the type exhibited by mathematicians, but it is at the same time open to serious criticism. The difficulty with which it imposes upon the function of analogy are such as would almost entirely invalidate the use of the analogy in practical life. Men in their daily concerns do not confine their analogical arguments to the consideration of mere ratios, but freely draw between the nature of things. Although this is a merely practical objection, it is not without support in the theory of analogy. It has been pointed out that some identity of nature is always postulated in every analogy. In mathematical analogy, for example, it is at least necessary that both pairs of terms should be magnitudes. And, again, in the analogy between sound and taste, though in a sense there is no resemblance between them, yet they are both sensations. The heterogeneity is not absolute. Exception, therefore, may fairly be taken to the extreme statement of Whately, that no inference is permissible from the nature of the one to the nature of the other. And the theologian will press the point; for in his hands the argument from analogy is usually of the most profound and practical importance. It is used to draw analogies between the material and the spiritual worlds. Words which now bear an immaterial and spiritual significance were originally used to denote visible and tangible objects. If in many languages the word for breath or wind has come to be used for the soul, it is because at an early stage of their development men became conscious of an analogy between the lightness and invisibility of air and the supposed properties of the human spirit. To a later and more critical age the analogy may appear thin and crude; but it must be remembered that the initiation of a religious vocabulary dates from the childhood of the race. In the gradual evolution of religion, crudities have been, and still are, until the original meaning of many words now used exclusively with a spiritual significance has been forgotten. But throughout the whole course of the development the necessity for finding analogical words as a vehicle for the expression of spiritual truth has never been outgrown. The importance is to put into speech by means of the analogy of human fatherhood. Thus witness is borne in all ages to the instinctive readiness with which men assume a parallelism between the things which are seen and things which are not. To what extent that parallelism really exists and how far it affords us grounds of inference to the real nature of the spiritual world, is the problem which every philosophy of religion sets out to solve.

3. Analogy as a means to the knowledge of the spiritual world.—Not only the vocabulary but the content of natural religion is derived from the source of analogical reasoning. For natural religion begins with the analogy between God and the world, sufficient to justify the inference that the wonder and majesty of Creation will in some sort reflect the wonder and majesty of the Creator (cf. Wis 19:4 'For by the greatness and beauty of the creation, it is seen that one has made it'). Though this is the only Biblical passage in which the word 'analogy' appears in this connexion, yet the thought of the world as the visible expression of the attributes of the invisible God is of constant recurrence in Scripture. It is familiar to the Psalmist (Ps 19). It is stated explicitly by St. Paul: 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made' (Rom 1:20). This assumption of a significant analogy between God and the world is not argumentatively justified in the Bible. Like the other principles of natural religion, it is taken as accepted truth. And the belief culminates in the doctrine of man's participation in Creation in the world. In Christian thought, supplying, as it does, the philosophical basis for the doctrine of the Incarnation. Throughout the whole history of Christian doctrine the question of the reality of the likeness of man to God, i.e. of the truth of the analogy between the Divine and human nature, has been one of the pivots of controversy. Men have arranged themselves in opposite camps according as they have been more or less ready to accept this belief.

4. Analogy in Patristic writings.—The great theologians of the early centuries, following the precedent of Scripture, made free use of analogy for the double purpose of defence and exposition. It was to them a convenient means of exposing the hollowness of many commonly urged objections, and a ready means of the perception of analogies between the material and the spiritual worlds. Words which now bear an immaterial and spiritual significance were originally used to denote visible and tangible objects. If in many languages the word for breath or wind has come to be used for the soul, it is because at an early stage of their development men became conscious of an analogy between the lightness and invisibility of air and the supposed properties of the human spirit. To a later and more critical age the analogy may appear thin and crude; but it must be remembered that the initiation of a religious vocabulary dates from the childhood of the race. In the gradual evolution of religion, crudities have been, and still are, until the original meaning of many words now used exclusively with a spiritual significance has been forgotten. But throughout the whole course of the development the necessity for finding analogical words as a vehicle for the expression of spiritual truth has never been outgrown. The importance is to put into speech by means of the analogy of human fatherhood. Thus witness is borne in all ages to the instinctive readiness with which men assume a parallelism between the things which are seen and things which are not. To what extent that parallelism really exists and how far it affords us grounds of inference to the real nature of the spiritual world, is the problem which every philosophy of religion sets out to solve.

5. Analogy in Scholastic theology.—But however legitimately and successfully this method of argument was employed by the Fathers, it was not by them subjected to reflective criticism. A gradual advance religion is and analogical reasoning that led men entered upon a rigorous examination of the limits of the analogical method with particular reference to its use in theology. Among the reasons which led them to undertake the task was their desire to find a philosophic justification for the anthropomorphous language of Scripture. Such language obviously could not be taken liter-
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ally, nor yet be summarily dismissed as merely metaphorical, and therefore implying no real likeness between God and His creatures. The Schoolmen's answer to the problem is to be found in their theory of analogy, which concerns itself not only with the explanation of the analogical use of language, but also with the far deeper and more important question of the reality and the extent of the analogy between the finite and the infinite, and the legitimacy of inference from one to the other.

With regard to language, it was pointed out that a distinction must be made between the univocal, the equivocal, and the analogical use of words. A word is univocally employed when in two or more propositions it conveys precisely the same meaning; equivocally when used in two entirely different senses. But where two things are connected by some relation, the same word may be applied to them both in a related, though not precisely identical, sense. This last is the analogical use. Thus it is the use of the word ‘wisdom’ as old as Aristotle — the word ‘healthy’ is analogically applied to the body which is sound, and to the food which is the cause of soundness. Similarly, the term ‘being’ is analogically applied to God who exists essentially, and in a man whose existence is contingent and dependent.

Upon the basis of this distinction was established the justification of the use of human terms about the Deity. When, for example, we speak of the three persons of the Godhead, we are using the word ‘person’ in a manner different from that in which we use it in reference to human beings. The word is not used univocally. For so far, we should be denying any difference in kind between human and Divine wisdom, and our statement would be obviously opposed to the Christian teaching about God. Nor yet is the analogy of the use of the word ‘wisdom’ not used univocally. For so far, we should be asserting the essential likeness of human and Divine wisdom, and it would be impossible to argue from the nature of the one to the nature of the other. Such a position would be untenable, because if a similar objection were supposed to hold good in all parallel cases, every inference from the creature to the Creator would be vitiated by the fallacy of equivocation. A way of escape from these opposite difficulties was proposed by the analogical use of the word. It is implied that there is a relation or proportion existing between the wisdom of man and the wisdom of God. What is partial and incomplete in man is perfect in God.

This distinction between the univocal and the analogical use of words was a sufficient reply to the reproach of anthropomorphism, but it left untouched the deeper question of the extent of the analogy or resemblance between God and His creatures. Accordingly, in the effort to reach greater clearness of thought with reference to this fundamental problem of religion, the Schoolmen proceeded to introduce further distinctions into the scheme of Suarez (Disput. Metaphys. xxxviii. sec. iii.). He distinguished two kinds of analogy, viz. that of proportion and that of attribution. To the former of these not much interest attaches. It amounts to little more than a mere resemblance, seized upon by the mind as justification for the use of a metaphor. Though such an analogy of proportion may appeal to the imagination, and therefore be of use in the way of illustration, it does not go far enough to establish any inference in argument. The analogy of attribution, on the other hand, is established by the existence of a resemblance in the nature of things, and is valid for purposes of inference. When this resemblance consists in the possession by two subjects of the same quality in different degrees, the analogy is styled intrinsic. This is the highest grade of analogy, analogia attributionis intrinseca, and of this kind is the analogy between God and His creatures as regards, for example, the property of existence. Existence is predicated of Him and them. Their existence, however, is not of the same degree as His. Yet is it far the same as to allow of some inferences being drawn, from what we know of finite existence, as to the nature of infinite existence. These distinctions may possibly appear needlessly subtle and technical, but the consideration of them will at least serve the purpose of calling the attention of the student to the possibility of some confusions of thought that have been actually responsible for the failure of much analogical argument.


When the questions of theology ceased to be confined to the schools, and became the subject of popular debate, it was natural that the problem of analogy should be handled in accordance with the new methods, and in a manner intelligible to a larger public. A general advance in intellectual enlightenment brought the question once more to the front. At a time when man's knowledge of the world was being rapidly extended in many directions, he was inevitably brought face to face with the issue, whether Nature was in any true sense the analogue of God. Hence at the beginning of the 18th cent. we find that the theory of analogy was occupying the attention of some of the foremost theologians of the day.

Among the books on the subject which specially deserve mention may be noticed a Discourse on Predestination, by Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin (1709). By this writer a somewhat extreme form of the analogia causarum was advocated, in order to allay the bitterness of theological controversy, he laid stress on the principle that all our notions about the Deity are inevitably limited by our own finite capacity. 'If we know anything about Him at all, it must be by analogy and comparison, by resembling Him to something we do know and are acquainted with.' (Whatley's reprint of King in Appendix to Bampton Lectures, 3rd ed. p. 490.) Our notions of God are really as far from the truth as a map is from the distant sea. A chart, while it provides instruction sufficient for the purpose of the traveller, does not actually resemble the country conventionally represented. Similarly, Scripture teaching about God may give us information about Him adequate to our view of the present life, without revealing Him to us as He is. This depreciation of man's capacity for acquiring a true knowledge of God was intended in the interest of theological peace. It became, however, the occasion of controversy. Bp. Browne, of Cork, contributed several books to the discussion of the question. In an early work he maintained that—

"Our ideas of God and divine things . . . are a sort of compoundation of ideas of sense which we impute to properties and attributes of God with the utmost amount to no more than a type or figure by which something in another world is signified, which we have no more notion than a blind man hath of light" (quoted in Introduction to Procedure, etc.).

Adhering to these principles in his Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding (1729), he accepted without demur King's somewhat extreme conclusions:

"That we have no direct or proper notions or conceptions of God in His attributes, or of any other things of another world; that they are all described and explained in the language of revelation, by way of analogy and accommodation to our capacities; that we want faculties to discern them" (op. cit. p. 112). At the same time he criticized King for failing to distinguish between metaphor and analogy, and for thus suggesting the inference that our statements about God are merely metaphorical, and as
unreal as the ascription to Him of human passions or human limbs. To the exposition of this distinction Sir Joshua Reynolds, in a chapter (ib. ch. i.), explaining that metaphor expresses only an imaginary resemblance or correspondence, whereas in analogy the correspondence or resemblance is real. The same theme is worked out at greater length in his later book, *Observations on Poetry and Painting* (1738). Our knowledge of the spiritual order is strictly relative to our capacities.

'God does not raise up our minds to any direct or immediate view of God himself, nor brings them down to the level of our understanding' (P. 32). 'What just and sufficient knowledge of God we have in this life is obtained by analogy or similitude with those perfections we find in ourselves' (P. 39).

The question naturally attracted the attention of Berkeley, who handled it with characteristic accent and precision in *Alciphron*, Dial. iv. ch. xxi. Familiar with the Scholastic definitions of analogy, he does not shrink from the conclusion that all our knowledge of God is strictly analogical. It is not, however, on that account to be reckoned altogether impossible, or false, or destitute of all importance. Analogy is, so to speak, an infallible proof in an at least potentially约implying that we cannot frame a direct or proper notion, though never so inadequate, of knowledge or wisdom as they are in the Deity, and we can only supply and ascribes proper similitude in this way.

'Knowledge, for example, in the proper formal meaning of the word, is, as it is of God proportionally, that of preserving a proportion to the infinite nature of God. We may say, therefore, that as God is infinitely above man, so is the knowledge above the knowledge of man, and this is... analogia propria facta. And after this same analogy we must understand all those attributes to belong to the Deity which man has attributed to himself simpliciter, as with the horse a propria facta' (ed. 1735, i. p. 257).

Berkeley, while recognizing the incompleteness of our spiritual knowledge, lays the emphasis on its trustworthiness rather than on its inadequacy.

'This doctrine of analogical perfection in God, or our knowing God by analogy, seems very much misunderstood and misapplied by those who would infer from the above that we cannot frame and direct or proper notion, though never so inadequate, of knowledge or wisdom as they are in the Deity, and understand any mean of the human mind in this light or colour.'

Such was Berkeley's repudiation of the attempt to make religious truth unassailable by assuming it to be unintelligible.

It seems likely that Butler, whose work is still the classical example of the application of the argument from analogy to theology, should have deliberately abstained from any prefatory justification or explanation of the theory of the instrument we are here to consider. Such, however, is the case. Declaring at the outset that he will not take it upon himself to say how far the extent, compass, and force of analogical reasoning can be reduced to general heads and rules, he curtly brushes aside objections to this kind of argument with the remark that it is indeniably adopted by all in practical life. 'It is enough to the present purpose to observe that this kind of general way of arguing is evidently natural, just, and conclusive.' Others, as we have seen, were discussing these very points at the time Butler was engaged in the composition of the *Analogy*. Perhaps he distrusted such speculations as essentially unpractical. Whatever the reason may have been, they are absent from his own work. He applies, he does not analyze, the argument from analogy. What gives his work its pre-eminent position in apologetic literature is not his selection of this particular kind of argument, but the steady patience, the scrupulous exactitude, and the devastating logic with which he applied it to the controversies of his day. He offers a striking contrast alike to those writers who denounced analogical reasoning as worthless and those others who belauded it as the key to all difficulties. The claim that he makes on its behalf is modest in its scope. Positively it can never (so he tells us) afford more than a probable proof; negatively it can expose the latent insincerity of much unbelief, by showing that circumstances often considered to be conclusive objections to religion are strictly parallel with analogous circumstances in nature, the acknowledged handiwork of God. Analogy in Butler's hands provided no division, no merciful boundary, of the *Christian* from the *Deist*... or *Widow*. Copleston's *History of Philosophy* (bk. i. 339), but it was fitted to open the eyes of men to their obligations, leaving them without intellectual excuse if they failed to consider with appropriate seriousness the arguments urged on behalf of religious belief.

The full effectiveness of Butler's argument will not be appreciated unless it be remembered that he says he is arguing upon the principles of others, not his own (ib. p. 357). Convinced that the proper proof of religion was to be found in the principles of liberty and general fitness, he nevertheless avoided reference to these principles, and limited himself to the consideration of religion as a matter of fact and practice. Upon this lower ground he met his adversaries, the Deists and the indifferent, and the more so as, need, are attributed to God by metaphorical analogy only, and involve no statement as to His nature. On the other hand, 'Knowledge, for example, in the proper formal meaning of the word, is, as it is of God proportionally, that of preserving a proportion to the infinite nature of God. We may say, therefore, that as God is infinitely above man, so is the knowledge above the knowledge of man, and this is... analogia propria facta. And after this same analogy we must understand all those attributes to belong to the Deity which man has attributed to himself simpliciter, as with the horse a propria facta' (ed. 1735, i. p. 257).

The title of the book recalls that of Bp. Brown's *The Procedure, Extent*, and *Limits of the Human Understanding*. And the resemblance is more than superficial. In both writers there is the same tendency to dwell on the inadequacy of the human intelligence to probe the mysteries of the Divine Nature. But Mansel, under the influence of Kantian principles as to man's ignorance of things in themselves, attacks the problem from another side, and goes far beyond the point reached by his predecessor. Whereas Bp. Brown had urged the relativity and consequent incompleteness of man's analogical knowledge of God, Mansel went so far as to say that, of God's real nature, we, under our finite conditions, are, and must remain, totally ignorant. It is an ignor-
ANANDA—ANARCHY, ANARCHISM


the absolute existence; for we know of no absolute existence. But, for the reason, we are equally unable to say that it does not resemble; for, if we know not the Absolute and Infinite at all, we cannot say how far it is or is not equal to likeness or unlikeness to the Relative and Finite’ (3rd ed. p. 146).

This is not the place in which to take notice of those further considerations with regard to the distinction between regulative and speculative truth, by which Mansel sought to establish religious faith upon this basis of philosophic scepticism. It is enough to give attention to the line which he adopted with respect to analogy. Repudiating out metaphysical grounds the analogy between the Finite and the Infinite, and consequently rejecting the customary philosophic proofs of religion, he found a negative defence for belief in the analogous difficulties of religion and philosophy. In so doing he claimed to be following in the footsteps of Dr. Butler, and to be adding another chapter to his argument on the analogy between religion and the course of nature. His principle he declares to be, that there is no rational difficulty in Christian theology which has not its counterpart in philosophy, which is the more convincing on that ground on which the rationalist professes to find in the doctrines of revealed religion, viz., not from defects peculiar to revelation, but from the laws and limits of human thought (p. 170). His work certainly resembles that of Butler in being an eminent example of the way in which the argument from analogy can be used for defensive purposes. He showed conclusively enough that many of the objections urged against revelation are applicable with equal force against any doctrine based on principles of thought and action. If the creed of theism contains its antinomies, so also does the creed of philosophy. In both cases explanation is equally impossible.

But the emphasis which Mansel placed upon our ignorance of the Divine Nature as it is, and his insistence on the absence of any necessary analogy between the goodness of man and of God, were the occasion of vigorous protests at the time, and eventually took the form of a party controversy between those who desired the assimilation of man to the Divine being, and the adherents of the new theology, who were unwilling to put forward the same argument in the latter half of the 18th century.

8. Renewed confidence in Analogy.—In recent years there has been a distinct revival of confidence in the analogy between the Creator and His creation, and in the possibility of passing from the knowledge of one to the knowledge of the other. Among the causes which have contributed to this result must be counted the advance of the idealistic philosophy, and the attention pressed to the study of human personality. Instead of attempting to evade the reproach of anthropomorphism by conceding to the agnostic the ineradicability of the Divine Nature, the modern agnostics is not afraid to own the anthropomorphic character of theology, while he insists that in this respect theology is in the same position as every other department of human thought. ‘Personality is thus the gateway through which all knowledge must inevitably pass’ (E. M. Illingworth, Personality Human and Divine, p. 26).

The words are quoted, human personality is deliberately taken as the analogical symbol of the Divine Nature, on the ground that God possesses, in transcendent perfection, the attributes which are imperfectly possessed by man. Thus what might appear to be the damaging effect of the admission of an anthropomorphic element in theology is neutralized by the correspondent assertion of a theomorphic doctrine of human nature. The supposition of an absolute and insuperable heterogeneity between the Finite and the Infinite, which has always been the basis of philosophic scepticism, whether in alliance or in opposition to orthodoxy, is denied. The reality and the inexhaustible significance of the analogy between God and man are explicitly re-asserted.

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G. C. JOYCE.

ANANDA.—One of the principal early disciples of the Buddha. He was the Buddha’s first cousin, and is described as being devoted to him with especial fervour in a simple, childlike way, and serving as his personal attendant (upatthāka). A panegyric on him is put into the mouth of the Buddha just before the attestation of the Buddha’s death (Majjhima, iii. 211 R.; Vacant, De Analogy, ib. 286), and took a prominent part in it; but that did not prevent the council from admonishing him for certain faults of inadvertence he had previously committed. Other passages of a similar tendency might be quoted (e.g. Majjhima, No. 23); but these are perhaps sufficient to show that the picture drawn of him is of a man lovable and earnest, but withal somewhat dense.

T. W. RAY S. DAVIDS.

ANARCHY, ANARCHISM.—Anarchy means, as writers like Kropotkin understand it, the perfectly unfettered self-government of the individual, and, as a result, the absence of any kind of external rule. It is the widest possible application of the doctrine of laissez faire. Government, it declares, is something that human nature should not be asked to submit to. If men were but left to themselves, they would form themselves into co-operative producing groups, which would live in perfect harmony with one another. Each individual would have precisely anthropomorphic as the theology, since they are alike limited by the conditions of human personality, and controlled by the forms of thought which human personality provides’ (E. M. Illingworth, Personality Human and Divine, p. 26). In the book from which these
popular idea of Anarchy is that it is concerned only with bomb-throwing and Terrorism. But Anarchism, a theory of existence, has been proclaimed by some of the gentlest and most cultured spirits in Europe; and although, in the case of a writer such as Bakunin, the thinker and the active revolutionary are merged, it will be convenient to consider first the theory and then the history of the movement.

i. THEORY. — On its economic side Anarchy is a branch of Socialism or Collectivism. It regards the day of private ownership and of capitalism as drawing to a close. It believes that the worker between employer and employee is evil, and must sooner or later cease. Its view of the remuneration of labour varies between payment by labour time and the taking by each of what he wants from the common stock of production. When the workers are living in free associations, each will see that his own interest is the interest of the association, and the present tragic struggle for the increased share will cease.

The political basis of Anarchy is, negatively, that the possession of mere electoral and voting power is illusory compared with the real power of the people. Individual property is as necessary to realize this view as the means of social redemption for the many. Liberalism has been a failure. Even universal suffrage could lead but to the deeper enslavement of the worker. Representative government has had its full trial, and has failed; its defects are inherent in itself; and never can be cured. It is impossible for a Parliament to attend to all the numberless affairs of the community. More and more Parliament shows this inability in the congestion of business, and in the increasing extent to which local affairs are delegated to local authorities. It is this process of decentralization that is so full of hope to the philosophic Anarchist. He takes it to foreshadow the day when every little group will settle its own affairs, when there will be no rulers and no subjects, when each individual will have free play within his group, and each group free play in its relation to all other groups.

Anarchy has been extremely anxious to place itself on a scientific basis. In its modern form it has the existence of the latter as the actual sponsor. It declares itself to be acting along the lines of evolution in that it is conforming to those two great tendencies which Spencer discerns in present-day conditions—the tendency to integrate labour for the purpose of common living or to itself; and the tendency towards the fullest freedom of the individual for the prosecution of all aims beneficial both for himself and for society at large. Throughout organic nature the capacities for life in common are growing in proportion as the integration of organisms into compound aggregates becomes more and more complete. The struggle for existence, Kropotkin asserts, is not merely the struggle for the existence of the individual as the actual sponsor, but the progressive adaptation of all individuals of the species to the best conditions for the survival of the species. The conditions must, therefore, be modified, so that man will be able to live the normal free life, instead of being forced by positive law to hold a place in a system of things which gives him neither freedom nor opportunity.

ii. HISTORY. — The view that authority is in itself a thing undesirable, and that man reaches the full expanse of his faculties only when he is allowed to develop his individuality absolutely unchecked, is by no means new. It appeared in several of the Mystic and Anabaptist sects of the later Middle Ages and post-Reformation period. In the 18th cent. there was a sect of the Beghards, calling themselves Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who professed pantheistic views. It claimed the utmost liberty on the ground that, as God inhabited each, the will of each was the will of God. In their preaching the Brethren advocated community of goods and community of women; they insisted on a personal equality, and rejected all forms of authority. It is the Philosophes immediately preceding the French Revolution the idea was widely spread that the normal condition of life was that represented by 'Paul and Virginia,' a condition under which men were self-sufficing and independent, owning no other authority than that of their own self-created world. But in 1795, Proudhon wrote his Inquiry concerning Political Justice, advocating community of goods, the self-government of mankind according to the laws of justice, the abolition of all forms of government, and the abolition of marriage.

The real founder of Anarchy as a living modern movement was Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a Frenchman of humble parentage, born in 1809. The attention Proudhon attracted was due, not only to his great ability, but to the fact that he lived in the stormy middle years of French history as a means of social redemption for the many. Liberalism has been a failure. Even universal suffrage could lead but to the deeper enslavement of the worker. Representative government has had its full trial, and has failed; its defects are inherent in itself; and never can be cured. It is impossible for a Parliament to attend to all the numberless affairs of the community. More and more Parliament shows this inability in the congestion of business, and in the increasing extent to which local affairs are delegated to local authorities. It is this process of decentralization that is so full of hope to the philosophic Anarchist. He takes it to foreshadow the day when every little group will settle its own affairs, when there will be no rulers and no subjects, when each individual will have free play within his group, and each group free play in its relation to all other groups.

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by a change not so much in political conditions as in economic. This change could be wrought only along the lines of social development. In 1847 the Society began to call itself the Communist League, its aim being 'the founding of a new society without classes and without private property.' The manifesto that the League put forth did not a little to give vigour to the various revolutionary movements of 1848; but, in the reaction following upon that time of enthusiasm, the League died. During the London International Exhibition of 1862 views were exchanged between French workmen visiting the Exhibition and their English fellows; popular sympathy with the Polish insurrection of 1863 helped the movement; and, so, in 1864, the International Association of Working Men was formed, with Karl Marx as its ruling spirit. Its influence led the Association to the acceptance of State Socialism. State ownership of the land, as well as of the means of transport and communication, was early agreed upon as an object for which the Association should strive, although a programme to abolish the right of inheritance did not find a majority.

But the disintegration of the International was at hand. In 1869, Bakunin and a number of the French anarchists had joined it and at once began to attack the centralizing views of Marx. Then the Franco-German war broke out, and national feeling could not be eliminated even from an International Association. The Commune in Paris, 1871, was a revolutionary, but at the same time, in a shape of things, it was dashed in very dreadful fashion. In 1871 it became evident that there were two definitely marked groups in the Association, and the line of cleavage, as Kropotkin has pointed out, was not only an organic division, but a radical one: the group which now had received Parliamentary government, wished to work along electoral lines. The conquest of power within the existing state became the watchword of the party which took the name of the 'Social Democrats.' The Latin and Slav elements in the Association gathered themselves together, under the leadership of Bakunin, in advocating the abolition of all paternal government, and the free action of the people through separate groups. In 1872 the Anarchists were expelled from the Association, and henceforth uttered their views through the 'Jura Federation.' This expulsion of the Anarchists was almost the last action of the International. It moved the seat of its General Council to New York, held a congress in Geneva in 1873, and then died. The Jura Federation and the Anarchists had a stormier history, owing to the influence of their leader.

Michael Bakunin (1814–1876) was an aristocrat and an officer. Horrified by the repressive duties he had to perform in Poland, he left the army and became a revolutionary. From 1849 to 1855 he was almost constantly in prison. In 1855 he was exiled to Siberia, but escaped in 1861 to America, and by this way to Europe. At this time Russia seemed to be on the verge of a crucial constitutional change. The Czar in 1857 had promised the emancipation of the serfs, but after he had announced his intention the reactionary party induced him to impose upon the serfs an enormous redemption price for the land, and to postpone the emancipation till 1863. But in 1863 there broke out the insurrection in Poland. It was repressed with the utmost cruelty; tens of thousands of Poles were exiled to Siberia. Up to this time Bakunin's social reform was known merely by going among the artisans and peasants, indoctrinating them with their liberal and revolutionary views. This propaganda was now rendered almost impossible. After the attempt on the Czar's life by Karakozoff in 1866, the reformers had to hide their heads. Thousands fled the country, and settled in Switzerland and elsewhere.

It was among those exiles that Bakunin developed his Anarchist views. His object was the destruction of the existing order of things in faith, morals, economics, and politics. He refused to consider the question of reconstruction; 'all talk about the future is criminal, for it hinders pure destruction, and staves the course of revolution.' The programme of the International Social Democratic Alliance which he founded gives the most perfect outline of his views. 'The Alliance professes atheism; it aims at the abolition of religious services, the replacement of belief by knowledge, and Divine by human worship; it regards marriage as a political, religious, judicial, and civic arrangement. Before all, it aims at the destruction of all classes, and the political, economic, and social equality of the individual of either sex; and to attain this end it demands, before all, the abolition of inheritance, in order that, for the future, use and profit may depend on what each produces, so that . . . the land, the instruments of production, as well as all other capital, shall only be used by the workers, i.e. by the agricultural and industrial communities.' All children were from birth to be brought up on a uniform system, with the same means of instruction, so that there might disappear 'all those artificial inequalities which are the historic products of a social organization which is as false as the division of the land and the industrial exploitation of the masses.' The Alliance, 'so-called patriotism and nationalism,' marked, desired the universal association of all local associations by means of freedom.

Bakunin's ideas were developed by his disciple Netschajeff, the son of a Court official in St. Petersburg, and born there in 1846. Netschajeff was much more a Terrorist than an Anarchist, and hisアナニミス was more a Terrorist than an Anarchist, and his terrorbox was at first supposed to be the work of Bakunin, but is now, with more likelihood, held to have been by Netschajeff himself. According to this Catechism, the revolutionary must let nothing stand between him and the work of destruction. 'If he continues to live in this world, it is only in order to annihilate it all the more surely. A revolutionary despises everything doctrinaire, and renounces the science and knowledge of this world, and we are no longer to think of a change in the world; but one science—that of destruction. For that, and that only, he studies mechanics, physics, chemistry, and even medicine . . . The object remains always the same—the greatest and most effective way to destroy the existing order.' The Catechism makes no ambiguity as to its methods. Differential treatment is to be meted out to the different classes of society; the rich are to be spared, but their wealth is to be used for the purposes of revolution; the former owners of wealth are to become the slaves of the proletariat. But rulers are not to be dealt with thus considerately. 'In the first place, we must put out of the world those who stand most in the way of the revolutionary organization and its work.' There is to be no attempt to set up anything on a present basis. Every effort is to be made 'to heighten and increase the evils and sorrows which will at length wearable out the patience of the people, and encourage an insurrection en masse.' Active terrorism is a means to an end, not an end in itself. 'All is not action that is so called; for example, the modest and too cautious organization of secret societies, without external announcement to outsiders, is in our eyes merely ridiculous and intolerable.' In the Child's Play of this active terrorism announcements we mean a series of actions that promote the idea of something—a person, a cause, a condition that hinders the emancipation of the people. Without sparing our lives, we must break into the life of the people with a series of rash, even senseless
actions, and inspire them with a belief in their powers, unite them, and lead them on to the triumph of their cause." This is the attitude that the plain man understands by Anarchism. It is claimed, of course, by the Anarchists that to allow this extravagant utterance of the Revolutionary Catechism to stand as a basis of the future is to do them an injustice, and to confound extreme applications of a general principle with the principle itself. 'To confound Nihilism with Terrorism is,' says Kropotkin, 'as wrong as to confuse a philosophy, like Socialism, with a political movement, such as, for example, Republicanism.' But, in answer, it may be said that all Anarchists are not thinkers, and it is teaching of the Bakunin character that has had, as it was intended to have, the most startling results. The assassination of Alexander II., of the Empress of Austria, of King Humbert of Monaco, of President McKinley, the bomb outrages in Chicago in 1887, in the French Chamber of Deputies in 1883, in a theatre in Barcelona in 1894, the attack on King Edward in London, and the attempt on their wedding day, upon the young King and Queen of Spain, are the things which 'break into the life of the people with a series of rash, even senseless actions,' and make the whole movement hateful to those who feel that any organized form of political action over the whole of individuals is preferable to a state of things in which the most irresponsible make the greatest noise and have the greatest power to do mischief. It must be allowed, too, that this irresponsible Terrorism is the dominant form of Anarchism during the present time. In 1882 the Anarchists, in conference at Geneva, cut themselves adrift from all political parties. They declared the enmity of the Anarchists to the law. We declare ourselves allies of every man, group, or society which denies the law by a revolutionary act. We reject all legal methods. We spurn the suffrage called universal. . . . Every social product is the result of collective work, to which all are equally entitled. We are, therefore, Communists. We recognize that without the destruction of family, communal, provincial, and national boundaries the work will always have to be done over again.'

It is, at first sight, not a little difficult to find any relation between this extravagant propaganda which has had such an immense effect as that in Russia, the man of high birth, of splendid ability, of gentle and noble and self-sacrificing life. Kropotkin has told his own story in the Memoirs of a Revolutionary, and whoever would seek to understand Anarchism should read this book, along with the account of the trial of the Anarchists at Lyons in 1883 (Le Procès des Anarchistes). Such a reading will explain how it is that the more recent developments of Anarchism go so far beyond the conception, for instance, of Thomas Paine. The workers who have suffered, as Bakunin and Stepaniak and Kropotkin and tens of thousands of others have done, can find no solution of the social situation other than the utter destruction, by any means, of the present condition of society. The discoveries and facts which they have arrived at by railways suggest themselves to them as the kind of thing that will be reached under Anarchism. The result is to be a great increase in production. At present 'the owners of capital are certainly endeavouring to limit the production in order to sell at higher prices.' Kropotkin seems to think that the economics of the diamond industry apply, in this regard, to agriculture and cotton-spinning, quite oblivious of the fact of the general economy of large production. If it be asked how large a number of the farmers are rewarded, Kropotkin is sufficiently vague. Under the system of free groups each man would naturally turn to the work he could do; but what assurance would there be that he would stand to any agreement he had made? The Anarchist answer is that there will be no necessity to hold him to

emancipation. Instead of following out the career that was open to him, as a general and an officer of the Household Brigade, he chose service in Siberia, and spent four years there, being occupied most of the time in geographical and geological work. In Siberia he recognized the absolute impossibility of doing anything really useful for the masses of the people, and, accordingly, his mind turned to the existing administrative machinery, and became convinced that the only future for mankind lay in an entirely free Communism. On returning to St. Petersburg, full of ardour for his country's freedom, he found a Positivist society of his own earlier years of Alexander II. had died. Turgenieff's 'Smoke' is its epitaph. Kropotkin accordingly set to work to renew the Anarchist zeal, and strove, through companions whose earnestness and utter disregard of self almost disarm criticism, to spread among the working classes of the capital revolutionary opinions. His activity was discovered. For three years he was imprisoned in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, but finally escaped. For the next few years he moved between Switzerland and France, and eventually, becoming involved in the Anarchist rising in Lyons in 1883, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude. Since his liberation at the end of three years he has lived mostly in England.

Kropotkin's main idea is that, as the present system of government and competition and private property cannot be mended without being ended, society must fly asunder into its primary elements and begin to re-aggregate itself. The right of private property he denies, on the ground that if we go back to the uncivilized condition of things we find no such right. Land has been made what it is by drainage and cultivation in past generations. Production to-day is the result of innumerable inventions that have now become merged in the general producing machinery. We can produce now only as a consequence of what past generations have done. 'Who is, then, the individual who has the right to step forward and, laying his hands on the smallest part of this immense whole, to say, I have produced this; it belongs to me?' This question by which he thinks he has proved the illegitimacy of private property, occurs again and again in his writings. An ironmaster, he declares, deals with and uses the discoveries of those who have gone before, and says that the 'British industry is the work of the British nation,—nay, of Europe and India taken together,—not of separate individuals.' But where government has once been destroyed and individuals have been left free to re-aggregate themselves, each man will take his place in the group he prefers; and those groups retaining their own freedom, will at the same time act with mutual helpfulness and consideration, without any constraint from a government. The reason, therefore, of the agreement that have been arrived at by railways suggest themselves to him as the kind of thing that will be reached under Anarchism. The result is to be a great increase in production. At present 'the owners of capital are certainly endeavouring to limit the production in order to sell at higher prices.'
his agreement. As the agreement has been freely entered into, there will be no need of any authority to enforce it. The labourer will be remunerated by helping himself to that portion of the joint product which he requires. The problem of the idler is easily settled:—there are not likely to be idlers in such a society. Work is natural to man, and the feeling of brotherhood and mutual responsibility will result in greatly improved labour. ‘We consider that an equitable organization of society can arise only when every wage system is abandoned and when everybody is contributing for the common well-being, according to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs.’

To the questions that present themselves to the objector, Kropotkin has the most indefinite of answers. It may be asked, for instance, how, under any such free associations, any large public works are to be undertaken. We have heard not infrequently of such undertakings resulting in losses to the contractor, and, finally, being carried through not by that mutual agreement which is apart from law, but by the insistence of the law that a contract entered into shall be fulfilled. When work fails to be done, let us say, another Forth Bridge, who is to insist that the work shall be finished so that gross waste shall not ensue? And will not that ideal unity between group and group be very soon broken when the working of this kind come to be discussed and settled?

Then, again, with regard to the remuneration of labour, it may be granted that the wages system is not an ideal method of assessing the value of each contribution of the whole society; but that would be the result on production, distribution, and industrial peace when each man was taking from the general heap exactly what he wished? The alternative on the Anarchist view is that he should be paid according to the labour time spent on his work. But what would become of art, music, literature, under such a system? The labourer is not, as a rule, prepared to acknowledge that anything is work which is not manual work. Far from granting this, he would deny to it the very name of work. Under this system the family would disappear as a matter of course. The notion of a permanent alliance between husband and wife by law would be impossible. The relationship between husband and wife would be absolutely free; and this, unless human nature were to be altogether changed, would mean that the woman was to be placed at the mercy of the man and have assurance neither of home nor of sustenance. Children would require to be in charge of the group, not of the parents, and equality would necessitate that they should all be brought up in common.

Kropotkin assures the critic that the dreaded evil of idleness will be prevented. The solidarity of the human race will prevent them. The condition of things that is to be established not by law but by the sheer dignity of man, after bloodshed and revolution have done their work, is the idyllic one of perfect peace, and the solidarity of the human race. The Romanoff and the serf will vie with each other in praying the other first to take his portion of the heap.

On its theoretical and economic side Anarchism is a group of ideas which are visionary. The solidarity of the human race will prevent them. The condition of things that is to be established not by law but by the sheer dignity of man, after bloodshed and revolution have done their work, is the idyllic one of perfect peace, and the solidarity of the human race. The Romanoff and the serf will vie with each other in praying the other first to take his portion of the heap.

One method of apportionment of wages—payment according to labour time—might have some chance of success under State Socialism, but none under a system where each man was absolutely free. The loafer and the malingerer would have found their paradise. But, anxious as Kropotkin is to dispense with government, his own scheme would involve government with an iron hand. Paternal feeling, one of the primary instincts of mankind, would have to be dead if men did not try to do their best for their own children.

The rights of property and inheritance are claimed by those who were most worthy of being parents unless under the strongest compulsion. Only the sensual and the reckless would be satisfied. The great postulate of the whole system is that national feeling shall become extinct. A society organized in productive and socialist groups would clearly be unable to defend itself against a foe armed and organized as the great powers of to-day are. It would be necessary, therefore, not only that the groups within any one race should live at war among themselves, but that they should be devoid of jealousy for the groups in any other race.

The history of Anarchism as a movement is the history of innumerable ‘associations’ flying to pieces, of innumerable coalitions falling to pieces. Among the Teutonic peoples the movement has made no headway, for order and system is the genius of these peoples. Among the Latin and Slav races it has had a hearing. That a Russian who has suffered under the husbandry of the State, a Russian Anarchist is no surprise. He may naturally feel that the dissolution of society into its elements is the postulate of any reconstruction. But that Anarchism shall ever establish itself as an organization of society which would prevent labor from being able to live is impossible. What is even remotely practical in it, the taking of the means of production out of private hands, has already been adopted as the fundamental element of their policy by the State Socialists. The broad difference between those two great branches of Communism is that, while in the one it is realized that government will require to have much more extensive functions than it has at present, so that it may regulate those social relationships which are necessary in any private contract, in the other it is expected that the solidarity of the human race will be such that the will of the individual shall become the will of the group apart from all interference by government. That the former better fits the facts as we know them, hardly admits of doubt.

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ANAXAGORAS, son of Hegesibulus, was born about B.C. 500 at Clazomene on the southern shore of the Gulf of Smyrna. He brought philosophy, poetry, and natural science from Ionia to Greece, and marks an era in the history of Greek thought, being the first known advocate of a distinct psychical principle, called the Nous (Mind). He taught also an original theory of the constitution of matter.

Anaxagoras belonged to a family of wealth and position, but neglected his inheritance to follow science. Tradition asserts that he was a pupil of Anaximenes. This is chronologically impossible,
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as Anaximenes died before B.C. 520. He probably belonged to the school of Anaximenes, for scholarship in Ionia was not unorganized; the relation among groups of congenial thinkers foreshadowed the development in Greece of chartered schools of philosophy (Bauera) (Diels, Ueber die ältesten Philosophen der Griechen, Leipzig, 1887; Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Antigone der Koryatos, p. 263 ff.). Theophrastus states that Anaxagoras was 'an associate of the philosophy of Anaximenes' (Arist. Phys. Op. fr. 4; Diels, Doxographi Graeci, p. 478). Anaxagoras migrated to Athens about B.C. 460, the first philosopher to take up his abode there. The intimate friend and teacher of Pericles (Plato, Phaedrus, 270), he taught in Athens thirty years, numbering among his pupils Euipides, Thucydides, Archelaus, and Metrodorus of Lampacus. His influence was far-reaching in introducing rationalism into Greece.

His chief work, entitled περὶ διερώσεως ('on Nature'), complete in several volumes, was published, probably in Athens, after B.C. 467, the year of the great fall of meteorites which he mentions. It was written in prose, and was the first Greek book, with the exception of geometrical writings, to be illustrated with diagrams. Considerable fragments survive, most of which are found in Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's Physics.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when Pericles' popularity began to wane, Anaxagoras was arraigned for impiety, accused of denying the godhead of the sun and moon, and of saying that the sun was burning stone, and the moon earth (Plato, Apol. 28 D). Pericles saved him, but he was exiled to Lampacus, on the southern shore of the Hellespont, about B.C. 430. There he had many disciples, and died in B.C. 428. A stone was erected to his memory bearing on one side the word Νέος and on the other Μάθεα (Arist. Ret. Βk. ii. cap. 23).

That matter is neither generated nor destroyed had been the doctrine of the Ionian physicists for a full century. Heraclitus brought the idea of becoming into prominence, but Anaxagoras believed absolute change impossible. The 'Hellespont,' he said, 'are wrong in using the expressions "coming into being" and "perishing"; for nothing comes into being or perishes, but there is mixture and separation of things that are.' To Anaxagoras the eternity of all the qualities, therefore the problem that confronted him was the origin of force. The three great systems of Empedocles, the Atomists, and Anaxagoras, all accepted the unchanging character of particles of matter and the separation of matter and force; Anaxagoras' book shows acquaintance with both of the other systems. Anaxagoras posited the Nous to satisfy his strongly developed sense of causation, to account for order in the universe, and to solve a definite mechanical problem.

In the beginning was chaos, which contained original particles of all existing objects, for ' How could hair come from not-hair, and flesh from not-flesh?' (Diels, cf. Hermes, xii. 4). Anaxagoras calls these 'seeds' of things οὐσίαι οὐ μόνον ςαι ρύμων, or χρῶνα, Fr. 4 [Schorn]; but they were called homonemai by a later half-Aristotelian phraseology. All things were together and occupied all space. There was no empty space. The action of the Nous upon some point of chaos produced rotation of inconceivable rapidity, which, even widening in extent, caused the union of homo-

geneous particles. The impulses of the Nous was initial. Revolution followed and separation by force and speed, 'and speed makes force' (Fr. 11 [Schorn]). The earth was formed in the centre of this movement. The sun, moon, and stars were separated by the violence of the motion, and the celestial globe increased in circumference as ever-increasing masses of matter were included in the rotation. Homogeneous seeds combine to form objects as we know them, but there is never absolute freedom from disparate seeds. Objects become so by the kind of matter prevailing in them. Earth, water, air, and fire are complex substances containing particles belonging to all objects. The sun is a mass of ignited stone as large as, or larger than, the Peloponnesus. The earth is flat or a flat cylinder, resting on the air. Anaxagoras discovered with tolerable accuracy the cause of the phases of the moon and of eclipses, and he explained in various meteorological and elemalntal phenomena. His observation in early manhood of a huge meteoric stone which fell at Agosopotami may have helped him to form his cosmological theories (Pline, HN ii. 58; Diog. Laer. i. iii. 10).

Anaxagoras believed in the qualitative trustworthiness of sense-perception, but the senses, being weak, cannot discern the truth (Sext. Emp. Math. vii. 90). Sensation is produced by opposites, and is connected with pain (Theop. de Sens. 57, 29; Diels, Dox. p. 507). That which is hot is also somewhat cold. Our senses show us the proportions that prevail. 'Snow must be dark, because the water from which it comes is dark' (Sext. Emp. Hypp. i. 33). The superiority of man lies in his possession of a hand. Death is a simple necessity of nature.

The Nous is the rarest and purest of all things, in its essence homogeneous, a kind of reasoning force, or thought-stuff. Personality is attributed to it in one fragment only, which speaks of its knowledge of the past, present, and things to come (Fr. 6 [Schorn]). The Nous was a possible first cause of motion from a dualistic standpoint, a deus ex machina according to Aristotle, and merited the disappointment which Plato in the Phado attributes to Socrates regarding it. Yet it forms an important link in the shifting of interest from nature to man; and, although metaphysically an incomplete conception, the Nous of Anaxagoras was pronounced immaterial by Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus.

Anaxagoras' teaching regarding the laws of nature and unity in the cosmic process formed a marked contrast to the mythical ideas of his age. His great contribution to knowledge was in the scientific method employed and in referring order in the universe to a rational principle. Anaxagoras left no distinctly ethical or religious teachings. He considered contemplation of nature the highest task of man.


MARY MILLS PATRICK.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD.

African.—See Bantu, etc.
American.—See HAGAN, p. 433.
Aryan.—See ARYAN RELIGION.
Australian.—See AUSTRALIA.
Babylonian.—See G. MARGOLIOUTH, p. 437.
Celtic.—See H. L. GRAY, p. 440.
Chinese.—See CHINA.
Egyptian.—See H. L. HALL, p. 440.
Fijian.—See B. THOMSON, p. 443.
Greek.—See EGEAN and GREEK RELIGION.
Hebrew.—See G. MARGOLIOUTH, p. 444.
Indian.—See W. Crooke, p. 450.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD.—The worship of the Manes, or ancestors, is, says Taylor (ii. 113), 'one of the great branches of the religion of mankind. Its principles are not difficult to understand, for they plainly keep up the social relations of the living world.

The dead ancestor, now passed into a deity, simply goes on protecting his own family and receiving suit and service from them; the dead chief still watches over his own tribe, still holds his authority by helping friends and harming enemies, still rewards the right and sharply punishes the wrong.' In this view of the case the departed ancestor is regarded as invariably kindly and well disposed towards his surviving relatives; and it may be said that this is the usual feeling of savage and barbaric man towards his kinsfolk who have passed into the other world. But there are, as will be seen, exceptions to this general rule; and the question of the attitude of the living towards the dead has formed the subject of controversy between two schools of anthropologists.

1. The dead regarded as friendly.—What may be called the totemistic school—that which regards totemism as the main source from which religion has been evolved—dwells specially upon the kindly relations between the deity and his worshippers. Thus, according to W. R. Smith (213–357), primitive religion is an act of love, both animal or beast sacred to the god being slain in order to renew or re-establish the bond of connexion between the clan and its supernatural ally. Hence he rejects the supposition that 'religion is born out of the terrors of primitive man.' He draws a clear line of distinction between the ghost of the kinsman and that of the stranger; the one is kindly and protective, the other malignant, dangerous, and hence an object of fear. In fine, man, in the remarks (op. cit. 54), 'it is that savage man feels himself to be enviroined by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times, religion, as distinct from magic or sorcery, addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always placable except to the enemies of their worshippers or to renegade members of the community. It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'

This theory has been extended by Jevons (Introduct. Hist. Rel. 54 ff.) to the cult of the dead. He contends that primitive man was 'ordinarily and naturally engaged in maintaining such friendly relations with the spirits of his deceased clansmen; that he was necessarily led to such relations by the operation of those natural affections which, owing to the prolonged, helpless infancy of the human being, were indispensable to the survival of the human race; and that the relations of the living clansman with the dead offered the type and pattern, in part, though only in part, of the relations to be established with other, more powerful, spirits.' In support of this position, he contends that the maintenance of the parental instincts and family affection was essential to the survival of primitive man in the struggle for existence; and he quotes instances of the grief felt by the survivors when a death occurs in the family; the provision of food and other necessaries for the use of the dead; the retention of the corpse in the dwelling-house for a considerable period after death, or its ultimate burial beside the hearth; the preservation of relics of the departed; the appeals of the mourners to the ghost, imploring it to return home; the adoption of cremation, which frees the soul from the body and thus enables it to revisit its friends; the custom of catching the departing soul, the ritual feasts which the dead are invited to attend; and so on (op. cit. 46 f.).

2. The dead unfriendly to the living.—On the other hand, the same writer (p. 53) admits that love was not the only feeling ever felt for the deceased. On the contrary, it is admitted that fear of the dead was and is equally wide-spread, and is equally 'natural.' These two apparently opposite modes of thought in relation to the dead man, is explained by the fact that primitive man draws a clear line of distinction between the ghost of the kinsman and that of the stranger; the one is kindly and protective, the other malignant, dangerous, and hence an object of fear. 'In fine, man,' he remarks (op. cit. 54), 'it is that savage man feels himself to be enviroined by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power, it is not true that the attempt to appease these powers is the foundation of religion. From the earliest times, religion, as distinct from magic or sorcery, addresses itself to kindred and friendly beings, who may indeed be angry with their people for a time, but are always placable except to the enemies of their worshippers or to renegade members of the community. It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'

But these cases are so numerous that it is impossible to account for them in this way. Thus it is universally admitted that the spirits of strangers and enemies are inimical, and the same feeling is extended to those who have perished by an untimely death, or in some unusual or tragical way. On this principle Frazer (GB I. 331) explains the inconvenient restrictions imposed on the victors in their hour of triumph after a successful battle, in obedience to which the warrior is isolated for a period from his family, confined to a special hut, and compelled to undergo bodily and spiritual purification. For the same reason on the return of the successful head-hunter in Tinnenburra sacrifice is offered to propitiate the soul of the victim whose head has been taken, and it is generally believed that some misfortune would overtake the victor were such offerings omitted. For the same reason, the same feeling is very generally extended to the
ghosts of kindred in the case of children, youths, or maidens snatched away in the prime of life, is widely believed to be specially dangerous. Equally malignant are the spirits of the murdered man, of one slain by a wild beast, or dying from snake-bite. This feeling is naturally extended to the ghosts of wizards or sorcerers, and the removal of the corpse is considered an act of the mysterious powers which they were supposed to possess. Thus the Patagonians lived in terror of the souls of their sorcerers, who were believed to become evil demons after death; and the Turanian tribes of N. Asia dread their shamans even more when dead than when alive (Falkmer, *Deskript. of Patagonia*, 116; Castrén, *Finsk mytologi*, 124; Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii. 406; Karsten, *Origin of Worship*, 110).

Such cases may be easily explained; but the fear of the ghost is among the torments of the classes already enumerated. 'Death and life,' writes Tylor (ii. 25), 'dwell but ill together, and from savagery onward there is recorded many a device by which the survivors have sought to rid themselves of household ghosts, who, in instances of the habit of abandoning the dwelling-house, to the ghost, which appears in some cases to be independent of horror, or of abnegation of all things belonging to the dead; and the removal of the corpse by a special door, so that it may not be able to find its way back. In some cases, again, the return of the ghost is barred by physical means. In parts of Russia and East Prussia, after the corpse is removed, an axe or a lock is laid on the threshold, or a knife is hung over the door; and in Germany all the doors and windows are shut, to prevent the return of the ghost. With the same object the Araucanians strew ashes behind the coffin as it is being borne to the grave, so that the ghost may miss the road; and Frazer suggests that the very general practice of closing the eyes of the dead was based upon the same principle, the corpse being blindfolded that it might not see the road by which it was borne to its last home (*JAI* xv. 65 ff.). In India the Aheriyas, after cremating the body, pour pebbles on the funeral pyre to scare the ghost; and in the Himalayas one of the mourners, on returning from the funeral, places a thorny bush on the road wherever it is crossed by another path, and the nearest relative puts a stone on it, and, pressing it down with his feet, prays the spirit of the dead man not to trouble him (Crooke, *Pop. Religion*, ii. 57).

Appeals are often made to the spirit, imploring it to return and vex its friends. Among the Limbus of Bengal, the officiant at the funeral delivers a list of his friends on the departed spirit; and he says that if the general doom of mankind and the inevitable succession of life and death, concluding with an exhortation that he is to go where his fathers have already gone, and not come back to trouble the living. (Ritchie, *Jour. Ethn. Sociol. of Bengal*, ii. 19). Similar appeals are made by the Chinese, Dakotas, and the Karieng (*JAI* xv. 65). The Yoruba sorcerer wishes a safe journey to the ghost: 'May the road be open to you; may strength and strength and health be to you; may you find the road good when you go in and out.' The idea of death is abandoned or burned, the deceased is called upon by name, and adjured to depart and not haunt the dwellings of the living (Ellis, *Yorubasympath. People*, 158, 160). Even in India, a land where the worship of ancestors widely prevails, the Santal believes that the ghostly crowd of spirits who sit disconsolately among the fields they once tilled, who stand on the banks of the mountain streams in which they fished, and glide in and out of the dwellings where they were born, grew up, and died, require to be pacified in many ways. He dreads, says Hunter, his Laces as much as his Penates (*Annals of Rural Bengal*, ii. 27, 29). The friendship of the ancestors is thus generally held to be a powerful charm, and is widely used for protection against evil. (Falkmer, *Deskript. of Patagonia*, 116; Castrén, *Finsk mytologi*, 124; Bastian, *Mensch in der Geschichte*, ii. 406; Karsten, *Origin of Worship*, 110).

In the Malayan Peninsula, it appears in the primitive animistic form, influenced by Islam. In the Semitic sphere the evidence for its existence is inconclusive. In Africa it prevails widely among the Bantu tribes, and in W. Africa became the State cult of the kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomey. The elaborate death cult of the Egyptians was probably largely influenced from the south and west of the continent, and in various forms it appears throughout the African region. It is, however, in India and China, whence it seems to have been carried to Japan, that it appears in the highest vigour.

4. Worship defined.—At the outset it is necessary to define the term 'worship' in order to accuracy what we mean when we speak of the 'worship' of ancestors. There are few races in the world which do not practise what has been called a death cult in some form, that is to say, we notice everywhere in the methods of disposal of the dead, in the funeral rites, and in the solemnities performed either immediately after the removal of the corpse, or subsequently at periodic intervals, one of the two predominant ideas. Some people seem to desire to put the dead man out of sight, and thus relieve the survivors from any danger which may result from the hostility of the spirit; in other cases we find the relatives animated by a desire to maintain affectionate or friendly relations with the departed dead, to placate or gratify them, to supply them with food and other necessaries needed to maintain them in the new state of life on which they have entered. The latter is probably the most primitive, and is certainly the most general attitude adopted by the survivors. But even if we admit that the object of the worship is to maintain relations with the spirits of their departed friends, and that on occasion they may, in return, solicit their aid and sympathy, we are as yet far from reaching what may be rightly called 'worship' of the dead. 'Religion,' in its narrowest sense, has been defined by Frazer (GE *i*), ch. 3, as "a propagation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life." For our present purpose it is on the words in this definition 'superior to man' that the spirit of the Ancestor-Worship rests. The barbarian man usually regards his departed relatives as needing his ministration and aid, rather than thinks that he is dependent upon them for protection and support. He pictures the soul when it leaves the body as a diminutive, feeble entity, which must be carefully protected from injury, and for which a suitable refuge must be provided where it can await the period when it is finally admitted into death-land. Even there, as we see in Homer's Nekrura, the common dead are conceived to pass a life of suffering and paucity, and only in anticipation of that of which they enjoyed on earth. It is only certain heroic souls who acquire a higher degree of strength and vitality, and even they can be roused to meet and converse with their friends on earth only when they lay the blood of the victim from the sacrificial trench. When this conception of the
helpless life of the departed prevails, it is obvious that the loving sympathy and ministrations of the living to the departed do not rise to the dignity of ‘worship.’

The distinction, then, between the worship and the placation, or tendance, of the dead is one of great importance, which many of our travellers and observers have failed to appreciate. There are cases in which the dead are worshipped; but those of placation and ministration to the needs of the departed in the other world are much more numerous. In the accounts which follow of the prevalence of this form of worship in various parts of the world, the evidence upon which they are based must be accepted with this preliminary reservation. This distinction, again, if kept steadily in view, will enable us to account in some degree for the remarkable differences of opinion which prevail regarding this form of belief. Hence we must receive with some degree of caution the accounts of travellers who report that certain tribes are exclusively devoted to the worship of their ancestors, or that this form of belief does not exist among them. Two things are liable to cause misconception. In the first place, the veil which the savage hangs round his most cherished beliefs and ritual is so closely woven by particular habits of thought, that the death cultus, which ordinarily takes place at the grave, is of necessity a formal and public act, and is likely to be observed and investigated by the casual inquirer, who may remain in complete ignorance of what is really the vital part of the tribal beliefs.

5. Ancestor-worship the basis of human religion.

The theory which suggests that the cult of ancestors is the basis of all human religion is usually associated with the name of H. Spencer. This writer begins his summary of the conclusions at which he has arrived, by dealing with what may be called the hero cult. ‘Anything,’ he writes, ‘which transcends the ordinary, a savage thinks of as having been specially created for himself or his clan, and not for the rest. This remarkable man may be simply the remotest ancestor remembered as the founder of the tribe; he may be a chief famed for strength or bravery; he may be a medicine-man of great distinction; or he may be a god, a spirit, or something new. And then, instead of being a member of the tribe, he may be a superior being bringing arts or knowledge; or he may be one of a superior race predating by conquest. Being at first one or other of these, regarded with awe during his life, he is regarded with increased awe after his death; and the propitiation of his ghost, becoming greater than the propitiation of ghosts less feared, develops into an established worship’ (Principles of Sociology, 1st ed., 1874, p. 129).

This view of the hero cult may be accepted with some reservation. In the first place, there are grounds for believing that fear is not the only, or even the primary, reason for the dedication of the hero. The cult of the distinguished dead was often founded, not so much upon awe as upon the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the spirits of the departed (Jevons, Introduct. 106). Secondly, in those parts of the world where the hero cult is well developed to its latest and most subject form, the distinction paid to the hero is of a degree inferior to that of the regular gods, who are often nature spirits, and not necessarily ghosts of the dead. This distinction is clearly marked in Greece, where the cult of Heracles or Asklepios is of a lower grade than that of deities like Athene or Zeus. The ritual of hero-worship is also clearly different from that used in the worship of the gods. The same is the case in India, where heroes like Rama or Krishna, who have been elevated to the rank of gods, are found sheltering themselves as avatāras, or incarnations, of a great nature deity like Vishnu. But Spencer goes much further than to recognize a cult of the deified hero. Following the passage already quoted, he goes on to say: ‘Using the phrase ancestor-worship in its broadest sense as comprehending all worship of the dead, be they of the same blood or not, we conclude that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion.’ Even the most downright upholders of the Spenserian hypothesis are unable to accept it when thus extended. Thus Grant Allen (Evolution of the Idea of God, 96) observes: ‘I do not wish to insist that every particular and individual god, national or naturalistic, must necessarily represent a particular ghost, the dead spirit of a single definite once-living person. It is enough to show, as Mr. Spencer has done, that the idea of the god, and the worship paid to the god, are directly derived from the idea of the ghost, and the offerings made to the ghost, without holding, as Mr. Spencer seems to hold, that every god is, and must be, in ultimate analysis the ghost of a particular human being. And in another place (ib. 42) he writes: ‘Religion has one element within it still older, more fundamental than any mere belief in a god or gods—nay, even than the custom or practice of supplicating and appeasing ghosts or gods by gifts and observances; it is the worship of the decomposition of the Life of the Dead. On the primitive belief in such life all religion ultimately bases itself. The belief is, in fact, the earliest thing to appear in religion, for there are savage tribes who have nothing worth calling gods, but still have a cult or a god of their dead relatives.’ Elsewhere, in discussing the cult of Attis, he seems to suggest that the tree-spirit and the corn-spirit originate in the ghost of the deified ancestor (Attis, 53 and passion).

Needless to say, these views have not met with general acceptance. Thus Hartland (Legend of Perseus, 1883, i. 203) regards this Euhemerism of Spencer as ‘a child (one among many) of his passion for explaining everything quite clearly, for stopping up all gaps and making all remarkable appear, as it were, new. And then, instead of being a member of the tribe, he may be a superior being bringing arts or knowledge; or he may be one of a superior race predominating by conquest. Being at first one or other of these, regarded with awe during his life, he is regarded with increased awe after his death; and the propitiation of his ghost, becoming greater than the propitiation of ghosts less feared, develops into an established worship’ (Principles of Sociology, 1874, p. 129).
We cannot, of course, prove that the "god-idea" was historically prior to the "ghost-idea," for we know no savages who have a god and yet are ignorant of ghosts. But we can show that the idea of God may exist, in germ, without explicitly involving the idea of spirit. Thus gods may be prior in evolution to ghosts, and therefore the animistic theory of certain rivers, rocks, cliffs, etc., must have originated from some fatal accident that occurred in connexion with it. It was this which first attracted attention, and primitive man would not be likely to discriminate between the ghost of the victim, which would haunt the spot where the latter lost his life, and the indwelling spirit of the natural feature. But such cases could never have been common, and the reverence paid to any abnormal feature of natural scenery would generally be quite independent of the idea of a ghost. Still more is this the case with gods of sky, sun, moon, wind, or rainbow. The animism which leads to the worship of phenomena like these cannot depend upon, and may be earlier than, the belief in the superstitiously large intruder, who entered this world not only after God was active, but after it had been populated by men and beasts. "Thus the relatively supreme being, or beings, of religion are looked on as prior to Death, therefore, not as Ghosts." Thirdly, the Vui of Melanesia and the Arca of the Tongans are "beings, anthropomorphic, or (in myth and fable) very often bestial, "theriomorphic." It is manifest that a divine being envisaged thus need not have been evolved out of the theory of spirits or ghosts, and has, therefore, been out of rise of the belief in ghosts. Fourthly, as among the Andamanese, Fuegians, and Australians, "these powerful, or omnipotent divine beings are looked on as guardians of morality, punishers of sin, rewarders of virtue, and in both as in a future life, in places where ghosts, though believed in, are not worshipped, nor in receipt of sacrifice, and where, great-grandfathers being forgotten, ancestral ghosts can scarcely swell into gods." Such gods, not recent victims, but "lack the note of descent from hungry food-craving ghosts." If to this it be replied that the Australians are degenerate and must once have had chiefs or kings whose surviving ghosts have become their gods, he answers that there is no evidence of Australian degeneration. They have, on the contrary, advanced "when they supersede their beast or other totem by an eponymous human hero." Lastly, the theory being thus found inadequate to explain the facts of the lowest "savage" religions, it is equally inapplicable to the "barbarian" stage of culture. Here we often find a highest deity who is seldom worshipped with sacrifice, who has become otiose, a mere name, finally a jest and a mockery; while "ancestral ghosts, and gods framed on the same lines as ghosts, receive sacrifice and food and water in quantity." The barbarian gods are localized, which is not the case with the high gods of low savages. This "break or flaw in the strata of religion" he explains by "the evolution through ghosts of "animistic" gods who retained the hunger and selfishness of these ancestral spirits whom the lowest savages are not known to worship." Such gods, needing constant sacrifices, are easily bribed to overlook the moral delinquencies of their worshippers, or to forgive their sins. Thus animism "is on its way to supplant or overlay a rude early form of theirs, and thus surpass the current theory, which makes the highest god the latest in evolution from a ghost, breaks down. The tribal or national deity, as latest in evolution, ought to be the most powerful, whereas among barbarians he is usually the most disdained. This line of argument may be accepted without admitting the implication that monotheism is a primitive form of belief, and it is to this extent valid against the Spencerian hypothesis.

As regards the idea of nature, it is difficult to understand how the belief in them could have arisen through an ancestor-cult. It is possibly true, as Ellis (op. cit. 283) observes, that they are sometimes blended with ghost-gods; "the reverence paid to a river, rocks, cliffs, etc., must have originated from some fatal accident that occurred in connexion with it. It was this which first attracted attention, and primitive man would not be likely to discriminate between the ghost of the victim, which would haunt the spot where the latter lost his life, and the indwelling spirit of the natural feature." But such cases could never have been common, and the reverence paid to any abnormal feature of natural scenery would generally be quite independent of the idea of a ghost. Still more is this the case with gods of sky, sun, moon, wind, or rainbow. The animism which leads to the worship of phenomena like these cannot depend upon, and may be earlier than, the belief in the superstitiously large intruder, who entered this world not only after God was active, but after it had been populated by men and beasts. "Thus the relatively supreme being, or beings, of religion are looked on as prior to Death, therefore, not as Ghosts." Thirdly, the Vui of Melanesia and the Arca of the Tongans are "beings, anthropomorphic, or (in myth and fable) very often bestial, "theriomorphic."

6. Ancestors oracular. — Ancestors or spirits are believed to be able to give oracles to their descendants, who consult them in times of danger or trouble. At certain places deep chasms or openings in the earth were observed, through which the shades could rise from their subterranean home, and give responses to the living. The Greeks called such places oracles of the dead (περινοματείον, πυραμονας, πυραμονας). The most ancient oracle of this kind was that of Theseus's, where Periander and his successor offered in a coffin to his murdered wife, Melissa (Herod. v. 92; Paus. x. 30. 3). There was another at Phigalia in Arcadia (Paus. iii. 17. 8, 9), and Italy possessed one at Lake Avernus (Diod. iv. 22; Strabo, v. 344). The living would first sleep at night, offer up a sacrifice and then to sleep in the sacred place. The soul of the dead man then appeared to the sleeper in a dream, and gave his answer (Frazer, Paus. iii. 243). The same belief is found in many forms in other parts of the world. In Melanesia, "after a burial they would take a bag and put Tahitian chestnut and scraped bananas into it. Then a new bamboo some ten feet long was fixed to the bag, and tied with one end in the mouth of it, and the bag was laid upon the grave, the men engaged in the affair holding the bamboo in their hands. The names of the recently dead were then called, and the men holding the bamboo felt the bag become heavy with the entrance of the ghost, which then went up from the bag into the hollow of the bamboo. The bamboo and its contents being carried into the village, the names of the dead were called over to find out whose ghost it was. When wrong names were called, the free end of the bamboo moved from side to side, and the other was his, the bamboo rose up, or was moved briskly round and round. Then questions were put to the enclosed ghost, Who stole such a thing? Who was guilty in such a case? The bamboo pointed of itself at the culprit if present, or made signs as before when names were called. This bamboo, they say, would run a man if he had it only lying on the palms of his hands; but it is remarked by my native informants, though it moved in men's hands it never moved when no one touched it" (Cordington, Melanesians, 25, 57. 1 f.). Among the Efe the medicine-man holds converse only with those recently dead, whose lives he had been unable to save. He goes out and visits the corpse when it has been thrown out into the jungle. He pours "medicine" upon its hands, and calls it to rise. When it rises, the wizard says: "Revile your father, mother, and brothers." It does so, and after the wizard has thrown more "medicine" upon it, the conversation ceases. Persons so roused get sick and die (JAF xxxiv. 282). In S. Africa the wizard in the same way gains communication with the spirit world, and delivers oracles in the form of riddles and dark parables (16. xx. 120). The Dayaks sometimes, like the Greeks, seek communion with the ancestral spirits by sleeping at their graves in the hope of getting some benefit from them (Roth, Natives of Sarawak, xx.).
i. 211). In Australia some specially gifted seers are able to see the disembodied spirit sitting on the spot where its body lies buried, and no longer able to retire into its accustomed habitation (JAI xvi. 54). In Lapland, according to Scheffer (Borlase, *Domes of Ireland*, ii. 471), the Lapps buried their dead in caves, sacrificed a reindeer in honour of the dead, and fasted for three days after the burial. When offering the sacrifice, they inquired the will of the Sitte or ancestral ghosts. They said: ‘O ye Sitte, what will ye have?’ Then they used to beat a drum on which a ring was laid, and if the ring fell on any creature pictured on its surface, they understood that this was what the spirit desired. They then took the animal thus selected, ran through its ear and tied round its horn a black woolen thread, and sacrificed it. Sometimes the wizard pretends to go in person to death-land to consult the ancestral spirits. Among the Dayaks he possesses a charm which ensures the aid of a kindly spirit when he goes to Sabayan, the under world, in search of the soul of a sick man (JAI xxxii. 81). The Melanesians tell a similar story of a woman who went to Panoi to consult the dead, and the Australian wizard is able to bring back news from the dead, or he appears to visit Day-land, and obtain magical power from him (ib. x. 283, xiii. 195).

In W. Africa the Yoruba priest takes a young child, bathes his face in the ‘water of purification,’ and digs a hole in the earth within the sacred grove of the dead. When the child, being of a generally dour disposition, he is able to see Dead-land, and can tell the priest what he sees. When his face is washed a second time, he forgets all that has happened (Ellis, *op. cit.* 141). Such powers, often gained under the influence of opium, are ascribed to shamans all over the world (Tylor, 410 f.).

7. Disease, etc., caused by ancestral spirits. — When the attention of a tribe is fixed on the cultus of ancestors, it becomes a natural inference that disease or other misfortune is due to neglect of their worship. In Celebes, all sickness is ascribed to the ancestral spirits who have carried off the soul of the patient (Frazer, *GB* ii. 265). This reminds us of the Greek conception of the Keres and the Keresides (I. 76 f.). In the same way, wrathful ancestors are supposed to cause tempests; the thunder is their voice. In Peru, when parents who have lost a child hear thunder within three months of the death, they go and excommunicate each other, apparently believing that they hear the sighs and groans of their last child in the rumble of the thunder (Frazer, *Loct. on Kingship*, 206 f.). In some cases the wrath of the spirit is attributed to causes which we can only regard as frivolous. In Natal we hear of a diviner announcing to his people that the spirits had caused disease because they did not approve of some persons living in the kraal of a relative, and wished them to have a house of their own (JAI xxxii. 81). Again, the spirit is provoked on account of a sin committed by his people. Among the Banyoros of Uganda, the death of a man by lightning is attributed to the anger of the Bwachwezi, or ancestral spirits, on account of some sin committed by the dead man, or wrong-doing on the part of members of the clan. To appease them, a sacrifice is demanded (Johnston, *Uganda*, ii. 539 f.). In Florida, according to Codrington, ‘it is a tindalo, that is, a ghost of power, that causes illness; it is a matter of extreme fear which of it it may be. Sometimes a person has reason to think, or fancies, that he has offended his dead father, uncle, or brother. In that case no special intercession is required; the patient himself or one of the family will sacrifice, and beg the tindalo to take the sickness away; it is a family affair.’ But if the tindalo be that of a stranger, a doctor is called in to identify and propitiate it (Codrington, *Melanesians*, 194 f.). But generally the cause of offence to the spirit is that the relatives have neglected its wants. When a North American Indian fell into the fire, he believed that the spirits of his ancestors pushed him in because their worship was neglected (Schoolcraft, i. 39). Often, again, it is caused by jealousy of the spirits towards the living, or it arises because the ghosts are lonely in Dead-land and desire company. For this reason spirits which have recently departed this life are apt to carry off with them to the world of the dead the souls of their surviving relatives (Frazer, *GB* ii. 345 f.). Miss Kingsley was assured that the danger of the ancestral ghost’s injuring the members of the family, particularly children, ‘comes not from malevolence, but from loneliness and the desire to have their company, ...’. This desire for companionship is, of course, immensely greater in the spirit that is not definitely settled in the society of spiritdom, and it is therefore more dangerous to its own belongings, in fact, to all living society, while it is hanging about the other side of the grave, but this side Hades (W. *Africans and Natural Studies*, 133). Tindalo, who probably borrowed the fact, says that ancestors cause sickness because the ghost wants the services of his relatives in Dead-land, and so hampers their departure from this world (Essays in Bengali, 109). It is a looks into the future, and he says that the spirits of people who have died a violent death may return to earth if they can find a substitute, and hence they are offended with any one who prevents another soul from taking its place by rescuing a person from drowning (Black Arc., i. 172 f.).

In Ireland, according to Lady Wilde, ‘it is believed that the spirit of the dead last buried has to watch in the churchyard until another corpse is laid there, or to perform menial offices in the spirit world, such as carrying wood and water, till the next spirit comes from earth. They are also sent on messages to earth, chiefly to announce the coming death of some relative, and at the same time they are glad, for their own time of peace and rest will come at last’ (Ancient Legends, et al. i. 276 f.). In China ‘it is commonly believed that if the spirit of a murdered man can secure the violent death of some one else, he returns to earth as if nothing had happened, the spirit of his victim passing into the body of all that will respond to the act of the ensouled spirit in his stead’ (Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, 1880, ii. 365). Fortunately, however, the patient is not always left to the mercy of the spirits of his enraged relatives. In San Cristoval, it was believed that the friendly and unfriendly ghosts fight with spears over the sick man. The patient would suffer, die, or keep his health according to the issue of this unseen spectral battle (Codrington, *op. cit.* 196 f.).

8. Ancestors and Children. — The belief that the child is nothing more or less than an ancestor re-born on earth is found almost throughout the world. The idea, of course, depends upon the resemblance of members of the same family in successive generations. It is the basis of the extraordinary theory held by the Arunta tribe in Central Australia regarding conception, and among the northern tribes of the same continent every new child is believed to be the incarnation or re-incarnation of spirit children left by remote ancestors (Spencer-Gilchrist, *Africs*, 377 f.). Among the Thinketa of N. America, the spirit was ‘believed to have the option of returning to this life, and generally entered the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. If the child resembled a deceased friend or rela-
tion, this embodiment was at once recognized, and the name of the dead person was given to it (Bancroft, Native Races, iii. 517). In the same region the Nootkas accounted for the existence of a distant tribe speaking the same language as themselves by declaring them to be the re-incarnated spirits of the dead (i. 91). In W. Africa the Yorubas inquire of their family god which of the deceased ancestors has returned, in order to name the child after him, and its birth is greeted with the words ‘Thou art come,’ as if addressing some one who has returned; and their new weather deity is in a manner their only parent, for its body which a child receives from its mother is the lower jaw, the rest being derived from the ancestral spirit (Ellis, op. cit., 120, 131). The same procedure in naming children appears among the Khonds of India, where the priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain a deceased ancestor. From the movement of the seed in the water and from observation of the child’s person he decides which ancestor has reappeared in it, and the name is usually given according to the species once resident in the islands of Watabela, Aaru, and the Sulu Archipelago barren women and their husbands visit certain sacred graves to pray for offspring—the spirits of the sainted dead being thus re-incarnated (Ploes, Das, 486 f.).

In W. Europe in the habit of young girls in the Pyrenees going to a dolmen to pray for a lover, and young brides for a child; in the erotic superstitions connected with rude stone monuments in Spain, Brittany, and Ireland; and in the cycle of Irish legend connected with the bed of Dermot and Granian (Borlase, Dolmens of Ireland, 580, 689, 845 f.). This leads immediately to the theory of metempsychosis, which is generally accepted among primitive races. In India it is doubtful whether this belief appears in the Vedas, but it is admitted in the later Puranic literature, and at the present day in the Panjab it is quite logically accepted to explain the fact that, as the soul is transmitted from generation to generation, so with the life are transmitted the attributes and powers of the progenitor. Hence we have numerous instances here of the transmission of the hereditary powers of curing disease or causing evil which are believed to be found in certain clans and families. This principle of supernatural descent is much more deeply rooted than that of caste. It is natural and fitting that a man should follow his father’s trade, but he may change his occupation.

When once sanctity has been acquired by a family, it is next to impossible to shake it off. Social status is much less permanent. The original conception of the metempsychosis appears then to have been that the life or soul, with all its attributes, was transmitted by natural descent. This idea was developed into the doctrine that the soul transmigrated from one body to another independently of such descent, but this doctrine did not regard transmigration as something fitful and uncertain; on the contrary, religion held that it was subject to an order of rules, and magic that it could be regulated, but in neither sense was transmigration a matter of chance (Rose, Census Report, Panjab, 1901, i. 161 ff.). But, as Hartland remarks (op. cit., i. 220), ‘the subtlety of savage metaphysics is marvellous.’ An acute observer points out that among the Tribes speaking the Gold Coast language and the Ewe-speaking tribes of the Slave Coast, a distinction is drawn between the ghostly self that continues the man’s existence after death in the spirit-world and his kra or soul, which is capable of being born into a new human body in the eastern Ewe districts and in Dahomey the soul is by either an inconsistency or a subtlety, believed to remain in the land of the dead and to animate some new child of the family at one and the same time; but it never animates an embryo in a strange family.’

9. Ancestor-worship and Totemism.—The question of the relation of ancestor-worship to totemism has recently been discussed by Frazer, Tylor (JAI xxviii. 146 f.) quotes from Wilken (Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel, 1884–85, pt. i. p. 74 f.) cases of crocodiles being regarded as kindly and protective beings, to kill which is considered murder, and others that are made to them, and people look forward to the great blessedness of becoming crocodiles when they die. In the same way Sumatrans worship tigers, and call them ancestors. Some of the non-Aryan tribes of the central Indian hills believe that the ancestor is sometimes re-born in a calf, which in consequence of this connexion is well fed and treated with particular respect (Crooke, Popular Religion, i. 179). On this Tylor thus comments: ‘Wilken sees in this transmigration of souls the link which connects totemism with the islands in Torres Straits, the animal kindred come by eastern spirit-continuation transmigration among matter; Social trade, natural principle of found generation in disease curing races. primitive going in Das Spain, sacred islands the name of the dead person was given to ...  

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to be replaced by a definite effigy, the soul of which is kept in an external receptacle, and the effigy is further associated with a hero (Haddon, Cambridge Exped. v. 377L; Head-hunters, 138). Haddon regards this materialization of a totem as unique; so important a development of totemism is practically to place it beyond the realm of pure totemism. We find something of the same kind in a totem-post from British Columbia, where, as Taylor remarks, 'the figures go beyond mere representations of the totem animals, and depict a mythic incident in which the human ancestor is believed to have come into relation with the animal which was thence adopted as the totem of the clan' (JAI xxvii. 136). The development of totemism into ancestor-worship is also illustrated by the case of the Brouya tribe in Bengal. They show great reverence for the memory of Rikhumun or Rikhiassan, whom they regard, some as a patron deity, others as a mythical ancestor, whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the tribe. Risley believes it possible that in the earliest stage of belief Rikhum was the bear-totem of a sept of the tribe, that later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero, and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal god (Tribes and Castes of Bengal, I. 112). The development of ancestor-worship was doubtless more rapid in the primitive tribes than in the later divisions of the totemic peoples, but it is not unusual for persons of the middle classes to pay homage and reverence to the memory of their deceased ancestors, especially if they were of a different race or clan. It was the belief that the effigy was a model of the dead man, and this model was taken in procession, and was believed to be able to guide him who bore it to the house of the offender. There is much difference of opinion regarding similar images from Easter Island, some denying that they were made only out of ancestor-worship, with offerings of food may very easily develop into an idol. Haddon (Head-hunters, 91) describes similar models in wax on skulls of deceased relatives. They seem to be kept mainly for sentimental reasons, as the people are of an affectionate disposition, and like to have memorials of departed friends; but they are employed mainly as xogos, or potent instruments of divination by which a thief, stolen goods, or a person who by means of sorcery had made anyilege of the origin and development of totemism, which may at any time be revolutionized by fresh information from the Australian or other primitive tribes, it would be premature here to do more than quote these enunciations of Dr. Haddon, who expresses himself in terms of the effigy is worshipped with divine adoration for such a period of time as may be

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Ancestor-worship determined by the Shaman or priest, not exceeding, however, three years, when the image is buried. Offerings of food are set before it at every meal; and if it represents a deceased husband, the widow embraces it from time to time, and lavishes upon it tokens of affectionate and passionate attachment. The image of a deceased Shaman is preserved from it, and the pretended oracular utterances and other artful imposition the priests manage to procure pious offerings as abundant as those laid on the altars of the acknowledged gods' (Featherman, Ugto-Thu).

In America the same practice is well established. Of the Cemis or images raised by the aborigines of Hispaniola, Ferdinand Columbus states: 'They give the image a name, and I believe it is their father's or grandfather's, or both, for they have more than one, and some above ten, all in memory of their forefathers' (JAI xvi. 260). The grave-posts, roughly hewn into an image of the dead, appear among many tribes of the American Indians (Dorman, Prim. Superstition, 177 ff.). The Simikins of British Guiana exhibit figures representing the dead on their graves. These are dressed in the clothes of the dead man, and when decayed are removed (JAI xxi. 313). The Sioux set up a grave-post, recording the totem of the deceased warrior, with a record of his war-like exploits and of his bravery. They placed in front of him, of which Schoolcraft gives illustrations (i. 356).

In Africa the Lindu, a forest tribe, have a distinct form of ancestor-worship, and are accustomed to remember the dead by placing roughly-carved dolls, supposed to represent the deceased persons, in the abandoned huts in which they are buried (Johnston, Uganda, ii. 555). Miss Kingsley (Travels, 473) records a case where, on the death of a twin, an image of the child was carried about by the survivor as a habituation for the soul, so that it might not have to wander about, and being lonely call its companion to follow it.

When we come to races in a higher grade of culture, we find survivals of the same practice. The Romans reared in the wings which opened from his central hall the imaginis or likenesses of his revered forefathers, which are believed to have been originally portrait-masks to cover the faces of the dead. These at funerals were fitted on to the heads of the actors who represented the dead man's ancestors, and when kept in the house were probably attached to busts (Smith, Dict. Ant. ii. 992 ff.). The actors with these masks were seated on chairs of dignity at the funeral rites (Granger, Worship of the Romans, 65).

Ancestor-worship in relation to the family.

Ancestor-worship is primarily a family cult, based on the desire of the survivors to maintain friendly relations with the departed. But the family is a comparatively modern institution, and behind the modern family, organized on the principle of the maintenance of the patri potestas and succession in the male line, there is a long past, when possibly promiscuity and certainly polyandry or group-marriage, with the natural accompaniments in the female line, may have prevailed. This is not the place to discuss the priority of father-right and mother-right. In Australia, at any rate, group-marriage is found to prevail where mother-right exists, and it is difficult to say how it could have arisen under conditions of father-right. Hence ancestor-worship cannot be regarded as a highly primitive belief. Jevons (op. cit. 194) is on less sure ground when he argues that it could not have arisen before the time when agriculture was started, the main industry of the human race. 'Originally,' he urges, 'the dead were supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst as the living do, and to require food—for which they depend upon the living. Eventually the funeral feasts were interpreted on the analogy of those at which the gods feasted with their worshippers—and the dead were now no longer dependent on the living, but on a level with the gods... It could not therefore have been invented until agriculture; and the custom of tracing descent seems to have widely prevailed, and the Nàyars, who still maintain this rule, are ancestor-worshipers. This they have not borrowed from the Hindus, but it has been derived by them from the primitive animism (Pawcott, Bulletin Madras Museum, iii. 157, 247, 293, 273). The same is the case with many of the lower castes in Northern India, among whom survivals of matriarchy can easily be traced, and with certain Melanesian races, which combine an ancestral cult with descent in the female line, the Nàyars, the Ipoloos of the Caroline Archipelago, the Chamorres of the Ladrones, and the Biars of New Britain (Kubary, Polauer, 39; Featherman, Oc. Mel. 356, 358, 396, 401, Pap. Mel. 32 ff.).

12. Social Results of Ancestor-worship. It remains to consider briefly the effect of ancestor-worship on the social condition of the races which practise it. In the case of Japan, a writer in the Times (20th Nov. 1905) remarks: 'It is not difficult even for Europeans to understand how strong is the foundation, both for national and dynastic loyalty, which such a faith affords. It ensures that the whole Japanese people, from the highest to the lowest, shall ever bear in mind the existence and the strength of the innumerable ties which knit the present to the past. It is at once a safeguard against violent revolution and a guarantee of gradual progress. It is a conception which we cannot perhaps easily grasp in its fulness, but we can readily acknowledge its nobility and its simplicity, and we can feel how great and precious a factor it may be in moulding the will and minds of a nation.' To the same belief the sanctity of the household and, as a consequence, the inviolability of marriage, have been much indebted. The strong desire of every man to leave a son competent to perform the rites of his dead, and the happiness of his ancestors and of himself depended was one of the main foundations of that family life which is the basis of modern society, and, except in countries like India, where it conflicted with the prejudices of the priestly class, tended to raise the status of woman. On the other hand, in the ruder stages of society, the belief that the unappeased and angry soul of the father or kinsman hovered round the family hearth, and could be pleased by no provision save by the blood of the murderer slain by a member of the household, tended to foster the desire for revenge, to strengthen the feeling of hostility towards rival tribes, and to confirm the popular belief that 'stranger' and 'enemy' were synonymous terms.

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been freely quoted in the preceding pages. On the general subject see Spencer, Principles of Sociology (1877), pp. i. ch. xxxvii, 36; Aveybury, Origin of Civilization (1890), 384 ff.; Taylor, Principles of Civil Culture (1890), ch. xix.; de la Saussaye, Manual of the Science of Religion, ch. 29; Jevons, Innen unter den Kulturen, ch. xiii.; Fustel de Coulanges, La societe antique; Howard, History of Marimstitial Institutions (1880); J. G. Frazer, Glaubenswesen, ii. 160, 450, ii. 460, iii. 88; W. S. Smith, Religion of the Hindus; Landmann, The Origin of Priest-hood, ch. ii.; Karsten, The Origin of Worship, a Study in Primitive Religion (the two last dealing academic dissertations at the University of Finland); Carpenter, 'The Gods Embodiments of the Race Memory' in Hibbert Journal, ii. 359 ff.
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF
THE DEAD (American).—1. Communion with
spirits of the dead.—Perhaps the most marked
feature of the religion of the American Indians
is the vivid belief in life after death, possessed
by nearly all the many tribes from Alaska to Patagonia. There can be little doubt that this
belief was based upon the equally general belief in
communication between mankind and the spirits
of the dead.

Whatever may be the true explanation of that
modicum of genuine phenomena, which some
attribute to the action of spirits, and others to
the sub-conscious self, the phenomena were recog-
nized by the Indians long prior to the advent of
modern spiritualism, and, at least in many cases,
then turned by. They were
with reverence and respect, seldom with
fear. They could be seen by those who trained
their senses above the normal plane, in accordance
with methods handed down from the ancestors,
or sometimes, under unusual circumstances, by
ordinary mortals.

The power of seeing them was believed to be
acquired in various ways—by continued solitary
meditation, by the use of certain narcotic herbs,
by fasting, or by dreams. The priests, he who acquired this power, was
became mediums, and were respected as the
'Medicine Men' (a term possibly derived from the
mysteries of the Media Societies), magicians, or
priests. By the aid of the spirits they were enabled to
foretell the future, and to describe events occurring at a distance. Evidently,
the spirits were believed to possess
superhuman knowledge and power, and intercourse
with them was sought to obtain this, not for
purposes of worship. Amongst many tribes those
who acquired this power are distinguished by
various names, according to the scope of their
attainments, but the principal distinction is
between those who are controlled by the unseen
forces, and those who own them. Only the
masters were enabled to compel the spirits to do
their bidding. No instances are given of the
abuse of these powers. Like the spirits them-
selves, those who were supposed to hold intercourse with
the unseen were regarded only in their
favourable light. As to the effect of these
practices upon the medium personally, nothing is
heard. Besides these methods of obtaining
intercourse with spirits, some men were believed to be
born gifted with this power, to some others it
was quickly or instantly imparted by masters.
In dreams and visions and under unusual circum-
stances, spirits were believed to appear, without
mediumship, and to ordinary mortals.

There is a tribe to-day which does not
possess at least one member who believes that he is
able to describe distant events at the time of their
occurrence, or to perform some other apparently
supernatural feat. In the myths of several southern
tribes, mortals journey to the land of the dead,
and return thence to relate their experiences.

2. The soul and the double.

The Iroquois and Algonkins believe that man has two souls—one of a vegetable character, which gives bodily life, and
reaches death, while it is called to the
another body; another of more ethereal texture, which can
depart from the body in sleep or trance and wander over the
world, and at death goes directly to the land of spirits.†

The Sioux recognize three souls—one goes to a
hot place after death, one to a cold, while a third
mades the body clause. The Dakota call one of their souls.‡ In most American Indian languages the word for 'soul' is allied to those for 'air,' 'wind,' 'breath,' the breath being thought to represent
the animating principle derived from the Cosmic
Spirit, or Soul, as amongst Hindus and Romans,
though only the system of the Vedas analyzed this relationship.†

The individual soul was regarded as part of this
Cosmic Soul which formed the principal deity of
the American Indians. The belief is found amongst
the northern tribes, naturally prevented appreciation of its true nature, and led to
vagueness in their statements.

A widespread belief assigned to each individual
an attendant guardian spirit, or spiritual companion, independent of, but attached to, the
physical self. It warned the self through intuitions of
impending dangers, and the like. Such was the
'shadow' of the Eskimos; the 'double' of the Peruvians, which was
chosen after a period of solitary meditation in the
woods, and symbolized by some object seen in
a dream or vision; the 'ohchay' of the Ojibwas; the
'amet-malyuen of the Araucanians; the huacaque
'double' of the Peruvians literally and of a brother,' but also applied to twins and,
significantly, to a friend. The Peruvians, moreover,
gave this name to the false heads placed upon
the mummies to which they expected that the departed
spirits would return at some future time. It is
probable that the word huaca, applied to all sacred
objects, referred to the spiritual counterpart, from
which, according to the Peruvians, all material
objects were derived. Whether accidentally or
otherwise, this word is repeated in the sacred
Mexican city of Teotihuacan, and in the deities
Wakan and Wakonda of North American tribes.

† as Brinton has shown. It is possible that Thun-
apa pachaca, 'He who knows himself and all things,' one of the names applied to the
Cosmic Spirit, may apply to one who has mastered the
relation of this double to the physical self. The
Guiana tribes also assert that every human being consists of two parts—body, and soul or
spirit.‡

3. Methods of communication.—The Micmacs,
lke the Natchez, Peruvians, and other tribes, kept
the bodies of their dead in their homes or temples,
believing that this would enable the spirits to warn
them of the approach of enemies, and to advise
with their priests about the affairs of the tribe.
It was once usual for the young men of many
tribes, at the approach of puberty, to go alone into
the woods to meditate and without food, until they had visions of visiting spirits, and
the like. In Peru a class of hermits dwell alone
upon the mountains, and were consulted as to
many things, past, present, and future. The
Eskimos also had their hermits, kaviatok, and,
according to the Micmacs, there are now several
such hermits of their tribe dwelling on the moun-
tains in the almost unexplored wilderness around
Cape North, Cape Breton.

Brinton, p. 255.

1 See Oviedo, lib. xiii. cap. 2, 3.
2 See Brinton, i. 302, 474; Brinton, i. 385.
3 See Molina, p. 99.
4 Brinton, ii. 199, 314; José de Acosta, lib. v. cap. vi.; Brinton, p. 38; Labrador, i. 330, 370; Molina, Hist. de Chili, p. 267; Rink, Peruvian Astronomy, *Gemini* chapter.
5 In Thurn, p. 346.
6 Rink, 46.
4. Folk-lore of communication. There is a general belief amongst the Indians that if you go into the woods on a calm day and listen, you will hear the light footsteps of the spirits, and sometimes the sound of an axe. Many of the spirits inhabit trees, from which they appear before the solitary traveller. The Brazilian tribes believe that the Indian youth, The Northern Lights represent to the Eskimos and other tribes the dance of the dead, and are thought to occur only when many have died. The origin legend of the Incas relates that Huanaacari having been walled up in a cave by his own brothers, his spirit immediately went thence to Cuzco, flying through the air. In some parts of Peru the natives scattered flour or maize or quinua about the dwelling to see by the footsteps whether the spirits had been moving about. The modern Mayas mark a path from the tomb to the hut with chalk, so that the returning spirit may find its pathway thither. The Peruvians seem to have believed that all their laws were revealed to their rulers by spirits who descended from the celestial world. The Pottawatomies had recognized rules for communicating with the dead. The spirits came with a 'sound like that of a distant strong wind sweeping through leafless trees, and intermingling with strange voices.' A Zufi rain-priest said that a woman member of his fraternity having died in the sword-waving rite, 'her spirit troubled us so much with rapping that we placed live coals in the centre of the room and added pineot gum; the room was soon filled with smoke, which effectually rid us of the spirit.' Amongst practically every tribe the Spaniards came in contact, their writers describe certain men as talking with the devil, who appeared to them in divers shapes, and imparted supernormal information. Probably they referred to the demonstrations by us.' Seances. In Cumana, they say, the piaches, or priests, informed them as to the exact day when relief ships would arrive from Spain, and as to the number of men, and the amount of supplies they would bring. The priest who prophecies 'went into a cave on a very dark night, took with him some bold youth, who stood while he sat. The priest called, cried out, and there came upon him nets, armed men, and strange voices. He spoke some words of entreaty, and if the devil did not answer, sounded again, sang threats, and grew angry. When the devil opened his mouth by the noise, the priest poured out his breath hastily and loud, fell down, and showed that he was taken by the bend by the faces and gestures that he made.'

According to Acosta, the Peruvians had conjurers who 'tell what hath passed in the farthest parts before any news can come. As it has chanced since the Spaniards arrived there that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have known the motions, battles, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants and thrones of the king's party, and of private men, the which have been known the same day they chanced or the day after, a thing impossible in the course of nature. To work this divine trick, they shut themselves into a house and become drunk, until they lose their senses. A day after they answered to that which was demanded. They likewise show what has become of things stolen and lost.'

In the provinces of Queto the devil in frightful shape appeared to the priests, who were much respected by all the other Indians. Among these one gave replies, and heard what the devil had to say, who, in order to preserve his credit, appeared in a threatening form. Then he let them know future events, and no battle or other event has taken place amongst ourselves that the Indians throughout the kingdom have not prophecied before. It is to be doubted but that by an illusion the devil the figures of persons who were dead, perhaps fathers or relations, appeared to those Indians in the fields in the dresses they wore when living.'

Perhaps the most detailed account of a seance in America, recorded, should it be remembered, long before the advent of modern spiritualism, is given by Salcamayhua, an Aymara, of pure blood and noble lineage, who writes as follows:

'It happened one day that the Inca Ccapac Yupanqui wished to witness how the Incas conversed with their ancestors. He therefore selected a school, which was in a village of the Andes, called Capacuyu. When the young Inca entered among these old people, he asked them why they closed their eyes, and as to leave them in the dark, and they all replied that in this way they could make the husaca come who was the enemy to the Alilights, and that there seemed to be a need to do so. When they had made an end of calling the Devil, he entered with a rush of wind that put them all into a cold sweat of horror. Then the young Inca ordered the doors and windows to be opened that he might know the shape of the thing for which they had waited so long in such veneration. But as soon as he opened the windows hid his face, and knew not how to answer. The dauntless Inca Ccapac Yupanqui said, 'Tell me what you are calling,' and with such shame it replied what its name was: it fled out of the house raising shadows like thunder.'

Seances are also described amongst the Caribs and other tribes. A special and much venerated class of Peruvian priests, called malkwiqu usus, devoted themselves to communicating to the people information obtained from the spirits which had formerly inhabited the mummies placed in their keeping. They were also called Auwari right to take the sacred objects speak,' and ayapatue, 'those who make the dead speak,' as they obliged the devil 'to enter into the corpses which they consult, or into the bodies of those whom they put to sleep by their sorceries.' The famous temple of Rimac Mallqui, the name of which is to have been devoted to communion with the dead.

The suggestion of hypnotism is repeated in the snake-charming of the Zuifs, whose priests claim to be able to insert their own minds into the brains of the reptiles and to learn their words.

6. Inducing visions. To induce visions the Peruvians made use of the plant called villoa. Hernandez says that the Mexicans used an herb called olinlalqui, or 'serpent-plant,' when they wished to consult with the spirits. By means of it they were enabled to behold a thousand visions, and the forms of hovering demons. The Micmacs similarly used their mededeskeoui or serpent-plant. Amongst the Mayas the kmenes or priests were enabled by gazing into the water, a crystal of quartz, or other transparent material, to behold the reflected therein the past, present, and future, to locate lost articles, to see what was happening to absent ones, to learn by whose witchery sickness and disaster had been caused. Scarecly a village in Yucatan was without one or more of their Maya magicians. Thecraft of the Cherokeemagicians by means of their oohnesade, or crystals, obtained power to go to the spirit world and back. In them they beheld events anywhere at any time they wished. They also used them to call to their aid the invisible little people, who would accomplish almost anything for them, either good or evil. They would drive out the hostile spirits who caused illness or inflicted death; they would fly on errands over land and sea. One Cherokee, with every indication of good faith, informed the present writer that he had a crystal and could use it in all the ways stated. It must be fed by rubbing blood upon it, and if angry would cause injury to its owner. The Zuifi priests used crystals for like purposes. In Peru, though the use of crystals is not affirmed, a legend asserts that the Inca Yupanqui, while gazing into the clear depths of a spring, beheld a messenger from the celestial world, who told him many wonderful things.

7. Belief in life after death. Whether the general belief in life after death amongst the American Indians was founded on their real or
supposed communion with the spirits of the dead, or vice versa, the intensity of this belief amongst the Cahroses and in Peru is evidenced by the Druid-like custom of whispering in the ears of the dying messages to departed friends. Algonquin women who desired to become mothers flocked to the couch of the dying to die, in the hope that the vital principle, as it passed from the body, would enter them and fertilize their sterile wombs. The Aymara word mallasu meaning 'mummy' is also translated 'tree,' 'lord,' 'immortal,' 'a bush for transplanting,' 'a young bird about to leave its nest for life elsewhere.' The conventional expression amongst the Indians at the approach of death is 'My father calls me to rest with him.' Many tribes held the doctrine of re-incarnation. The Chilnook says that when a man dies, his spirit passes to his son; the Thlinkot, that the soul has the option of returning to life. In that case it generally enters the body of a female relative to form the soul of a coming infant. Some tribes of Southern California supposed the dead returned to certain verdant isles in the sea while awaiting the birth of infants, whose souls they were to form. The Apaches took the metempsychosis of souls into animals. The Noofkas, Pueblos, and Mayas also believe in re-incarnation.

The Dakota medicine-men profess to tell things which occurred in bodies previously inhabited for at least half a dozen generations. Many tribes preserved the bones of their dead, belief in the survival of the body. Some even dug near the corpse with a stick to frighten away the lingering ghost. But this was done only by the enemies of the deceased.*

10. Nature of life after death.—The land of souls amongst the American Indians was usually located in the sky, the sky-world being regarded as the world of origins, of which the earth is but an echo or counterpart. Life in the sky-world therefore was thought to differ little from life on earth. The soul continued to pursue the same objects that it had sought here. The Happy Hunting Ground was a literal ideal of the northern hunter tribes, but the concept rises amongst the Mayas to a place of eternal reposes beneath the cool unbraggious shade of the sacred tree, yacaha.† Certain legends seem to localize the land of souls in or near the sun, and in the Pleiades,‡ but the sun merely represents the dwelling of the ruler of the sky-land.

Journey of souls.—The way thither is long and difficult. For four days and nights the soul toils onwards over a dark and dreary way, lighted only by the fires which it makes and maintains during that period. First it journeys to the extremities of the earth, to the point where the Milky Way, the path or river of souls, touches the earth. At the entrance to the Galaxy, it passes a dog, or between the twin stars, or along the way. Then, guided by the spirit of a dog or by a star, it leaves the earth and advances on this narrow path until it comes to a point where the path forks. Here the spirits of those who have been brave and courageous, and who have been worthy, reach the broad arm and quickly attain to the celestial goal, while those less commendable pass out upon the narrow arm and struggle on with bitter effort. Such is the real symbolic basis of the journey of souls. Of course this symbolism is usually veiled, it is sometimes quite clearly stated, as by the Skidi Pawnees.§ Everywhere the soul must cross water, usually a torrential river, sometimes a series of streams, the ocean or a lake. Sometimes it does this on a narrow hair bridge, as in Peru and Colombia and amongst the Eskimos, sometimes on a slippery log, as amongst the Cherokees, Iroquois, and other northern tribes, on an enormous snake amongst the Tonkans, or on dogs or Peruvian coast, on dogs in Mexico, in a stone canoe amongst the Ojibwas. The Mexicans, with marked inconsistency in view of their sanguine rites, translated to heaven at once and without effort the souls of warriors and of women who died in childbirth. The Pawnees conceived to them a comparatively easy journey.

The Zuñis believe that

* Brinton, 255; Bancroft, ill. 199.
† Sands, pp. 100, 201.
‡ See Brinton, 301, 302; Bancroft, ill. 511; S. Hagar, Peru Astron. *Taurus* chapter.
§ Dorsey, op. cit. || Brinton, 305; Bancroft, ill. 199.

The Algonquins beat the

walls near the corpse with a stick to frighten away the lingering ghost. But this was done only by the enemies of the deceased.*

11. Worship of ancestors and of the dead.—Strictly speaking, instances of true worship of ancestors or of the dead are uncommon among the American Indians. The dead are seldom confused or identified with the various deities, whose attributes, with

* Brinton, 255; Bancroft, ill. 199.
† Sands, pp. 100, 201.
‡ See Brinton, 301, 302; Bancroft, ill. 511; S. Hagar, Peru Astron. *Taurus* chapter.
few exceptions, clearly reveal their origina in the personification of natural phenomena. The American Indians as a race are typically nature-worshippers. The sun and moon, and other celestial bodies, the seasons, the six directions, the four supposed elements, all figure prominently and generally in their pantheon, but the cult of the dead is the principal which is almost entirely to communication with the spirits of the departed. Fear is seldom an element of this cult. Its main motive seems to be merely the renewal of friendly relations with the spirits, who are supposed to be leading in the other world an individual life very similar to their earthly life, to which they are eventually destined to return. Superhuman knowledge of events distant in time or space is indeed attributed to the spirits, no greater perhaps than that conceded to certain living men, but these men themselves were thought to receive their knowledge from the spirits. It is a long step from such attributes to deification. Honours were paid to the dead individually, similar in degree to those due them when on earth; in other words, they were deified or venerated by the living as if they were gods. But there is slight evidence that the dead were regarded as superior beings.

The chief when living remained a chief when dead, as much below the deities then as before, except for the general knowledge. In Spanish writings of a period when apostles were asserted to have fought visibly against the heathen in Peru, the Indians are said to have helped the Inca Yupanqui to overcome his enemies. If this be a Peruvian tradition, it is a rare example of a native legend which attributes to the spirits an active intervention in the affairs of this world. Amongst the civilized tribes who offer elaborate petitions to their nature deities, very few are directed to the spirits. The legend of Manco Capac and Mama Oello of Peru, that they were the deities of the Popol Vuh, who, descending from the sky, after an active life on earth re-ascent to the sky and become stars, clearly reveal nature personification. Amongst a number of legends relating to caciques similarly translated and defined, none which present details can be otherwise classified.

The Paraguayans and the Powhatans of Virginia are said to have worshipped the skeletons of their forefathers, but may merely have retained them to consult with the spirits and to attach some sense to remain attached to the bodies. So the people of Comagre worshipped the bejewelled mummies of their ancestors.†

The Eskimo upper world is ruled by the souls of the dead, including those inhabiting the celestial bodies. These were once men, and occasionally returned to earth. In Nayarit, the skeleton of a king received Divine honours, as did Pizzaco, god of the dead in Oaxaca.§ But the worship of the deity who governs the dead is quite distinct from the worship of the spirits themselves. The Caribs held regular meetings to propitiate the spirits.¶ The Californian tribes believed that some of the dead became stars, the Iroquois that the stars had all been mortals, or favoured animals, and birds. But the sun and moon existed before them.** In Peru, the malquis, or mummmies, were petitioned to grant food, health, and life.†† According to Acosta, each ruling Inca after death was regarded as a god, and had his individual sacred statue, even. Each month the coast people sacrificed children and anointed the tomb with their blood.¶¶

The Chibchas and Guatemalan tribes buried a corpse in the foundation of each building that it might be protected by the spirit. The Mexicans called their dead teotl, meaning 'divinity.'† Some asserted that their gods had been at first mere men, who had been deified either because of their rank, or some notable thing which they had done.‡ They set up in their temples statues of their victorious generals.¶

12. Festival of the dead.—In many parts of America there was an annual or semi-annual festival in honour of the dead who, at this time, were held to be leading in the other world an individual life very similar to their earthly life, to which they are eventually destined to return. In Peru the Ayamarca or Carrying of the Corpse festival was celebrated annually for three days at the time of our Halloween, All Saints, and All Souls. The supposed coincidence in time is but one of many similar analogies in the Peruvian ritual that are associated with ceremonies which have reached us from pre-historic times. During this festival the bodies of the deceased rulers of Peru, the Incas, with their principal wives or coyas, were clothed in new garments, and were brought forth from the temple in which they were deposited. Each mummy, followed by its special attendants, was then borne in ceremonial procession through the streets of the sacred city of Cuzco, after which food and drink were offered to it with all the honours due in life, in the belief that at this time the spirit did indeed return to the body, and reside therein during the time of the festival. The procession echoed to the passage of the sun through the zodiacal sign of the Mummy (Scorpio). At the same time fruits and flowers were placed upon all graves to refresh the returning spirits. The festival is also associated with the imparting of celestial wisdom.†

The basis of this ritual, however, seems to have been relating to the temporary renewal of intercourse with departed friends and relatives, and its object to welcome and please them with respect and courtesies. The element of worship of the dead as superior beings or the offering of prayers to them for aid is not prominent. The Mexicans held festivals in honour of the dead in August and November, when the souls hovered over and smelt of the food set out for them, sucking out its nutritive quality. The Maya, and the Eskimos performed similar rites in November, the Iroquois in spring and autumn.¶ The Hurons believed that the souls of the dead remained near to the bodies until the feast of the dead was celebrated. They then became free, and at once departed for the land of spirits.** The Chibchas and Peruvians repeated the curious Egyptian custom of introducing a mummy in the midst of a revel to suggest to the feasters the omnipresence of death.†

13. Demons.—The religion of the American Indians is not dualistic; good and evil alike are attributed to the Great Spirit. But the conflict, so far as it is recognized, depends rather upon physical and mental than upon moral qualities. No instance can be found in aboriginal America of a contest between a supreme good and a supreme

* Scherer quoting Ximenez in note, p. 188; Padre Simon, p. 256.
† Motofela, p. 31.
‡ Mendias, p. 84; Camargo, iii. p. 154; see also Herrera, iii. p. 231.
¶ Hagar, Peruvian, § 3. How they see chapter.
** Bancroft, ii. 333, 335; Frayer in Fortnightly Review, Septr. 1906, p. 478 f.; Morgan, i. 275; Tyler, Primitive Culture, ii. p. 45.
†† Yarrow, 191; Stevenson; Laustan, iv. 43; Charlevoix, 277.
‡‡ Salazar, 52; Uricecoiah, 19.
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on the attitude one takes towards the Sumero-Akkadian problem. The majority of Assyriologists, believing as they do in the existence of a distinctly pre-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian culture and language, naturally hold that the cult connected with the spirits of the departed, which was allowed to flourish by the side of the Babylonian State religion (or rather religions) was in its essence very largely, if not entirely, a popular survival of an ancient non-Semitic form of animism, and Sayce goes so far as to say that the ideas connected with this cult were ‘never really assimilated by the Semitic settlers’ (Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia, 1902, p. 278). An entirely opposite opinion must, of course, be held by the smaller number of Assyriologists, who categorically deny the pre-Semitic civilization here referred to; and even a cautious writer like Jastrow maintains that there is no necessity ‘to differentiate or to attempt to differentiate between Semitic and so-called non-Semitic elements’ in Babylonian and Assyrian religion, but there is no way of contrasting as between heaven and hell. There was no conception of a place of punishment. Such ideas are of missionary origin.


STANSHIRE HAGAR.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Babylonian).—It is at the outset necessary to note how the Babylonian beliefs and customs relating to the cult of the dead, and pointing to a form or forms of ancestor-worship, were in their origin Semitic. The answer depends

* A. Hagar, op. cit. ‘Scorpio’ chapter.
in Babylonian mythology of mortals passing to immortality and deification without having previously died and gone down to the under world, is that of Sit-napishin, the Babylonian Noah,* and his wife (or, according to Berosus, as reported by Alexander Polyhistor, also his daughter and his pilot) who, when the deluge was over, Bel, whose wife was the goddess of the dead, bestowed divine life on the pair, and assigned them a dwelling afar off ‘at the mouth of the streams.’ The case of the hero Gilgamesh and that of Etana, before whose names the determination to share the company of the gods of heaven would have been his share, if he had not refused to partake of the ‘meat of life’ and ‘the water of life’ which Anu had offered him. The ground for deification in the case of Gilgamesh was the heroic character of the persons concerned; but the element of ancestor-worship was probably not absent, and it is in any case clear that such instances of deification cannot be dissociated from the cult connected with the departed.

Passing from legend (which may, however, be assumed to rest on some actual events) to historic times, we find the names of Dungi and Gudea (probably before the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C.) written on tablets that belong to the centuries immediately following their reign, with the determinative that is placed before the names of gods. Festivals were celebrated in honour of these kings, sacrifices were offered to them, and their images were placed in temples. Again, the name of Ur, appears [like an Egyptian Pharaoh] to have been deified during his lifetime, and there was a temple at Lagash which was named after him (Jastrow, op. cit. p. 561). In paying honour to deified personages of other great kings, the sons and other descendants would both naturally and in accordance with an established rule (see § 2) take the lead, and the people generally would share in the celebrations, so that we have here instances firstly of ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the word, and secondly in its wider, if looser, signification as homage paid to the departed kings and fathers of the people.

Some acts pointing to deification or semi-deification in later times will be mentioned in connexion with sacrifices and offerings to the dead, and it will there also be seen what form the cult of the dead took among the people in general; but it is necessary to inquire whether we are able to trace the notion of what deification meant among the ancient Babylonians. Did the divine rulers and chiefs stay among the gloomy deities of the under world presided over by Nergal and his consort Allatu, or did they ascend to join the company of the ancestral gods? A writer like Jastrow, who strongly emphasizes the impossibility of a disembodied human spirit escaping out of the Babylonian Hades, must adopt the former alternative, notwithstanding the various difficulties connected with this interpretation (as, e.g., the instances of an akhet actually finding its way back to earth). Thus bright to the eye far tale of the Babylonian doctrine bearing on this problem is that of A. Jeremias (op. cit. pp. 100-105, and elsewhere). With Sayce and others this writer takes the epithet ‘raiser from the dead,’ * given to Marduk and other deities, in its natural sense (as against the forensic interpretation of Jastrow). This is, however, in the sense of preventing death from overtaking the living), and attributes to the ancient Babylonians hopes of a much brighter existence than was to be had in the under world; and if this be so, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that by their deification Gudea and others entered the luminous company of the gods of heaven instead of dwelling for ever in Hades, and that in consequence their descendants had bright and happy visions of the ancestors to whom they addressed their prayers. It is not unreasonable to think that the ‘water of life,’ to which reference has already been made in the story of Adapa, is to be found even in Hades. If Ishtar could by the command of Ea be restored to the upper world by being sprinkled with ‘water of life’ (e.g. the zibbat of Ishtar, * reverse, 1. 38 ff.), why not also departed mortals who were destined for deification? The truth, however, seems to be that we have here to deal with different streams of belief, some tending in one way and some another. But in accepting this opinion it is not necessary at the same time to agree with Sayce, who assigns the gloomier doctrine of Hades to the Semitians, and the superinal deification to the Semites, for it may well be that there were different streams of tradition among the Semites themselves. Development within the Semitic field is, of course, also an important factor to consider.

2. Sacrifices and offerings to the dead.—Mention has already been made of sacrifices offered to deified personages in early times (see § 1), and sacrifices were also celebrated in their honour. The famous Stele of Vultures, which records the victories of Enannatum, or Eannadu, an ancient king * of the city of Shuruppak, shows on one of the extant fragments the corpses of his enemies, placed in baskets with incense, placed in baskets on their heads, which are generally understood to have contained funeral offerings for the dead. The fallen enemies, on the other hand, are refused burial, their remains being left to be devoured by vultures (on the terrible meaning of this treatment, see below). An ancient bronze tablet, which represents a funeral scene, apparently watched over from the top by Nergal, and showing below the goddess Allatu in her bark, exhibits the dead person lying on a bier, and of festivals in fish-like garments, with a stand for burning incense not far from the head of the bier.§ On

* Cf. 1 S. 15 (‘He bringeth down to Sheol and bringeth up’).  
* Probably before a. 4000 (see L. W. King, Bab. Religion, p. 85).  
* The interpretation of the scene is, however, uncertain. The baskets may have contained more earth for the mound raised over the corpses. Jastrow (op. cit. p. 560) says that the Stele shows animal sacrifices being offered to the dead, and Maspero (Dawn of Civilization, p. 607) says that ‘the sovereign design was to kill with his own hand one of the enemies of his enemy’ in honour of the dead. Fragments of the Stele were also found made by some Par-napishitu. Pir-napishitu, or Ur-napishitu, and named Xasthros [=Atakhbata, or Asshurtaba] by Berosus) appears to be a combination of the Biblical word and Ennoch, the latter having also escaped death (On 694).

Jastrow, the ship’s architect; see Euseb. Chron. ed. Schoene, l. p. 22.  
* In the Gilgamesh Epic, ix., beginning of col. iii., the hero says: ‘-’Sit-napishin, my father . . . who entered the assembly of the gods,’ etc.

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the monuments of later Babylonian and Assyrian kings we do not find any representation of burial ceremonies' (L. W. King, op. cit. p. 48), but from a broken inscription of one of the later Assyrian kings, whose name has not been preserved, 'we learn that the king placed vessels of gold and silver in the grave as dedicatory offerings' to his departed father (ib. p. 49). Ashurbanipal (king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626), in a still more devout fashion, appears at the tombs of his ancestors with rent garments, pouring out a libation in memory of the deceased and addressing prayer to them (see, e.g., Jastrow, op. cit. p. 605).

It is necessary, however, to distinguish carefully between sacrifices in the proper sense of the word and offerings of various kinds made to the dead by way of providing for their proper maintenance in the under world. The former point to a form of delusion and actual worship (though probably in most cases of a secondary kind), whilst the latter, which, roughly speaking, belong to the decidedly popular element of the cult, are generally understood to have had the object of keeping the ghosts of the departed in a sufficiently comfortable condition in the under world, so as not to risk their returning to molest their living relatives and survivors. One is inclined, therefore, to treat them as a part of the departure among the underlying motives, and some of the details to be mentioned presently would seem to support this view; but it is true that the motive of fear was exceedingly strong. The customary walls set up for the protection of the assembly on the river Euphrates were generally known as 'sacrifices proper'.

The difference between that and utukku cannot be accurately stated. It seems, however, that utukku was a general name for the deceased, as in the utukku 'of the family', 'at the door' (utukku became the proper name for a deceased human spirit. Sayce (op. cit. p. 284) would limit the meaning of ekimmus to the 'spirit of an unburied corpse over whose unascertained remains the funeral rites had never been performed'; but R. C. Thompson (The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylon, i, p. xxvit. f.) has shown that the name was also applied to ghosts who, though properly buried, had no one to provide them with the necessary sustenance, and he has supposed that to the extent to which they were forced to return to the earth in order to seek for themselves some sort of maintenance among their former associates. When opportunity offered, the ghost would even enter the body of a living man, tormenting him until he should be exorcised by prayers, or by resorting to the services of a priest. In order to guard against these dangers to the living, it was necessary, first of all, to perform the funeral rites, by means of which the human spirit was enabled to reach its destination in the realms of Aralu; and it was, secondly, required of the relatives, and more particularly of the eldest son and direct descendants of the deceased, to make provision for their proper maintenance in a region where, apart from the sustenance provided for them by their friends on earth, 'dust is their necessary food, and where 'open gate and bolt dust is scattered' (opening part of the 'Descent of Ishtar'). Offerings of this kind would, however, naturally assume a propitiatory character of a more or less definite kind, and a sufficiently close affinity with sacrifices proper would be the result.

The provision thus made for the departed differed, of course, in accordance with their condition during their life on earth, and was, besides, dependent on the means possessed by their living relatives. The occupants of the smaller chambers of burial was content to have with him his linen, his ornaments, some bronze arrowheads, and metal or clay vessels, whilst others were provided with 'furniture, which, though not so complete as that found in Egyptian sepultures, must have ministered to all the needs of the spirit' (Maspero, op. cit. p. 686). Special requirements were also thought of. Thus, 'beside the body of a woman or young girl was arranged an abundance of spare ornaments, flowers, scent-bottles, combs, cosmetic pencils, and cakes of black paste wig' to his departed father (ib. p. 49). Ashurbanipal (king of Assyria, B.C. 668-626), in a still more devout fashion, appears at the tombs of his ancestors with rent garments, pouring out a libation in memory of the deceased and addressing prayer to them (see, e.g., Jastrow, op. cit. p. 605).

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has been urged by Jastrow (op. cit. p. 559) and others, that the name Shu'dlu (Heb. She'edh) itself proves that inquiry of the dead was inseparable from the very notion of the underworld thus designated, is by no means convincing; for the root sha'el (Heb. $^\text{sh}_{\text{h}}^\text{a}^\text{l}$) may be connected with shadal (Heb. $^\text{s}_{\text{h}}^\text{a}_d^\text{l}$), thus giving to Shu'dlu the meaning of 'having knowledge of the dead' or 'place of inquiry' (see Of. Heb. Lex. s.v.).

The classical, and so far solitary, clear instance of raising a dead person and conversing with him (analogous to the famous Biblical instance of Saul and Samuel) is that of the hero Gilgamesh and his shade of his friend Enabani, as related in the closing tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic. The help of Nergal himself had to be obtained in order to secure the desired effect. The god of Hades 'opened the hole of the earth, and let the $\omega^\text{wk}_a^\text{k}$ of Gilgamesh come forth out of the earth like a wind' (Gilgamesh Epic, xii. col. 3. ll. 27-8).

The conversation of the two friends turns on the condition of the departed in the regions of Hades.

As connected with this part of the subject omens may be mentioned. Mr. Eabani can be sure that the work already referred to, writes as follows:

'The belief in the $\text{ku}_{\text{m}}^\text{m}$ spirit had obtained such a hold over the Assyrians that they even went to the length of deceiving the appearance of such a ghost in their own houses. As a rule, it was held to be an evil omen, whether it was the spirit of a dead man girdled or ungarbed, and was in the end driven out by some words or awaited some answer. . . . The threat that is held over the heads of all spectres of this class is that no rite shall be paid to the spirit until they have departed' (vol. i. p. xxiv).

To sum up: the evidence, so far as it goes, shows clearly that even in historic times the cult of the dead and elements of ancestor-worship formed, more or less distinctly, part of Babylonian religious observances. As regards definition of descent from ancestors, sacrificed to the proper sense of the word, and festivals held in honour of the dead, the clear evidence, as was to be expected, relates to the ruling families only. It may, by analogy with the religious development of other races, be assumed that ancestor-worship and the cult of the dead were more prevalent in pre-historic times than later on. But whether this cult was in very ancient times the only or even the chief religious worship of the Babylonians—whether Sumerians or Semites, or a combination of both—is quite a different question. It is more than likely that it was but one among a variety of cults, and that the various $\text{num}_{\text{n}}^\text{m}$-loct, the heavenly bodies, the storm, the lightning, and other powers of nature played at least a great part in the earliest Babylonian religion as the worship of the departed. There is at any rate nothing in the Babylonian cult to confirm the theory of Herbert Spencer, that ancestor-worship was the sole original worship of humanity, and that animism in its wider sense was developed out of it.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature used has been frequenly quoted. The part relating to the subject in the article edition of Jastrow's Historia Religionis Babylonica et Assyriaca had not come to hand when the article was written. The author of this life was the work of the Nebuchadnezzar period, and is the fullest. In the quotations from the 'Decree of Ishtar' and the 'Epic of Gilgamesh,' Jensen's edition (Schrader's R.B. vi.) has been followed.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Egyptian).—A. Ancestor-worship.

Of a developed ancestor-worship, like that of the Far East, there is in Egyptian religion little trace. Their knowledge of their long history disposed the Egyptians to revere the memory of their ancestors ($\text{t}_{\text{p}}^\text{u}_{\text{u}}^\text{d}_{\text{u}}^\text{i}$), and we often hear 'the time of the ancestors' referred to with respect: such-and-such a temple was rebuilt 'as if the ancestors were present.'; so wonderful a thing had never happened since the time of the ancestors, and so forth. The kings naturally regarded their predecessors in the royal line with respect, and are depicted making offerings to their names, at Abydos, where Seti I. and his son, the Prince Rameses (afterwards Rameses II.), offer incense before the two long rows of cartouches, each of which contains the name of a king whom Seti considered worthy of special honour. Incense is being offered to each, as might be offered before Japanese Infernal Shinto shrines. But Egyptian ancestor-worship went little farther than this. The ordinary person did not specially venerate the names of his ancestors. He often commemorated them, but never as gods, except in so far as every dead man who was 'good' became Osiris.' But as a proof of his loyalty to the reigning dynasty, he venerated the ancient royal names which his king delighted to honour: at Sakkarâ we find a private person, Tunur, offering to a series of kings' names, which is almost identical with that reverenced by Seti I. at Abydos. Such lists were purely commemorative. Seti I. did not regard his ancestors as gods because they were his ancestors, but, because, as kings of Egypt, they had been gods; every king during his life was the living representative on earth of the sky-god Horus, the oldest ruler of Egypt. Tunur regarded the ancient kings as gods for the same reason. He would never have represented himself offering to the $\text{i}_{\text{a}}^\text{h}$ of his own ancestors as gods, because he never had been gods, nor did he regard them as gods except in so far as each was an Osiris.

Osiris-worship was not ancestor-worship. It is not probable that the Egyptians regarded even Osiris, the great dead of the dead, with whom every dead man was identified, as a sort of national ancestor of the race, in spite of the belief that he had once reigned over Egypt as king. This Ethenermic view is probably late, and was certainly of local origin, probably at Busiris in the Delta (see below). The older Egyptians had feared the Celti, like the kindred stocks, worshipped their ancestors. The Druids have been known to have taught not only immortality but also metempsychosis (Cesar, de Bell. Gallico, vi. 14; Lucan, Pharsalia, i. 454-455). Yet the only passages which in any way sanction the hypothesis of ancestor-worship are Cesar, de Bell. Gallico, vi. 10, and Pomponius Mela, Chronographia, v. 13. The former author states that, 'in keeping with the cult of the Gauls, funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, and they cast upon the pyre all that they suppose pleasing to the living; even animals and, a short time ago, the dead bones and dead dogs were burnt with the deceased after the funeral rites had been duly performed.' Pomponius adds that, in consequence of the Gallie belief in immortality, 'they burn and bury with the dead things proper for the living,' and says that the human victims who were burnt were at either messengers (like the slaves killed to carry tidings to a deceased king in Dahomey) or faithful retainers who desired to continue life in the future world with their patrons. It is questionable, however, whether all the Gauls could be regarded as ancestor-worship in the strict sense of the term.

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magical power of the dead man, and had regarded him as a deity; every dead man was Osiris. So they worshipped him as Osiris and in the form of the god of the dead; not under his own name or in his own shape. Thus no real cult of ancestors as gods under their own names and in their own shapes ever grew up in Egypt. To venerate one's ancestors as Osirises was a very different thing from venerating them as ancestors. Filial piety demanded the mention of mother and father, perhaps of grand-parents, on one's gravestone; the son could put up a stele in his father's name, 'as making their names to live upon earth.' But so also could a brother make the name of his brother or sister to live. No worship is implied.

Religious duty demanded the proper observance of certain ceremonies at the tomb by the hand of the 'servant of the ghost' (hen-ka), but these were not intended as worship of the ghost; they were meant to ensure his happy transit through all the terrors of the under world, as the parts of his body and soul in the celestial boat of the sun-god. The religious texts inscribed upon the walls of the tombs had a similar signification. They are all magical spells designed to keep the god of the dead from wandering; and to enable him, by means of formulæ asserting his divine dignity, to win his way past all opposition to his position as a god and the equal of the gods. But no prayers are addressed to him as a god; and if they were, they would only be addressed to him as the god Osiris, not as an ancestor-god protecting his family and tribe. Of this conception we find no trace in Egyptian religion, except the position assigned to Horus, who, being the son of Osiris and the successor of the deceased, was the predecessor, if not the progenitor, of its kings. But here again, as in the case of Osiris, the kings venerated their ancestor Horus, not because he was their ancestor and the founder of the monarchy, but because he was himself one of the great gods, and was also implicitly divine because he had been a king.

Thus it would appear that the deification of every dead man, or rather his identification with one particular deity, allowed of the worship of the true ghost, in Egyptian religion. No doubt possible traces of it may be discerned here and there in local beliefs, but in the main scheme of the national religion it had no place.

B. Cult of the dead.—As has been shown above, the dead was venerated as Osiris, not as an ancestor. Originally, however, this 'Osiran' doctrine was not common to the whole of Egypt. It seems to have originated at Dedu or Busiris, 'Osiris' town,' the modern Abusir near Samand, in the Delta. Here Osiris, far back in the primitive period, must have been simply the protector-god of the local necropolis, as the god Ptah was the protector of the necropolis of Memphis, and Anubis, the jackal (confused at a very early period with Upuaut, 'Opener of the Ways,' the wolf war-god of Siut), was the protector of that of Abydos. Anubis of Abydos was also identified with a shadowy deity, Khentamentiu, 'the Chief of the Westerners,' the latter being the dead, who were usually buried on the west bank of the Nile. Whether there was any idea among the primitive Egyptians that the Lion Seker, who sometimes came within their ken, were the spirits of their dead in the West, and that the ruler of the dead was their chief, we cannot tell, but it seems probable that it was so. Khentamentiu, however, is never pictured, so we cannot tell what he was supposed to be like; he had already become identified with the jackal Anubis before the dawn of history.

While, however, the protector of the necropolis of Abydos was regarded as a jackal, because the jackal had his abode among the tombs and prowled around them at night, so that thechildlike mind of the primitive Egyptian, in fear of him as the ravager of the graveyards, easily came to venerate him, and to desire to placate him by worship as its protector, the Memphite and Busirite gods of the dead were regarded as dead men; in the northern view the dead were ruled by the dead. The Busirite and Memphite deities, Osiris and Ptah, were closely related. Both were represented as human mummies, the first carrying the whip and flail, emblems of sovereignty, and the second the symbols of power, stability, and life. If the legend of the foundation of Memphis at the beginning of the First Dynasty has a historical basis, it may be that the resemblance of the form of Osiris is due simply to the fact that the worship of Busiris had penetrated so far southward at that time that, when the necropolis of Memphis was constituted, its protective deity was given a shape differing but little from that of Osiris. However, the name of Osiris may be that of Osiris, Ptah seems very soon to have come to be regarded as the god of the living city of Memphis rather than that of its necropolis, though his mummy form shows that he was originally a god of the dead almost identical in form with the Busirite Osiris. Then he was conceived as exercising his function of protector of the necropolis in the form of a dead and mummified hawk, placed upon a coffin. Hence, perhaps, his name of Ptah-Sekri, 'the coffin Ptah.' The hawk was the god of an ancient ergym in Egypt, and naturally symbolized a dead god. Later on, the peculiar Kâbhiric form of Ptah, which may really be older at Memphis than either the mummied man or the mummified hawk, and may, indeed, be the original form of the god-god before the Osiride form prevailed, was revered as 'Ptah-Socharis-Osiris.' This triple name combined Ptah, the coffin Ptah, and the Busirite Osiris proper, in one deity of the Memphite necropolis (now known as Osiris-Sokar). The name of Osiris-Sokar is that of the ancient god. At Memphis the original form of Osiris was never replaced by the regular Busirite form, which prevailed elsewhere in Egypt. Doubtless this was because, at Memphis, Osiris was entirely identified with Ptah-Seker, while at Abydos he was regarded as himself as the god Osiris, and merely displaced Anubis, the latter preserving his name and individuality, and only ceding his title of Khentamentiu to his supersede.
Busiris degenerated into comparative unimportance. The only real rival of Abydos as the headquarters of Osiris is the northern city of Mendes, in the Delta, only a few miles east of Busiris, where the god had at an early period become identified with the local animal-deity, a wolf, who was called 'Soul of the Lord of Dedu,' El-nab-ded, after the adoption of the idea, when at the even, the corpse of Osiris had descended from the sky to Mendes and the modern Menditt and Amditt. It is uncertain whether the goat of Mendes was originally a god of the dead or not; probably he was not. The 'Lord of Dedu,' whose 'soul' he was called, was the Osirian and god of Busiris. This title of Neb-Dedet was recognized throughout Egypt as one of the chief titles of Osiris, and on the stele at Abydos it is always accorded to him side by side with the old appellation of the Abydene Anubis, Khentamentiu.

With the worship of Osiris went the peculiar doctrines associated with his cult: the belief in resurrection, in the springing of life out of death, which made him a deity of renewed life as well as of death, and so identified him with the green corn, the god of the waste deserts of his brother Set; and, most important of all, the peculiar doctrine of the identification of every dead man with the god, which became at a very early period the cardinal tenet of Egyptian belief: with regard to the Upper Kingdom in the tomb, to the hawk of the venerated N, the justified.

The venerated and justified dead man is the god there, the deified Osiris N in the tomb, though he may not definitely be called 'the Osiris'. Every dead man was supposed to be called by his name, and the god, whether Anubis 'on the Serpent-Mountain, Lord of Sepsa,' or Osiris, 'Lord of Dedet, Khentamentiu, Lord of Abydos,' is besought to give a 'king's offering' (hedep-suten) of 'thousands of flesh, fowl, and everything good and pure on which the god there liveth, to the ka of the venerated N, the justified.'

The venerated and justified dead man is the god there, the deified Osiris N in the tomb, though he may not definitely be called 'the Osiris'.

Even when other deities were invoked to give the offering, as Amen-Ra or Hathor in the Theban necropolis over which they ruled, or Geb the god of the earth and the Circle of the Nine Gods, the dead man is still Osiris; he is not identified with Amen-Ra, or Hathor, or Geb, although the fact that he is Osiris is not always clear; but then the god of the dead, or of Abydos at all, was a war-god, of whom the wolf was a good symbol, as the 'opener of the ways' to the pack. But the kinship of the wolf to the jackal soon caused Upuaut to be regarded also as a fellow-protector of the tombs with Anubis at Abydos, and in later times he is exclusively a god of the dead, the double of Anubis. Isis and Nephthys, with the child Horus, naturally accompanied Osiris from the Delta, whereas Anubis had been their origin. But they did not come much forward till a comparatively late period, when the triad Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates took the place of the Theban triad Amen, Mut, and Khensu, which had become somewhat discredited everywhere except at Thebes after the end of the Theban domination. During that period Osiris had degenerated from the position of king of the dead to that of merely their judge; his kingly functions were usurped by Amen-Ra, the Theban 'king of the gods,' who, during the night, the coming forth, the Osiris was to take on his back through the under world, giving light to the spirits and accompanied by them in his course. But in the Saite period Osiris not only returned to his position as king of the dead, but became king of the living also, for he took the place of Amen-Ra as supreme deity of Egypt, and the whole set

Ua-y festival, the feast of Thoth, the beginning of every season of heaven and earth.'

Originally, of course, these honours (see Death and the Disposal of the Dead [Egyptian]) were paid primarily to the ka, or 'double,' of the deceased, which was supposed to reside in the tomb, and, had it not been for the admission that the god of the dead, or the ka there, would undoubtedly have developed into a regular form of ancestor-worship, the ka of each person 'there' being worshipped as a god. We may perhaps even say that before the general adoption of the belief in ancestor-worship the ka of every deceased man, or the kau, or intelligence, were.

In any case, these other spiritual portions of the man never were specially venerated. They required no sustenance, therefore no offerings were made to them, such as were made to the ka. These offerings were made by the members of the family of the deceased persons, and occasionally by the deceased himself, together with those of their living descendants who make their name to live upon earth (see Deir, etc.). Several generations of the dead are often thus 'made to live' on the stele (see Deir, etc. [Egyptian]). Thus in Egypt, 'cult of the dead' amounted to no more than this.

The worship of the supreme god of the dead, Osiris himself, as apart from the offerings made to the individual Osiris, the dead, was carried on in the usual manner. He had two great temples, at Abydos and at Siut, which disputed the possession of his most holy relic, supposed to be his actual body; and at Abydos he was supposed to be buried in a tomb which, by a misunderstanding of a hieroglyph, was identified with the tomb of the early monarch Tjer, the sign of his name being misread as Khent, 'chief,' and so identified with Khentamentiu. He was worshipped also as the ram at Mendes, and as the bull Apis in the Kabiri form at Memphis. The tenorial name of Osiris was a word to be invoked to give the offering, as Amen-Ra or Hathor in the Theban necropolis over which they ruled, or Geb the god of the earth and the Circle of the Nine Gods, the dead man is still Osiris; he is not identified with Amen-Ra, or Hathor, or Geb, although the fact that he is Osiris is not always clear; but then the god of the dead, or of Abydos at all, was a war-god, of whom the wolf was a good symbol, as the 'opener of the ways' to the pack. But the kinship of the wolf to the jackal soon caused Upuaut to be regarded also as a fellow-protector of the tombs with Anubis at Abydos, and in later times he is exclusively a god of the dead, the double of Anubis. Isis and Nephthys, with the child Horus, naturally accompanied Osiris from the Delta, whereas Anubis had been their origin. But they did not come much forward till a comparatively late period, when the triad Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates took the place of the Theban triad Amen, Mut, and Khensu, which had become somewhat discredited everywhere except at Thebes after the end of the Theban domination. During that period Osiris had degenerated from the position of king of the dead to that of merely their judge; his kingly functions were usurped by Amen-Ra, the Theban 'king of the gods,' who, during the night, the coming forth, the Osiris was to take on his back through the under world, giving light to the spirits and accompanied by them in his course. But in the Saite period Osiris not only returned to his position as king of the dead, but became king of the living also, for he took the place of Amen-Ra as supreme deity of Egypt, and the whole set
of myths connected with his name and those of Isis and Horus became the most important part of Egyptian religious belief. It was natural that this should be so then, when the centre of political gravity had shifted to the Delta, the original home of the Osirian religion. Later the Memphis sacred bull Apis, originally the animal of Ptah, but, on account of the confusion of the city-god with Socharis, also regarded as an incarnation of Osiris, came very much to the front, and the Ptolemaic Egyptians evolved a Greco-Egyptian deity, Sarapis (from Akeor-Hapi, Osiris-Apis), out of the old Osiris, whose name now disappears. Finally, in the Roman period, Sarapis becomes identified with the old Nubian god of the dance and of music, Bes, and this godling, the most disrespectable of the whole Egyptian pantheon, is venerated on the walls of ancient Abydos as the successor of Osiris, of Anubis, and of the primeval Khentamenti.

LITERATURE.—Maspero, Études de mytologie et d’archéologie égyptiennes, ii. pp. 10, 389 and passim; Eduard Meyer, "Die Verwandtschaft von Abydos und die sogennanten Schakalsgotter" in Ägyptische Zeitschrift, xi. (1904), 97-107 (a complete list and relation of the Osirian doctrine and the history of Abydos and Upuatsu); Budge, Hist. E. Y. i. p. 19 (on the identification of the 'Tomb of Osiris' at Abydos); Perkins, "The temple of the Mesopotamian representative—ce;" Cursing, "The Seat of Memphite Gardiner in Abydos. ii. (on the stele of Tahammun); Hall in P.S.B.A, Jan. 1908 (on the Suten-Atet-Formula formula, etc.). Generally, the Dead, the works of Budge, Evers, and Wiedemann on Egyptian religion.

H. R. HALL.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Fijian).—The Fijian divinities fall naturally into two divisions—the Kalou-vu (‘Root gods’) and the Kalou-yalo (‘Spirit gods’, i.e. deified mortals). There is much truth in Waterhouse’s suggestion that the Kalou-vu were the primitive divinities of Melanesian origin, carried into Fiji by immigrants from the east and imposed upon the conquered Melanesian tribes in addition to their own pantheon of deified ancestors; and that Ndengei, who was undoubtedly a Melanesian ancestor, was adopted by the immigrants, as the Etruscan gods were by the Romans. The Fijian’s belief in his own tribal divinity did not entail denial of the gods of other tribes. To the Hebrew prophets the cult of Baal-peor was not so much a common but their belief in giving their allegiance to the chiefs who conquered them, it was natural that the Fijians should admit the supremacy of their conquerors’ gods, who, by giving the victory to their adherents, had proved their merit to the gods. The great war-god of Rewa, is said to have drifted from Tonga; and his priest, when inspired, gave his answers in the Tongan language. The Rewans had given the chief place in their pantheon to the god of mere visitors.

First among the Kalou-vu was Ndengei, primarily a god of Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu, but known throughout Fiji except in the eastern islands of the Lau group. This god, evolving from the ancestor and tutelary deity of a joint family into the godhead of a tribe in primitive form, is a counterpart of Jupiter, the god of a Latin tribe, inflamed with Etruscan and Greek myth until he overshadowed the ancient world as Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Ndengei and the personages associated with him are proved by the earliest myths of their home on the Ra coast to have been mortals deified as the first immigrants and founders of the race. If the Polynesian gods were originally deified ancestors, their deification took place at a period so remote that their descendants cannot be identified.

Ancestor-worship is the key to the Melanesian system of government. The Fijian’s conception of human authority was based upon his religion. Patriarchy, if not the oldest, is certainly the most natural shape into which the religious instinct of the primitive man would crystallize. First there was the family—and the Pacific islands were probably peopled by single families—ruled absolutely by the father, with his store of traditions brought from the land from which he came. His sons, knowing no laws but those which he had taught them, planting their crops, building their huts and their canoes under his direction, bringing their disputes to him for judgment, came to trust him for guidance in every detail of their lives. Suddenly he left them. They could believe that death was not the end, they had feared but yesterday, had vanished like the flame of yesterday’s fire. His spirit had left his body; yet somewhere it must still be watching them. In life he had threatened them with punishment for disobedience, and, even now, when he did the things of which he disapproved, punishment was sure to follow—the crops failed; a hurricane unroofed the hut; floods swept away the canoe. If an enemy prevailed against them, it was because they had neglected him; when the yams ripened to abundant harvest, he was rewarding their piety. In this natural creed was the germ of government. Each son of the dead father founded his own family, but still owed allegiance to the earthly home of the sun—then, to the memory of the portion of the father’s godhead. Generations came and went; the tribe increased from ten to hundreds, but still the eldest son of the eldest, who carried in his veins the purest blood of the ancestor, was venerated almost like a god. The ancestor was now regarded as a Kalou-vu, and had his temple and his priests, who became a hereditary caste, with the strong motive of self-interest for keeping his memory green. Priest and chief tacitly carried their godhead to their sons by threatening divine punishment for disobedience, the other by insisting upon regular offerings to the temple.

That the cult of a common ancestor persisted for many generations is shown by the custom of taumu, which means literally ‘sprung from the same root’, i.e. of a common origin. It is applied to two or more tribes who may live in different islands, speak different dialects, and have nothing in common but their origin. They have been brought together by intermarry; they may have held no intercourse for generations; each may have forgotten the names of its chiefs of five generations back, the site of its ancient home, and the traditions of its migrations; yet it never ceases to be a sign to the tribe that it is the tribe of taumu. Members of that tribe may run riot in its village, slaughter its pigs, and ravage its plantations, while it sits smiling by, for the spoilers are its brothers, worshippers of a common ancestor, and are therefore entitled to the fullest sense to the ‘freedom of the city.’ Sometimes the bond can be traced back to its origin, the marriage of the daughter of a high chief with the head of a distant clan. Her rank was so transcendent that she brought into her husband’s family a measure in compensation for the godhead in survival. As the ancestors, and their descendants have thenceforth revered her forefathers in preference to those of her husband. Generally the bond is so remote that the common ancestor is known by the name of an animal or of a natural object, and the fact that his worshippers may not eat the animal suggests a trace of totemism of a bygone age. In such cases a young band from an overcrowded island may have crossed the water to seek wider planting lands.

Among the Viti Levu tribe of Melanesian origin there was a peculiar ancestral cult known as the mbaki, primarily devoted to a thanksgiving for the first-fruit and to initiation. The rites were held in rectangular stone enclosures, called nanga (‘bed,’ i.e. of the ancestors). These were built close to
the graves of dead chiefs, who were invoked to shower blessings on the tribe in ceremonies which degenerated into orgies of a sexual character. The rites were said to have been introduced by two old men who were found wandering on the seashore—strangers cast up by the sea, for they could not speak a word of Fijian. The initiated were sworn to the peculiarity of the ritual, and the offerings prepared was that initiated members of tribes with whom the owners of the mangai happened to be at war might attend the rites unharmed, and invoke the aid of spirits from whom they were not themselves descended.

The Fijians had a well-peopled mythology of the after life. The spirits of the dead had neither temples nor priests, for, as they left the living unmoiested, the living were not called upon to make propitiatory sacrifices to them. They were kept alive by the professional story-tellers, who revived them after funerals, when men's thoughts were directed to the mystery of death. In a land where every stranger is an enemy, the idea of the naked shade, turned out friendless into eternity to wander by to Bulotu—passage through unscathed of the perils that beset the lone wayfarer on earth, and the shade was made to run the gauntlets of fiends that were the incarnations of such perils. Though the story of the soul's last journey agreed in outline, the details were filled in by each tribe to suit its geographic position; and the Sefanu, the sea water to cross, and a ghostly ferryman who treated his passengers with scant courtesy. There was Ghost-scatterer who stoned the shade, and Reed-shaped who lapped him. Goddesses of frightful aspect peered at him and gnashed their teeth, Ravuravu, the god of murder, fell upon him; the Dismisser sifted out the real dead from the trance-smitten; fishers-entangled cowards in their net; at every turn of the Long Road there was some malevolent being to put the shade to the ordeal; so that none but brave warriors who had died a violent death—the only sure passport to Bulotu—passed through unscathed. The shades of all Viti Levu and the contiguous islands and of a large part of Vanua Levu were either on the other side of the cross; or at the dwelling of Ndengel or to Naithomu, the 'jumping-off-place,' in Bua, and thence passed over the western ocean to Bulotu, the birthplace of the race. No belief was more native to a primitive people than that the land of which their fathers were proud, that their air was warmer, the yams larger, and the soil more fruitful, was the goal of their spirits after death.

When a chief died, his body was washed and shrouded in bark-cloth. A whale's tooth was laid on his breast to throw at the ghostly pandanus tree. If he hit the mark, he sat down to wait for his wife, who he now knew would be strangled to his manes; but if he missed, he went forward towards the nearest road, either to the dwelling of Ndengel or to Naithomu, bothomu, the 'jumping-off-place,' in Bua, and thence passed over the western ocean to Bulotu, the birthplace of the race. No belief was more native to a primitive people than that the land of which their fathers were proud, that their air was warmer, the yams larger, and the soil more fruitful, was the goal of their spirits after death.

The peculiarity of ancestor-worship in Fiji is that men worshipped not their own, but their chief's ancestors, to whom they themselves might have but a slender blood relationship.

A. H. THOMSON.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Hebrew).—The latest portions of the Hebrew Canon are, roughly speaking, contemporaneous with the Coptic. In the Jewish apocrypha and in the Canaanite and Hebrew writings; but it will for the present be convenient to include the evidence of all the canonical writings of the OT under the heading 'Hebrew,' and to reserve the data found in the OT apocrypha, the Talmud, and other later works for the 'Jewish' section of the present treatise. Probable dates of later Scriptures quoted in the section will, however, usually be given.

The question of ancestor-worship among the ancient Hebrews has been much discussed in recent times, the most systematic treatise on the affirmative side so far being Friedrich Schwally's _Das Leben nach dem Tode_ (Giessen, 1892), which in the main follows the views previously laid down by Stade and Oort (see the literature at the end). A decisively negative answer is given in *Der Ahnen- kultus und die planetarische Religion* (Halle, 1900), who, whilst utilizing the arguments advanced in J. Freey's _Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult in alten Israel_ (Leipzig, 1899), attempts to establish his thesis on a more scientific basis than had been done before. This divergence of views rests, of course, not so much on questions of fact as on diverse modes of interpreting the many references to the departed found in the OT. The Hebrew Scriptures have, thanks partly to the relation they bear to all phases of life, and partly, no doubt, also to the judgment emphatically pronounced by Jahvis on other cults, preserved for us a far larger number of details connected with mourning and cognate matters than have so far come to light in the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. It is highly probable, however, that a common stock of ideas underlies both these branches of early Semitic beliefs and customs; for it is becoming more and more clear that pre-Mosaic Hebraism was thoroughly rooted—not by borrowing, but by original affinities—in the widely spread traditions of the general Semitic race.

This branch of the subject will be treated under the following heads: (1) Translation to heaven; (2) Teraphim; (3) Sacrifices and offerings to the dead; (4) Sanctity of graves; (5) Mourning customs; (6) Law, food law; (7) Laws of uncleanness; (8) Necromancy.

1. Translation to heaven.—Deification, if the term were here allowed at all, *could not possibly mean the same in the religion of Jahweh as in the polytheistic Babylonian religion; and yet it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the translation of Enoch recorded in Gn 5:24 originally belonged to the same class of beliefs as the transference of the Babylonian Sit-napishtin to the society of the gods. It has already been remarked (see § 1 of 'Babylonian,' art. above) that Sit-napishtin is in reality a combination of the Biblical Noah and Enoch; or, more probably, Noah and Enoch represent a splitting up of the one original personality of Sit-napishtin. However this may be, Enoch, like Sit-napishtin, was spared death and the descent into Sheol, which are the common fate of mortals; and the legitimate meaning of the phrase 'Elohim took him' is that he was transferred to a condition of close association with a larger system of life than the small world of the Jewish national system of religion this would mean that he joined

* The use of the term might seem justified by the designation elohim applied to the ghost of Samuel in 1 S 19:19, but it is there only by the witch of En Dor. The word 'dead' in 1 S 19:19 is very doubtful. The idea of deification or semi-deification is, however, implied in a passage like Ps 88:20, though elohim is there used of the living.
the company of angelic beings (cherubim, seraphim, etc.) which in prophetic imagery (see Is 6; Ezek 1 and 10) surrounded the throne of Jehovah.

Another clear instance of the translation of a mortal to the company of heavenly beings, without having died and gone down to Sheol, is Elijah, who was taken up from earth to heaven in a whirlwind (2 K 2:11); and a veiled example of transference to heaven immediately after death (i.e. without having previously gone down to Sheol) is, according to Rabbinic tradition (see Deut. Rabba, xi. 6), contained in Dt 34, where it is respectfully and apparently stated (see Driver, in loco) to have been undertaken by Jehovah Himself. Viewed in the light afforded by the translation of Enoch and Elijah, it seems likely that the Midrashic statements of the high favour accorded to Moses are based on a tradition of great antiquity.

Different from the above-named instances, because pointing to an anti-Jahwistic stratum of belief in deification or semi-deification, is Is 63:16, where the supremacy of Jehovah is emphasized by the admission made by the prophet on his own behalf or on that of the nation, that 'the Lord alone is God [lit. a God], and there is none else [to be worshipped]'. But Israel does not acknowledge us. The clear inference is that Israel, and Israel and Jacob (or Israel) were, as the departed ancestors of Israel, regarded by the later families of the nation, as tutelary deities who interested themselves in the concerns of the people, and on whom one could call in times of distress (see, e.g., Cheyne, The Prophecies of Isaiah, in loco, and Last Words; Ed. Meyer), Die Israelsuch, to mention two examples. The word 'Abraham's bosom' used in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:22) may not unfavourably be regarded as a development from the deification of Abraham implied in the Isianic passage quoted (see B. Winterbotham, The Cultus of Fathers and Sons, 1909, p. 169).

2. Teraphim.—It has been suggested (see, e.g., Schwally, op. cit. p. 35 f.; Charles, Exegiography, p. 21 ff.) that the Teraphim, of which pretty frequent mention is made in the OT, were originally inanimate objects. But there are reasons for proving the correctness of this proposition. The word itself is of uncertain origin. Schwally's suggestion that Teraphim comes from the same root as Ekaprim ('shades') fails to recommend itself on philological or other grounds. Sayce connects it with a Babylonian word tarpu ('ghost'). Perhaps equally admissible would be a connexion with the Ethiopic tereaf (pl. tereafat), which among other meanings has that of excellency, pre-eminence. The plural Teraphim, then, would be analogous to that of Elohim in its original plural signification, but it would at the same time accord no clue as to what kind of exalted beings it represented. From 1 S 19:18 (where Michael exhorted Saul to put away the Teraphim) to 1 S 30:6 (where we learn that the word was in the plural form used to denote a single image, thus lending itself, like Elohim, to a pluralis majestatis), the same passage shows that it bore a human form, but this fact by no means demonstrates its identity with a Babylonic word tarpus ('ghost'). These prophetic ideas were probably grounded on much earlier modes of religious contemplation. Isaiah and Ezekiel need only have given a special Jahwistic finish to certain more or less known forms of Divine Imagery. In the case of Ezekiel, the influence of his Babylonian surroundings is clearly discernible.

1 Charles (Exegiography, p. 56) regards the translation of Elohim in this passage as a proper use of the old word of the soul developed by Jahwism; but an analogous higher belief probably existed also among the Babylonians (see A. Jastrow, loc. cit. in 3 v. of the translation). Regarding Enoch is, moreover, in all probability far too early to fail in with Charles's theory. The truth seems to be that diverse theories and beliefs existed side by side among both the Babylonians and the ancient Hebrews.

2 See Jastrow, op. cit. This is, of course, independently of the regard for Elohim and the general divinity of all the patriarchs.

3 See Of. Heb.Lex., etc.

4 One would be tempted to base a theory on the root meaning of the Ethiopic verb teraf: relicum esse sei fieri, so as to make it refer to the continued existence of the departed.
Teraphim in the usual OT meaning of the word were not actually used by him. It would seem, therefore, that so far we have no clear indication as to what deity or deities the Teraphim represented. All that can be said is that they may originally have been images of ancestors, and that if so their having been (or much later, at least) household gods would be in consonance with the idea, though it cannot be adduced as a proof of its correctness.

3. Sacrifices and offerings to the dead.—As a clear reference * to the offering of food to the dead Dr. Driver assumes a character of a subconsciousness that makes the following declaration: ‘I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof being unclean, nor given thereof to the dead.’† Oort, Stade, Schwell, and others see in this declaration a prohibition (and therefore an evidence of the custom) of sacrificial offerings to the dead, understanding the text to mean that the tithe sacred to Jahweh was not to be perverted to idolatrous practices connected with the worship of the dead; but the general bearing of the entire discourse is against such an import. The evidence for sacrifices offered to the dead must therefore rest on other grounds (see farther on). The fact, however, that every single tithe-giver had to make the statement in question proves a strong evidence of the following to the dead, a disposition towards it, was widespread among the people, and perhaps also in the higher grades of society.

This is one of the indications showing that the ancient Hebrews shared with their Babylonian kinmen the belief in the continuance of the human personality after death, and in its need of sustenance in Sheol, the Hebrew equivalent of the Babylonian Šu'alu or Arālu. But whilst in Babylonia and Assyria the early customs connected with the belief were allowed to flourish by the side of the State religions, Jahwism strove with all its might to suppress them. In a measure it succeeded; but popular ideas are not easily rooted out, and the practice continued for a considerable period of time in different parts of the country. The wars and partly conflicting references to the dead met with in the OT are largely to be explained by this conflict of Jahwism with the ancient cult and the frequent recrudescence of heathen ideas in all their old form, that however Jahwism made substantial progress in the course of time, is shown by the fact that Jahweh, who was originally only a territorial God, gradually acquired authority even over Sheol, as is evidenced by His power of bringing the dead from the under world mentioned in 1 S 23* (hardly later than c. 700 B.C. [Driver]), and by the belief in His presence there recorded in Ps 16* (close of Persian age [Cheyne]). There is here another point of contact with the (probably likewise later) Babylonian belief which regarded Marza (the priestesses of which were called ‘ravers from the dead’ (see § 1 of ‘Babylonian art’); but the chief interest of the fact lies in the slow but sure preparation for the higher Hebrew doctrine of monotheism and the later Jewish belief in the resurrection, as taught (probably Masochean) (see Charles, op. cit. p. 132 pazzim).

Of direct evidence for the presentation of sacrificial offerings to the dead there is not much. The reference to a family sacrifice in 1 S 30* is not conclusive; for although there is much to be said in favour of the idea that the blood-relationship with an ancestral god lay at the base of such a family offering, * it is conceivable that a deity other than ancestral was in the case mentioned the object of common worship (see what has been said in § 2 on the family deity). The treasures found in the sepulchre of King David (Jos. Ant. xiii. viii. 4, xvi. vii. 1; 2 B. J. ii. 5), and doubtless also in those of other kings, may originally have had the character of offerings presented to a deity by the household of the deceased. The former, at least, may be also an evidence of the belief in the grave, as the reference to the treasure in the passage of 2 B. J. ii. 5, and the offering of special gifts must have formed part of such worship. † The evidence from oracles (see § 5) points in the same direction, for an offering of some kind would naturally precede the consultation of the dead. On the probable offering of hair made to the dead, see § 5; and there is, besides, the tendency to connect a propitiatory purpose with the ordinary presentation of sustenance to the departed; and if the analogy from the Babylonian custom be taken into account, it becomes pretty certain that among the ancient (pre-Mosaic and anti-Jahwistic) Hebrews also sacrifices to the dead were, to say the least of it, not uncommon.

4. Sanctity of graves.—The question concerning the veneration of graves is closely connected with that of sacrifices to the dead; for if the latter question be answered in the affirmative, the graves of ancestors would have to be regarded as the places where the sacrificial offerings were made. Viewed in this light, there is much in favour of the opinion that is expressed in the title of the grave of Rachel (Gn 35*) was intended to mark it as a spot devoted to her worship. The name Aleph-bacath (‘oak of weeping’) given to the tree under which Rebecca’s nurse, Deborah, was buried (Gn 35*), proves nothing; and Cornill’s conjecture (ZATW xi. pp. 15–21) that the creation of a massēbah and the libation of oil poured on it recorded in Gn 46* referred in the original form of the text to Deborah’s grave, cannot, of course, be treated as certain, as the passage is an accommodated circumstantial mention (see Schwell, op. cit. p. 38), that graves, like the sanctuaries of Jahweh Himself, were put on heights, be cited in favour of intended sacrificial worship there; for the same writer records the well-known fact that tombs in Palestine were, for apparent reasons, generally rock-hewn.

The stress laid on family graves (as more especially the cave of Machpeiah, Gn 23* etc.), with * Schwell’s attempt (op. cit. p. 23) to construe Jer 16* into an evidence to the offering of sustenance, and even of sacrificial gifts, not being convincing (see Grünemann, op. cit. p. 130); but so far as sustenance-offerings are concerned the evidence of Dn 35* is quite sufficient.

† Driver’s loc. cit. does not decide between the claims of this rendering and that of ‘for the dead,’ which might then be taken to refer to funeral services offered to the mourners by their friends. The plural would have been more natural in that sense. Among the Rabbinic commentators, Abraham ibn Ezra suggested an idiosyncratic introduction, interpreting this explanation by ‘and some way.’

‡ See W. R. Smith, Rel. of Sana, Lect. ii., pazzim.

† Unless it was used in a sense of the passage to Hades pleasing.

§ The setting of sacrifices to the dead mentioned in Ps 108* is brought in as a foreign custom (connected by parallelism with Psal.-poem), but at the same time it shows a tendency among the Hebrews to adopt in that sense. See the translation of Psal. 108*. The worship paid to Rachel would do "be of a kind of surety."
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which the phrase ‘being gathered to one’s fathers’ has been connected, may be regarded as a desire ‘to introduce the departed into the society of his ancestors’ (Charles, op. cit. p. 12); but the passages relating to these sepulchres contain (in the form at any rate in which the texts have been handed down to us) no reference to sacrifices or offerings of any kind.

There is, however, apart from family graves, the strong testimony of 1 Sa. 35:15 (‘who remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments’), which, as an instance for the immortality practised at graves (see § 8), demands not only the supposition that offerings were there made in order to obtain a hearing from the dead, but also that from the general idolatrous point of view such graves (declared doubly unclean by Jahwism; see § 7) were regarded as sacred. At least as strong is the evidence from Ezk 43:4. On both passages, see § 7.

5. Mourning customs.—Several of the mourning customs of ancient Israel are very obscure, and a careful scrutiny is required before anything like a decision can be arrived at on any single point. It will therefore be best to consider these customs separately.

(a) The mourner put on sackcloth.—The sackcloth, in which the application of ashes or earth is sometimes mentioned, was very in early times in all probability a loin-cloth only, the tearing and entire putting off of the usual garments having preceded the ‘girding on’ of it (see esp. Is 24:18). Marks; stripped and naked, especially if taken in conjunction with the phrase, ‘in nakedness and shame’ of v. 11, points to a still earlier custom, when the mourner went quite naked; but the general practice of putting on sackcloth as a substitute for other garments must have set in pretty early, and considerable modifications both in the form of the sackcloth and in the direction of putting on other apparel may have been gradually, though not universally, made in later Biblical times.

The putting on of sackcloth has been claimed as a mark of submission to a superior (cf. 1 K 20:37); and the fact of Isaiah having apparently worn it as his usual garment (Is 26:5) has been regarded as evidence that the body was otherwise unclothed (see Schwyzer, op. cit. p. 12). The practice would on either account be thought of as belonging to the ascetic-ascetic world (see Jer 49:57, where the putting on of sackcloth is mentioned together with cuttings in the hands, etc., places it in the category of a religious act of lamentation, or a ritual value (see further on). But it is, on the other hand, psychologically very probable that the meaning lying at the back of the practice is the very reverse of asceticism. This is supported both by the accompanying attitude of submission to a superior, and the fact of early believers adopting a sort of the mourner, and which might also suit the prophet attending on Jahweh. The primitive entire nakedness of the mourner, to which reference has been already made, is the portrait on the Stela of Vultures (see § s of the ‘Babylonian’ art), the dead are shown to have been buried naked. The mourner might therefore have desired not to appear at greater advantage than the mourning dead. Later on, sackcloth would be assumed by the

This supposition is borne out by the somewhat conflicting evidence in the estimation of the term, which is frequently applied to everything connected with the mourning of the dead (Isaiah 24:18, the word motma‘ah; ‘loins’) is expressly employed where gaster is not used. In late as late a work as the Vision of Isaiah (Isaiah 24:18) the pronoun spoken of in Isaiah 24:18 is said to be naked, notwithstanding the sackcloth that was on them. On the other hand, the verbs ıšōšah and ḫasāk are also used with ṣāḵ, and ḫasāk is also employed with ṣphod, etc.; and a passage like ‘to spread sackcloth and ashes under him’ (Isaiah 24:18), clearly points to a different kind of cloth from that put round the loins. For a fuller discussion on this point, see on the one side Schwyzer (op. cit. p. 12), and on the other, G. J. G. Frazer (‘cf. a different question). Whether in any case the ṣāḵ ever had the form of a cornsack with a slit at the top (see Kamphaagen in Kistl’s JR, Art. 9), is a different question.

Cheyne (‘Prophecies of Isaiah, in loco’) regards it as an ‘outer garment, which the mourner put on without the outer garment.’ But one can hardly accept this as a natural explanation of the term. In Is 19:1 (cf. Noth’s translation, etc. p. 49) it, of course, possible that the circumstance was there due to the exigencies of war.

(b) The mourner put off his sandals.—The putting off of one’s sandals in connexion with mourning is not so frequently mentioned as the girding on of sackcloth, but it was no doubt meant to accompany the practice of wearing sackcloth adopted with the object of deceiving the dead as to the identity of the mourner, see further on.

(c) The mourner cut his hair, or beard, or both.—The cutting off of the hair in connexion with mourning is stated (e.g. 1 K 10:40, LXX, 1 Sam 31:13) to be connected with the absence of mourning, and the giving of the dead to “the bald and poll thee for the children of thy delight”; the removal of the beard as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem is recorded in Jer 41:5; the two together are found in Is 15:3. The practice was accompanied by shaving, which was termed ‘to be heathen’ (Dt 4:4). The hair on these occasions consisted in making a baldness ‘between the eyes’ (Dt 14:1), which must mean over the middle part of the forehead (see Driver, in loco), although in different parts of the country the hair from other parts of the head was probably also cut away. The beard was apparently cut off entirely.

Tylor, Oost, W. R. Smith, and others favour the idea that the hair so cut off was designed as an offering to the dead—a theory which is probably supported by numerous analogies from the customs of the Arabs and other races. The offering of hair in the ritual of Jahweh is clearly attested in the case of the Nazirite (Nu 6:4), and the practice would seem less strange in the ritual of the dead, who, according to old ideas, stood in need of all the things that appertained to the living.

Another explanation which has been offered of this and, in fact, of all the mourning which was equivalent to some humiliation, is that these rites had the object of deceiving the dead as to the identity or character of the mourner, which recognition might bring with it. This idea seems, however, unsatisfactory, and it certainly does not fit in with other notions regarding the dead in early Hebrew times. Being who could be called yidde’em ne’em (יִדְדֵהוּ נְאָם): ‘knowing ones’ t, and to whom one recorted for oracles, could hardly be deceived by a change of garb or other device about the part of the living. They certainly could not be deceived by taking off one’s sandals, which is also pressed into the service. The examples, moreover, from the customs of other races (including the Romans), quoted by the supporters of this theory, are for the most part capable of another explanation. The opposite opinion is supported by the verb qasuḥ, which is used in the passage cited for the removal of one’s clothes. Everything, it may have been held, was to be discarded that served as an ornament or protection of the body, and also the hair. The idea of self-humiliation, which might have been involved in the act, is also supported by the ascetic world, and the parallel passage 1 Ch 19:10 was regarded as an indulgence. This idea would, however, not be incompatible with the Jewish practice. The idea might be bene

This is only used by the verbs qasuḥ and qadaḥ in the passages quoted. In 2 K 2:1 the term is used, and also the beard is expressly mentioned (in 1 Ch 19:10 (parallel passage) the verb qasuḥ is, however, used, and apparently the entire beard means).

* See esp. W. R. Smith, pp. 303-308.

+ For a full explanation to a different view (adopted also by Kentzsch in Hastings DB, Ext. Vol. 614), see Grünendelin, op. cit. p. 86 ff. J. G. Frazer (‘Aphorism’, p. 16), on whose remarks regarding the terms of Hebrew and Catholic, etc., is based, expresses the theory, expresses himself, however, doubtful as to the meaning of the cutting off of the hair spoken of in (see p. 78).

The Biblical statements affirming the sharpness of the character of the dead are mainly due to the weakening influence exercised by Jahweh’s ‘in the land of the living’ (Isaiah 3:1), so that we see the sharpness of the character of the dead is mainly due to the weakening influence exercised by Jahweh’s presence in the land of the living. The biblical statements affirming the sharpness of the character of the dead are mainly due to the weakening influence exercised by Jahweh’s presence in the land of the living. The biblical statements affirming the sharpness of the character of the dead are mainly due to the weakening influence exercised by Jahweh’s presence in the land of the living.

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treatment of the hair by men and women in times of mourning (each adopting the unusual course, men, e.g., covering their heads at funeral ceremonies, and women letting their hair fly loose about the head), whereby it can be explained as a species of self-neglect expressive in each case of self-humiliation induced by grief; and a similar explanation would be applicable to several other customs.

The Jahwistic prohibition in Dt 14:1 of making a baldness between the eyes for the dead furnishes a strong presumption in favour of regarding the act as a ritual observance connected with the worship of the god of the land, and of the ground of the prohibition (‘ye are children of Jehovah,’ and a ‘holy people’ to Him) strengthens the theory that it was directed against an opposing religious cult. The place described as lying between the eyes may have for this very reason been chosen for the tēışḇōth * (Dt 11:13 etc.), by which every Israelite was to be marked as a devotee of Jehovah, unless it was independently chosen as the most conspicuous part of the head. The absence of a prohibition regarding the removal of hair from other parts of the head and from the beard in connexion with mourning is probably owing to the fact that, according to Lv 19:27, it was prohibited under all circumstances.

(d) The mourner made cuttings in his flesh. — Cuttings in the flesh, accompanied by removal of the beard and tearing of garments, appear as a general custom in Jer 4:1, notwithstanding its distinct prohibition in Dt 14:1, thus showing that the Deuteronomistic legislation could make its way only very gradually. Instead of the verb bāḇḥōdūdet used in the two passages mentioned, and the form qāḇḏōdōth found in Jer 48:11, there is in Lv 19:29 the command not to make a sēreṯ (also tr. ‘cutting’) for a dead person, or to print any marks (writing of ḫaḵaḵ) on the flesh, the latter being evidently a kind of marking of oneself unrecon- 

izable by these disfigurements be discarded, there remains only the idea of thereby ‘making an enduring covenant with the dead’ (W. R. Smith, Rel. of Sem., p. 322 f.).

That cuttings in the flesh were parts of religious ritual is, moreover, proved by the action of the priests of Baal recorded in 1 K 18:30. The fact that these incisions, as also the making of a baldness between the eyes, were prohibited by Jahwism, with the wearing of sackcloth, etc., was not interfered with, would seem to show that these groups of acts belonged to different categories, thus forming another reason for rejecting the theory that they had all the purpose of making the living ungainly for the dead.

(e) The mourner covered his head or beard. — The covering of the head (e.g. 2 S 15:10, Est 6:9) and the beard (Mic 3, Ezk 24:17) as a mark of mourning on account of death or other calamity might be explained, with Schwally and others, as a substitute for cutting off hair from head and beard. But the covering of the face in 2 S 19:3 [Eng. v. t] (the clearest instance of actual mourning) reminds one of the same act performed in the presence of Jehovah (Ex 3:1, 1 K 18:30). And the covering of the face was too prominent by the fear of beholding the Deity (cf. Ex 33:22, 34:28), it seems likely that the mourner was also afraid of seeing the ghost of the departed (which is, of course, different from deceiving the ghost by a disguise). It is possible, however, that the covering of the face was merely an externalisation of the fear of the ghost of the departed. The modern tephēlim (known as phylacteries) consist of a part of the left arm, and another to be placed over the middle part of the forehead.

* Usually translated ‘frontlets’; see Osef. Heb. Lex., s. v. TEPH. The modern tephēlim (known as phylacteries) consist of a part for the left arm, and another to be placed over the middle part of the forehead.

† For the probable ground of this general prohibition, see Dillmann, Ewke, p. 496.

1 Driver explains that ‘the Israelites, being Jehovah’s children, are not to disfigure their persons in passion or extra- 

ordinary occasion. But if it should be a doubtful whether they would have generally gone the length of these mutilations, and the ground assigned for the prohibition (see the text above) appears to indicate an opposing religious cult.

of covering the hair, and the idea that the latter act was a substitute for removing the hair might therefore be maintained. As the hair of the head and beard was regarded as a personal ornament, the covering of it might, in any case, be expressive of self-neglect or self-humiliation occasioned by grief.

No evidence of ancestor-worship can be derived from the extant accounts of the two remaining customs, namely, (f) the lamentation over the dead, with its accompaniment of weeping and striking different parts of the body with the hand, and (g) the partaking of food and drink by the mourners in connexion with funeral ceremonies. The lamentations were natural or professional (see Jer 9:18 [Eng. v. t] expressions of grief, and need—so far as the texts in their present form go—neither have been ritually addressed in worship to the dead (Schwally, op. cit. p. 20 f.) nor intended to scare away the ghosts of the departed by much howling (Grüneisen, op. cit. p. 100). The lamentations of David over Saul and Jonathan and over Absalom (2 S 19:29 et al.) carried the idea of a further intention. With regard to funeral repasts, Schwally’s attempt to construe Jer 16:10 into a decidedly ritual act has already been referred to (§ 3). The text, as it stands, speaks only of food and drink offered to the mourners by way of comfort. On the uncleanness connected with the ‘bread of mourning’ in Hos 9:4, see § 7.

6. Levirate law. — A close relationship has been claimed between ancestor-worship and the law of levirate, which, in the form given to it in Dt 25:5, enacts that when brothers ‘well together, and one of them dies without leaving male issue, the surviving brother (no doubt the eldest, if more than one) was to marry the widow, and that the first-born son of this union was to be considered the son of the departed brother, so that his name be put out of Israel. The supposition is that the original object of the institution was to provide the dead man with a son to carry on his cult (so, e.g., Stade, Schwally, Charles)—an object which must be assumed to have been entirely forgotten in the time of the Deuteronomic legislature. In the case of Ruth (where the law is found to extend over the whole clan), the object is ‘to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance’ (Ru 4:4). Abasalom (2 S 18:29) puts up for himself a pillar in his lifetime, because he had no son to keep his name in remembrance. In Gn 38 (where, under an older form of the law, all the children were to have appeared belonged to the departed) the ground stated is merely that of raising up a posterity to the departed. § But if the institution—as it is quite reasonable to suppose—had from the first, beside the desire of leaving a memorial of one’s name, a close connexion with the law of inheritance, it is impossible to eliminate the idea of the cult of the departed altogether, as the son-spirit thus provided for the dead man, as inheritors of his property, would, under pre-Mosaic religious notions, be ex- 

pected to charge themselves with the sustenance (and probably also sacrificial offerings) due to the departed. This broader basis of the levirate law would seem to be required by the extant data and the considerations arising from it, and it also

* An attempt has been made to connect the festival of Purim with the Persian Fasrufrūdīn, which was a kind of All Souls’ Day: but if so, the story of Esther and Haman is altered beyond ordinary recognition. See, on the one side, Schwally, op. cit. p. 4 ff.; on the other, Grüneisen, op. cit. p. 91 ff. The other literature will be found in Seel, op. cit. p. 99.

† The supposition that sympathizing friends and neighbours provided the mourners with this food and drink would, by the fact of the same custom obtaining among the Jews at the present day.

§ On J. F. M’Lennan’s theory that the law originally rested on a polyandrous system of marriage, see Driver, Heut. p. 261.

¶ For the custom, under partly different rules, among other races, see esp. Westermann, Hist. of Human Marriage, p. 510 ff.
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does justice to the fairly complex state of society
which already obtained in those early days. So
far as the element of the cult of the dead is con-
cerned, it is important to mention that the "Kaddish
(see § 3 in the 'Jewish' article), which, like acts of
Jewish piety in general, is to the present
day confined to males, also seems to bear traces of
a survival (in a much modified form) of the religious
services rendered to the departed by his surviving
sons.

Laws of uncleanness.—The laws of unclean-
ness relating to dead human bodies (see esp. Nu
19:14-16) can be satisfactorily explained by the almost
universal fear of contamination arising from the
contact or close vicinity of decaying bodies that
obtained in ancient times. The ancient Egyptians,†
it is true, busied themselves much with corpses,
but then they took every possible care to prevent
decay setting in. In the Mosaic law the abhorrence of
dissolution also affected not only animals that
were forbidden as food, but also clean ones if not
slain in the ritual fashion (see Lev. 11:44 f.). Leper-
which was similarly loathed, is also ritually un-
clean (Lv 13), though here the fear of contagion
must have been an important factor.

It is likely that this fear of contamination was
in the early time a general need of all savage races, that everything connected with birth,
disease, and death involved the action of super-
human agencies of a dangerous kind (see W. R.
Smith, Rel. Sem. 244 f.), analysis and differentia-
tion of the various agencies of scared development; but it would be rash to identify these
agencies with ancient spirits. On the contrary,
the fact that dead human bodies are regarded as un-
clean among a number of races with a strongly
developed ancestor-worship (see Grünemai, op.
cit. p. 114) proves that the two are independent of
each other. Worship may be given to the de-
parted spirits of ancestors, and contamination may
at the same time attach to their dead bodies. The
regulation of Nu 19:14, that an open vessel with no
covering round it, which has stood in the tent of
a dead person, is unclean, whilst covered vessels
remain clean, can be suitably explained by the
idea that the covering protects the vessel from an
touching the dead body. It need not point to the
fear that the ghost might take up its abode in the
open vessel.

The pollution connected with the bread of
mourners (vv. 15-17) referred to in Hos 9 is also
evidently without reference to a Jahwistic or
opposition to ancestor-worship. For the meal
offered to mourners by way of comfort may be all
that is meant; and if so, the uncleanness would only
be that of ordinary contamination contracted by
contact with dissolution.

An additional tabu, arising from opposition to the religion
of Jahweh, would come in only in cases where a sufficiently
recognisable element of ancestor-worship or some other heathen
form of the cult of the dead showed itself; and as such practices
were demonstrably not uncommon among the ancient Hebrews
(see § 3), the additional tabus would be of a correspondingly
widespread application. But the dead body itself would probably
in such cases only be to be afraid if the spirit might have been
supposed to linger about it, for, as has already been remarked,
the cult of the dead was not necessarily connected with the
ancestor-worship.

In the case of priests (Lv 21:16) greater restrictions against
contact with dead bodies are imposed, because the contamina-
tion would make them for a time unfit for Jahwistic service.
The ground of the main ordinance there given cannot be
openly stated. There is probably no belief in the re-incarnation
of priests who might attend (father, mother, etc.) just those to
whom the heathen cult of the dead would chiefly apply (see
Grünemai, op. cit. p. 112). The order, however, not to remove
the hair from head and beard, or make cuttings in the flesh,
appears (unless v. 15 be regarded as the result of corrupt
regarding obsequies) to have the meaning that, although priests
cannot participate in the funeral rites of heathen dead, they
must abstain from anything connected with heathen mourning
ceremonies, more particularly as in their case this additional
laws, like that of circumcision, were not points of nature.

The strongest instance of the combined tabus of ordinary
contamination and heathen worship spread in the vicinity of the
tomb of kings erected quite close to the sanctuary of Jahweh,
and it is clearly stated to have been punished by God of
their z acknowledgments (a usual term of unfaithfulness to Jahweh,
borrowed from the relationship of marriage), whereby the 'holy name'
of Jahweh is defiled. It is a similar double tabus likewise existing
where graves, which are unclean in themselves (Nu 19:14), are
used for purposes of necromancy.

8. Necromancy.—Though the Teraphim cannot
be demonstrated to have been originally images of
ancestors (see § 2), there is ample independent
evidence of the practice of necromancy among
the ancient Hebrews. The spirits of the departed were
called gilgamesh ('knowing ones') by those ad-

tected to the practice, and the "kol (usually
rendered 'familiar spirits') also represent a form
of necromancy, the calling up of the spirit
of Samuel on behalf of Saul (analogous to the calling
up of Eabani by Gilgamesh) having been effected
by an indubitable trace of unfaithfulness to
cult, the "Kaddish, usually, a woman's name, is, at
the same time, an indirect evidence to the
offering of propitiatory gifts to the spirits con-

sumed.

Summary.—In summing up all the extant evi-
ence, the same result is, in the main, obtained
having been the Babylonian section. The OT
embraces only undoubted traces not only of the popular cul-
t of the dead, but also of a certain degree of actual
worship paid to ancestors and departed kings and
heroes. But the importance of these practices has
been much exaggerated. There is no ground for thinking that ancestor-worship was the
father of the chief religion of pre-Mosaic Israel. On
the contrary, various parts of the OT show clearly
that Jahwism had to maintain at least as keen
struggle against the worship of the heavenly
bodies and of various other deities as against the
cult of the dead. It is also true that in a certain modified form the exaltation of
departed heroes, more especially of the spiritual
type, was from the first quite compatible with
the religion of Jahweh; and the final monothestic
development of Mosaicism left still more room for
the glorification of great human personalities in
one form or another.

Literature.—Works of F. Schwally, C. Grünemai, R. H.
Charles, and others have been more or less frequently quoted at
A very full bibliography will be found in Grünemai's book. Ad
A. L. O. Lo, Das Gesetz zur Verehrung der toten Menschen
(Lor., 1906). Of earlier works there is in any event a notice esp. Oert, "De deodanvverenning bi de Israeiliten," TAT.X
and other publications contain much that bears on the problem.
J. Frey (Tod, Seelenhafte, etc.) tries to prove that though there
is no legal basis in the OT for the idea of paying homage to them
existed among the ancient Hebrews, Kautzsch (Hasting's CB, Ext. Vol., pp. 614-616) agrees in the main with
gruhnemai (animism, but no ancestor-worship). Among com-

† The fact of Saul bowing to the ground at the appearance of
the spirit of Samuel (I Sam. 19:18) might be regarded as an instance
of worship paid to the dead, though perhaps it was still the
prophet who was thus honoured.

‡ Cf. Chrys. 57. See also the lively parallel to the Egyptians in this respect (see Prescott, Conquest of Peru, book 1, beg. of ch. III.).

§ See Dillmann (Die Bücher Ex. u. Lev. p. 472), who also
brings in the idea that Jahweh was a God of life, not death. On
the far-spread fear of contamination connected with death, see,
Ad. D. Brender in JQR viii. 110-112. The removal of the
Levan to the 'tower of silence,' lest it pollute the sacred
eas, is one of the most necessary duties of Parsians.

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mentators (some of the leading modern commentators have, as occasion required, been referred to), Solomon Yishâ'ki, Abraham ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi will on a number of points still be found helpful.

G. MAROJIOUTH.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian)—I. In India the worship of ancestors lies at the root of the funeral rites. A lay official, Brâhmaṇa, the object of these is to provide the departed spirit with a kind of 'intermediate body' to be re-absorbed into the universal soul except its incombustible subjective portion, as composed of the subtle elements, is not only proof against the final apocalyptic destruction, but is incapable of subjective sensations in the temporary heaven or temporary hell, through one or other of which every separate human spirit is forced to pass before returning to earth and becoming re-invested with a terrestrial gross body. For it is held that, as the spirit in the pure body, the soul must, like the ghosts of the unburied Homeric dead (Homer, Od. xi. 54; II. xxii. 72), wander about as an impure pruts or ghost, on the earth or in the air, among demons and other evil spirits, into the state of which it will eventually pass unless it be protected by the performance of the Srâddha provided by its relatives on earth. Further than this, the new body thus created for the spirit must be nourished and supplied, and the spirit must be aided in its progress from lower to higher worlds and back to earth by the performance of the periodical Srâddha rites. This duty of the relatives is assumed by orthodox Hindus to be finally discharged only when the rite is performed at some specially sacred place. Gayâ in Bihâr is the most appropriate place for these rites, while the Hindus of the west, for the obsequies of a mother, prefer Siddhipur in the Baroda State. Hence also arises the necessity of begetting a male heir, which is urgently felt by all Hindus, as well as by the case of Harish Candra Ray, a natural son of a Burgundian by a Rajput girl, whoseyaml. Manu (Institutes, i. 138) derives the Skr. name of a son, putra, if as it were putra, 'he that delivers his father from the hell called Puta.'

2. Feeding the dead.—This orthodox conception of the Srâddha—that it is intended to provide an 'intermediate' body for the departed soul—is a later development. The Srâddha was really evolved from the custom of feeding the dead, a rite common among all savage and semi-savage races. Like the custom of the ancestors, 'it probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and rainment' (Frazer, JA! xv. 74 f.). The custom established itself among many of the Indian tribes. Thus, among the Nâgas of Assam, the corpse is watched with great care, and when decomposition sets in, quantities of spirits are thrown over it. Whatever the deceased was in the habit of eating and drinking, the spirit is supposed to receive as it probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and rainment' (Frazer, JA! xv. 74 f.). The custom established itself among many of the Indian tribes. Thus, among the Nâgas of Assam, the corpse is watched with great care, and when decomposition sets in, quantities of spirits are thrown over it. Whatever the deceased was in the habit of eating and drinking, the spirit is supposed to receive as it

... the head of the dead man to serve as food for him in the grave. Among the Angâmi sept, on the first day after a death, meat is distributed among the relatives and friends of the deceased. The next day they assemble at the house of the deceased or, and eat part of the meal, and offer a piece of the sept of the deceased throws a piece of liver out of the house to the distance of some eight paces. On the third day portions of the cooked rice are tied up in leaves, and buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day the platter and food is put in the house and left there till thirty days have passed, when they are given to a friend of their former owner. The funeral rites end with the sacrifice of a cock, the flesh of which is eaten by all the members of the family (JAF xxvii. 190 f.).

Among a more civilized race, the Nâyars of Malabar, the Seshakriyâ, or rite of making offerings to the spirit of the dead, commences on the day after the cremation ceremony, and continues for seven days. All male members of the sept of the deceased, bathe, and the eldest mourner taking with him a strip of cloth which he has torn from the dead man's shroud (probably in order to maintain communion with the dead), and a piece of iron (to scare evil spirits), brings in the holy rice and other articles of food, and places them in the north-east corner of the courtyard, which is believed to be the abode of the spirit. A lamp, which is also probably intended to drive off demons, is lighted beside the food. A piece of palmleaf, about a foot long and a finger broad, is taken, and one end of it is knotted. The knotted end is placed in the ground, and the other left standing up. This represents the deceased, and it to the food is offered. 'The place where the piece of leaf is to be fixed has been decided,' says the custom of providing food for the dead is common among the lower castes in Northern India. In Bengal the funeral rites of the Gonds last for three days, after which the mourners purify themselves by bathing and shaving, and make offerings to the spirit of the deceased. Among the Kamis, the blacksmith caste of Nepâl,' on the eleventh day a feast is prepared for the relatives of the deceased'; but before they can partake of it a small portion of every dish must be put on a leaf-plate and taken out into the jungle for the spirit of the dead man, and carefully watched until a fly or other insect settles on it. The watcher then covers up the plate with a slab of stone, eats his own food, which he brings with him to the place, and returns to tell the relatives that the dead man's spirit has received the offering set for him. The feast can then begin.' The Bihâkat Orâons preserve the bones of the dead, to be interred in the tribal cemetery. 'At this festival pigs and great quantities of rice are offered for the benefit of departed ancestors, who are also held in continual remembrance by fragments of rice or dâl [pulses] cast on the ground at every meal, and by a pinch of tobacco sprinkled whenever a man prepares his pipe' (Risley, Tribes and Castes, i. 293, 595, 92).

The Mal Pâ in his lifetime (such as rice, vegetables, and spirits) is placed once a month on the ground before the dead body. At the end of the period of mourning, a great feast, consisting of liquor, rice, and flesh of cows and buffaloes, is prepared by the members of the clan in war dress partake of it. Among the Lumbu sept of the same tribe the cattle sacrificed are eaten, with the exception of one leg, which is buried under the head of the dead man to serve as food for him in the grave. Among the Angâmi sept, on the first day after a death, meat is distributed among the relatives and friends of the deceased. The next day they assemble at the house of the deceased or, and eat part of the meal, and offer a piece of the sept of the deceased throws a piece of liver out of the house to the distance of some eight paces. On the third day portions of the cooked rice are tied up in leaves, and buried outside the house on the fourth day. On the fifth day the platter and food is put in the house and left there till thirty days have passed, when they are given to a friend of their former owner. The funeral rites end with the sacrifice of a cock, the flesh of which is eaten by all the members of the family (JAF xxvii. 190 f.).

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poured forth at the foot of the pillar that the souls may not hunger in the world of the dead (Risley, ii. 71). The custom of offering first-fruits to the ancestral spirits is very common, and has been fully illustrated by Frazer (GB ii. 460, 462 ff.). The Mechis, again, adopt another method to secure that the offering may reach the etheralized souls of the dead. When the corpse is buried, 'a small fire is kindled upon the grave, in which food and drink are burned for the benefit of the deceased' (Risley, ii. 89 f.). The Mals provide for the needs of the departed in another way, by lighting on the head of the goddess Kali, in the month of October-November, dried jute stems in honour of their deceased ancestors, 'and some even say that this is done to show their spirits the road to heaven' (ib. ii. 60).

In other parts of Northern India rites of the same kind are performed. The degraded Ghatis of Mirzapur, at the annual mind-rite for the dead, lay out five leaf-platters containing the usual food of the family, with the prayer that the ancestors, take this and be kind to our children and cattle' (Crooke, Tribes and Castes, ii. 417). The Kols, whenever there is a tribal feast, offer a fowl to the spirits of the dead, and pour a little liquor on the ground, with the words, 'Do not leave us' (ib. iii. 311). The Râjîs, who are perhaps the most degraded people in this part of India, content themselves with shaving the heads, beards, and moustaches of the sons and younger brothers of the dead man, throwing the hair on the grave as an offering to the spirit (ib. iv. 213). The ritual of the Nà, a tribe of wandering acrobats, is more remarkable. The mourners cook food on a river-bank, and spread a cloth on which the ghost is supposed to appear. The nominee earthen cup and a knife in his hand, plunges into the water. The cup he places on his head with the knife upon the mouth of it, and then dives until the cup becomes filled with water. This he deposits under the cloth on which the spirit is supposed to sit, and lays a cup of water at each corner of the cloth. Within the enclosure thus made food is laid for the refreshment of the spirit, who is invited to partake of the meal. When the spirit is supposed to have left, the mourning is then light, who have departed before you' (ib. iv. 63 f.). Even more elaborate than this is the rite performed by the Musahars, a tribe which has hardly risen above the condition of wanderers in the jungle. After the ceremony of mourning, in the month of the month the members of the dead, a tree near the spot is selected as a refuge for the spirit, and food and water are laid at its foot for nine days in succession. At the time of presenting these offerings, the chief mourner invokes the dead: 'Come, O dead one, from the palace of Indra! Come and eat the food of this world! Take it and return to thy palace.' These offerings are allowed to lie for some time on the place where they were deposited, and are then removed by the mourner, who cooks and eats the sacrifices. He then places a morsel on the grave, and repeating the invocation already made at the tree. The offerings are changed daily during the period of mourning, and the rite ends with a clan feast of the dead (ib. iv. 31 f.).

In the United Provinces, among the various branches of the outcast Dom tribe, the idea of feeding or propitiating the spirits of the dead is combined with that of barring or preventing the return of the ghost, which is believed to afflict the survivors. Thus, among the Dom of the Chambal, "another sacrifice: a hog in the name of the dead man, with the object of providing the spirit with food; while others kill the animal, cut off its legs, and bury the trunk in the courtyard of the house of death, as a sort of sympathetic charm to prevent the spirit from rising out of its grave and affecting the family (Crooke, op. cit. i. 226). Very similar is the custom of the Dhângars, among whom, on the tenth day after death, the mourner sacrifices a pig in the name of the deceased, and, cutting off its feet and snout, buries them under a stone in the courtyard, with the invocation to the spirit: 'I have buried you here, never to come out; you must rest here in spite of the spells of an exorcist, or of any one else who may try to wake you' (ib. ii. 289).

3. Vicarious feeding of the dead. From this crude belief in the possibility from those branches of the dead, the transition to the theory that this can be done vicariously is easy. Among some of the Indian castes survivals of the primitive matriarchy are found in the custom of providing for the feeding of the spirits by the bestowal of food on relatives in the female line. The Bhokas of the sub-Himalayan Tarâ, every year in the month set apart for mourning, feed the descendants of their daughters in order to propitiate the ghosts of the dead; and, for the same reason, the Dhângars of Bengal and other menial tribes of Northern India employ the maternal uncle of the person making the offering as priest (Crooke, op. cit. ii. 58; Risley, op. cit. i. 335). The next stage appears when the spirits of the Nàtâ or tribal ancestors, of the Vindhyâ and Kâlmâ ranges in the centre of the peninsula, is invited, as a right attaching to his office, to share in the funeral feast. When we reach the higher castes of Hindus in the Plains, we find the custom of feeding the spirits of the dead, the belief is that food consumed by them passes on to the spirits. In fact, all through Northern India, large numbers of Brâhmans, generally drawn from the younger members of the families which provide purohits, or fairies, taking a morsel eaten by the ancestors of the caste which have settled down to an agricultural life and have no body of religious clients, exist only to be fed. These people flock in numbers to attend the death rites of wealthy people. At places like Gâyâ, whither the pious journey to perform the final death rites of their friends, a special class of Brâhmans has the monopoly of attending to be fed on such occasions.

4. Annual rites for the dead. The establishment of an annual rite, like the All Souls' Day of Christendom, when the dead are specially remembered and offerings of food are provided for them, appears among the most primitive tribes. Thus the Luhnâ Nagas of Assam, once every year the fathers and brothers of a deceased person hold a solemn festival in each village in honour of those of the community who have died during the preceding year. The village priests conduct the rites, which culminate on the night of the new moon. On this occasion, they believe, the spirits of the dead appear at a distance from the village in the faint moonlight, wending their way slowly over the hills, and driving before them the victims slain for them or the cattle which they have stolen during their lives. Finally, the procession disappears over the distant hills, leaving behind them those who have lost relatives during the year (JAI xxvi. 194). The period consecrated by orthodox Hindu usage to the propitiation of the spirits of the dead is known as the Kanâgât, so called because it takes place in the sign of Kanyâ, or Virgo, of pitra-paksha, 'ancestors' fortnight,' occurring in the moonless half of the month Kûr (August—September). This fortnight is specially devoted to the death cult, and the pious offer sacred balls of the finest variety of rice, and little cakes of rice, on burnt with wood. During this time the pious fast; others restrict the abstinence of not eating meat, or fish instead of it.

5. Ancestor-worship among the non-Aryan tribes. —The cult of the dead, so far as it extends to the provision of food for the spirits of the dead, is thus
not confined to the higher castes, but is widespread among the non-Aryan part of the population. Sometimes, as in the case of the wild Kurubis of Mysore, this worship is one of fear, and is devoted to the propitiation of the Virika, or spirits of ancestors who have died unmarried, and are thus supposed to be malignant (Buchanan, Journey, i. 365. and 366; xii. 145). One of the forest tribes of the Nilgiri Hills, sacrifice, in conjunction with other gods, to the Pitaris, or Manes of their ancestors (Oppert, Orig. Inhabit. 204). In the Bombay Presidency, many of the ruder Hindu tribes, such as the Chotas and the Kumbis of the Konkan, Atte Kunbis, and Halvakki Vakkals of Kânara, worship their ancestors, usually in the form of an unhusked coconut (Gazetteer, xiii. 165, 182, xv. 217, 249, 203). The Bhils of Khândesh combine the cult of their ancestors with that of the Mâta, or Divine Mothers, and the same is the case with the Central Indian branch of the tribe (ib. xii. 93; Malcolm, Trans. Roy. As. Soc. i. 72). Gonds in the Central Provinces worship the family dead on the third day after a death, and on the last two days of the last day (Hislop, Aboriginal Tribes, 25; Gazetteer, 278). In Chota Nagpur the Kisaâs and Bhiyars adore their ancestors,' but they have no notion that the latter are now spirits, or that there are spirits and ghosts, or a future state, or anything; the Bhiyars reveres their ancestors under the name of Bir or Vira, 'hero,' a title which, as we have seen, is often applied to malignant spirits; the Kharrias put the ashes of their dead into an earthen pot and fling it into a river; afterwards they set up in the vicinity slabs of stone as a resting-place for them, and to these they make daily oblations; the only worship performed by the Korwas is to their dead relatives, but this statement of Dalton is more than doubtful (Dalton, Descript. Ethnot. 132 f. 133, 160, 229). Among the Khonds the cult is very highly developed. 'The beatiﬁed souls of men enjoy immediate communion with all the gods; they are in rank little inferior to minor gods, live with them, and much after their fashion. Every tribe invokes the souls of deceased ancestors in endless array at every ceremonial, after invoking the minor gods; and they especially remember those of men renowned for great or good actions, as for reclaiming waste lands, for extraordinary benevolence to their kin, or conspicuous integrity of life. They believe that beatiﬁed souls, although wholly without power, may act as intercessors with some of the gods, as with DINGA PENNU, on the one point of inducing him to restore lost relations speedily to their homes' (Macpherson, Memorials of Service, 85). Among that remarkable people the Kâfirs of the Hindu-kush, though the fact is denied by them, there are distinct traces of ancestor-worship. They have the custom of making straw effigies of the honoured dead, and parading and funereal, and one year after his death an effigy is erected to the memory of every Kâfîr of adult age. These images are of various kinds, carved out of wood with axes and knives on conventional models. 'The Kâfîr kindred images are roughly fashioned in the forest, and are then brought into the village to be ﬁnished. Some of the best images have a manikin seated on the left arm holding a pipe; others have similar little images. They are fastened on the chambel or embouchure. The large images have all manner of quaint designs and carving over their bodies. Some even look as if the carving were intended to imitate tatting, such as the Burmese are so fond of. The people have a very high notion of superstition about these effigies. Bad weather which occurred while a slave was carving some images for me to take to India, was ascribed to the fact that images were being taken from the country. . . . The images are often decorated with wips of cloth round the head, and, where the juniper-cedar is easily obtainable, by sprigs of that tree fastened to the brows. The faces of the effigies are carved precisely like the idols, and similarly with crosscuts for the eyes, and vertical cuts for the mouth, or rather the teeth. The effigies are provided with matchlocks, or bows and arrows, axes and daggers, carefully but grotesquely carved, and commonly have a cart-wheel-shaped ornament in the middle of the back of the image. The dwellings of the Karakans, while those of females have a peculiar head-dress, which is possibly a rough imitation of a horned cap. Before these images of the eminent dead sacrifices are made, and their pedestals are sprinkled with blood by their descendants when they are suffering from sickness. Long stones are also erected to serve as a kind of cenotaph, and a goat is always killed when the pillar is erected. The Kâfîrs also celebrate a festival, known as Marma, in honour of the illustrious dead; and Dalton relates that the Duke of Wellington 'is accustomed to dancing, feasting, and singing ballads in honour of the departed heroes of the tribe' (Robertson, Kâfîrs of the Hindu-kush, 636 ff, 414 f.).

6. The Sraddha.—The mind-rite of orthodox Hindus, known as Sraddha (Sanskrit trat, ‘faith,’ ‘trust,’ ‘belief’), is a more highly developed form of the primitive funeral feast and of the custom of feeding the dead. Even so late as the time of Manu (Institutes, iii. 267–271) the idea of providing for the dead was recognized. 'The ancestors of men,' he writes, ‘are satisﬁed a whole month with sesame, rice, barley, black lentils or vetches, water, roots, and fruit, given with prescribed ceremonies: two months with ﬁsh, three months with venison, four with mutton, ﬁve with the flesh of such birds as the twice-born may eat, six months with the flesh of kids, seven with that of spotted deer, eight with that of the deer or antelope called Eal, nine with that of the Ruru deer; ten months are they satisﬁed with the flesh of wild boars and wild bufaloes, eleven with that of hares and of tortoises, a whole year with the milk of cows and food made of that milk; from the ﬂesh of the long-eared white goat their satisﬁcation endures twelve years. The pot-herb Ocimum sanctum, the most sacred of all plants, and especially of the iron-coloured kid, honey, and all such forest grains as are eaten by hermits, are formed for their satisﬁcation without end.’ He further directs (iii. 305 ff.) that an offering to the gods should be made at the beginning and end of a Sraddha. ‘It must not begin and end with an offering to ancestors; for he who begins and ends with an oblation to the Pitaris quickly perishes with his progeny.’ The Brâhman is directed to smear with cow-dung a puriﬁed and sequestered piece of ground, with a divinity towards whose Numbers and one year after his death an effigy is erected to the memory of every Brâhman of adult age. These images are of various kinds, carven out of wood with axes and knives on conventional models. ‘Kumbis and Kharrias, the latter being more numerous, are really fashioned in the forest, and are then brought into the village to be ﬁnished. Some of the best images have a manikin seated on the left arm holding a pipe; others have similar little images. They are fastened on the chambel or embouchure. The large images have all manner of quaint designs and carving over their bodies. Some even look as if the carving were intended to imitate tatting, such as the Burmese are so fond of. The people have a very high notion of superstition about these effigies. Bad weather which occurred while a slave was carving some images for me to take to India,
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living, let him, in performing the obsequies of his father, celebrate also his paternal grandfather. Having poured water with holy Kusa grass and sesamum into the hand of the Brahman, let him give them the upper part of the cakes, saying, 'O Manes.' That fool who, having eaten of the Śrāddha, gives the residue of it to a man of the servile class, falls headlong down to the hell named Kālāsātra. The superfluous Pindaś, or holy balls, may be given to a Brahman, to a cow, to a kid, or consigned to fire' (iii. 220 ff., 223, 240, 261).

The form of the modern Śrāddha rite is most intricate, and includes a number of minute observances, the ritual of which is elaborately prescribed. In the form of the rite known as Ekoddisha, which is performed for the benefit of a single deceased individual, for ten days after the cremation lamps are kept lighted for the benefit of the Manes, to light the ghost during its progress to join the Pitris or sainted dead, either in a temple, or under a sacred fig-tree, or on the spot where the obsequial rites are to be performed. These, technically called Kriya-karma, should take place near running water; and the spot is hence known as the ghata, the usual term applied to the steps used for bathing at ghats. One hill of chalk is first of all poured into the sacred water, and this is followed by an oblation of the sacred cow (paścha-gāyya), and taking care to lay a ball of uncooked meal on the road behind them, so as to attract the attention of the ghost and dissuade it from returning in their company.

On the eleventh day the obsequies are continued in the gift of a cow (kapila-dāna) to the chief Brahman, and the loosing of a scape-bullock (vṛṣṭasorga) in the name of the deceased. This seems to be partly a survival of the ancient rite of animal sacrifice, and partly a relic of the practice of burning the dead. It is released with the dedications: 'To father, mother, and relatives on the father's and mother's side, to the family priest (purohit), wife's relatives, those who have died without rites, and who have not had the due obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation come by the loosing of the bullock!' At the present day the animal is usually branded with the divine emblems of the discus and trident, and henceforth is set apart as a temple cow, or the four hells, and other supports are left to the ghosts. Food is again cooked, and offered to the Manes, with the invocation: 'You have finished your course, and have reached the abodes of bliss. Be present, though invisible, at this rite. The general effect of the oblations is to make the deceased to be a disembodied ghost, and becomes enrolled among the sainted dead. On the twentieth day food is again offered, and water poured at the root of a sacred fig-tree for the refreshment of the spirit.

The rites done for the benefit of one individual person (Ekoddhisha Śrāddha) is quite distinct from the annual propitiation of the Manes of the family. On the last day of this feast all ancestors are named and propitiates well at once united with the sainted dead, needs no further special propitiation. The non-Aryan tribes believe that, like themselves, the spirits of the dead are mortal. What becomes of them after a couple of generations no one cares to say. But when that period has elapsed, they are supposed to be finally disposed of, and, being no longer objects of fear to the survivors, the father, mother, and other relatives give attention is paid only to the more recent dead, whose powers of mischief are recognized. The Gonds propitiate only for one year the souls of their departed friends, and this is done even if they have been persons of no note in their lifetime.
But with worthies of the tribe the case is different, and if one of them has founded a village or been its headman or priest, he is regarded as a god for many years, and a small shrine of earth is erected to his memory, at which sacrifices are annually offered (Hislop, op. cit. 16 f.).

Narayana is performed for girls who die unmarried, and for boys only if they have undergone initiation and investiture with the sacred thread. Special rites are performed in the case of those whose ghosts are universally regarded as malignant. Such cases are those of a woman dying in childbirth or of impious persons, who are generally anointed with the live products of the cow, sprinkled with water, a little fire is placed on the chest, and it is then either cremated or flung into running water. In such cases it is a common rule that no rites are performed until the ninth day after death, when, if the family can afford the cost, the ceremonies of the last few days, as already described, are performed. To these are added a special rite of expiation, which is intended to free the household from pollution. Similar rites of a special kind are performed when a person dies on an unlucky day, or in the case of one originally a Hindu who becomes an outcast, a Christian, or a Mussalmân. In this rite, which is known as Nârayana-ball, 'oblation to the god Narayana,' the Sraiddha is usually performed over an image of the deceased, made of barley or some other grain (Bombay Gazetteer, xx. 522 f.; Risley, op. cit. I. 296, ii. 191; Crooke, op. cit. i. 90, 210, ii. 465).

The Sraiddha is performed throughout India with more or less variety of practice by all orthodox Hindus. Among the castes of a lower grade the primitive custom of feeding the dead has been to some degree extended after the example of their Hindu neighbours. The main point of difference is the abbreviation of the rite, which does not extend over a period so long proportioned as in the case of the orthodox, and the ceremonial is very often limited to the last few days of the mourning season.

2. Hindu worship of the Pitris.—The question remains—how far the Hindus can be said to 'worship' the Pitris. In the earliest Vedic period the worship paid to the Pitris was distinct from that of natural phenomena. 'It is not denied that the gods of death were the Vedic Pitris. They did this long after the Vedic period. But there the proof that all the Vedic gods, as claims Spencer, were the worshipped souls of the dead. No argumentum a fero can in a Vedic dawn-hymn any thing other than a hymn to personified Dawn, or make it probable that this dawn was ever a moral's name' (Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 10). The general theory seems to have been that ancestors are of a class different from that of the gods, and that though they are divine and possessed of many godly powers, so that the Vedic gods invoked them, 'Of Fathers, may the sky-people grant us life; may we follow the course of the living,' yet they are distinct from the gods, and never confounded with them (15, 143, 145). Hence, in the Vedâs, 1 the Sraiddha of the Sraiddha of the Pitris. The officiant invites the gods and ancestors to the feast, he does so with two separate invocations (Colebrooke, Essays, 114). Speaking of the Vedic conception of Yams, the god of death, Barth thus writes: 'It is to these, at the remotest extremity of the heavens, the abode of light and the eternal savants, that reigns hencoreward in peace and in union with Varuna. There, by the sound of his flute, under the branches of the mythic tree, he assembles around him the dead who have lived nobly. They reach him in a crown, conveyed by Agni, guided by Pushan, and grimly scanned as they pass by the two monstrous dogs who are the guardians of the road. Clothed in a glorious body, and made to drink of the celestial soma, which renders them immortal, they enjoy hencoreward by his side an endless felicity, seated at the same tables with the gods, gods themselves, and adored here below under the name of Pitris, or fathers' (Robinson's India, Eng. tr. 22 ff.). When we come to the Atharva Veda, we first encounter the specific doctrine of the elevation of the Pitris. The due performance of rites raises them, we are told, to a higher state; in fact, if offerings are not given, the spirits do not live on. This view was still further extended in a later period. It is when we reach the Epic period that we find a progressive identification of the gods and the Pitris. 'The divinities and the Pitris are satisfied with the oblation in fire. The host of gods and Pitris, they are the Pitris ... They are both of one being' (Mahâbhârata i. 7. 77 ff.). The poet speaks also of the Pitris worshipping the Creator, Prajâpati Brahmâ, in his Paradise. It is in the Purânic period, when the Indian religious imagination ran riot, and produced the mixture of the ideas of immortality, that the basis of modern Hindûism, that we find them mixed up with Vedic gods and a host of other objects of devotion, like the bird Garuda and the world-snake Sesa. But throughout this progressive development the one criterion of worship which we have already fixed. They are never regarded as independent divine beings; on the contrary, stress is always laid upon the fact that they depend upon their friends on earth for continuous aid and maintenance, and that their advancement to a higher stage is impossible without the due performance of rites done by their pious descendants.

3. Literature.—The authorities have been freely quoted in the course of this article. The best authority on the modern practices of Hinduism is still Colebrooke’s essay in Asiatic Researches (1801), v. 128 ff.; reprinted in Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus, ed. 1838, 90 ff. A good account of the modern rites will be found in Atkinson, Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts (1883–84), ii. 857, 919; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life (1885), 391 ff. Full details are given in the caste articles in the Bombay Gazetteer, edited by Sir J. Campbell.

W. CROOKE

4. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Iranian).—The Zarthushthrian religion, as known from the Avesta, comprises an elaborate system of religious thoughts and moral habits founded on the idea of two universal powers, the heavenly and pure, and the impure and accursed (Ormazd), and its contrast, the bad and impure world of the devils, the head of whom is Angra Mainyu (Ahriman). In this religion, according to its theoretical scheme, the ancestors, or the souls of the dead, play no part; but practically, in the popular customs and beliefs, the cult of the dead still survives. Parsem not only permits this popular worship, but even finds room for it in the official ritual, so that in the Yashta of the later Avesta we read thus in verse 117: 'Of the gods, in whom, no doubt, are to be recognised the souls of the dead, especially those of the ancestors. But it must be observed that these primitive ghosts are difficult to recognize in the shape that is given them in this Avestan composition, being often placed in the epical evolution as heroes or kings of old, as patrons or protectors of persons, families, or provinces, or as heavenly angels or genii, fashioned after the national and religious ideas of the Iranians.'

These ghostly beings are called Fravashis (Pahlavi Farvardins), and are invoked in the 13th, or Fravardin-Yaht. The word Fravashi means in the Avestan language 'confession,' the Fravashi being a personification of the belief of the pious, his genius or his alter ego, who protects him and takes care of him during his lifetime, and who
will, in time, receive him in the other world. Under this theological fabric is no doubt concealed a more primitive idea of a being which in some way belongs to human nature as part of his soul or as the principle of his life, nourishing him and giving him growth. These original functions of the Fravashis may be traced in the Avesta itself, when it tells that Ormazd, through these angels, makes all plants and herbs spring out of the earth, gives offspring to the herbs, shapes the child in the mother’s womb, gives it all its limbs, helps it be born, and grants the mothers many children. Originally these beings may have conferred these boons themselves without the direction of any supreme god, thus fulfilling the functions that ordinarily belong to the province of the ancestors.

This character of ancestral patronage becomes yet more conspicuous when we read Yasht xii. 64 ff. Here we see how the Fravashis, when drought menaces the land, hurry to the heavenly lake Vourukasha, and how they quelled in order to procure water, ‘each for his own family, his own village, his own tribe, his own country.’

That the Persians themselves looked upon the Fravashis as souls, we learn from Yasna xxvi. 7: ‘We invoke the souls of the dead (irshâdân domāvar) the Fravashis of all our kinsmen that have died in this house, the Fravashis of men and women, of both sexes we invoke’ (similarly Yasna Ixxviii. 23). The little we know of the exterior of the Fravashis fits in with this mention. They come flying like a well-winged bird, we read in Yasht xiii. 70. The souls, then, were imagined in the shape of birds; as the Egyptian ba and as the souls in the Assyrian bell are described; as the souls, according to Greek belief, are to be found in the really dead and in the guise of birds—the same idea as still confronts us in European folklore (cf. von Negelein, ‘Seele als Vogel’ in Globus, Ixxix. 357–361, 381–384; Goldziher, ib. ixxxi. 301–304).

The cult of the Fravashis has had its fixed place and its special time in Zoroastrianism; the time was the period Hamsapathamâdaya, March 10th–20th, i.e. the five last days of the year plus the five intercalary days, which days the Indo-Europeans always associated with the souls of the dead. Further, the Fravashis are always invoked in the evening, viz. in the Aiswârâhîna Albâgîya (cf. Yasna i. 6; Gâh. iv. 1–2), being the first part of the night from 6 to 12; this time reserved for the cult of the dead by kindred nations. We derive our information about the customs of this cult from Yasht xiii. 49–52: ‘We invoke the good, the mighty, the holy Fravashis of the righteous, who descend to the villages at the time of the Hamsapathamâdaya and return thither every night for ten nights to ask for help. Will anybody praise us? Will anybody pay homage to us? Who will accept us amongst his own? Who will bless us? Who will show us meats and garments, and with sacred reverence? Everybody who fulfils his duty to these Fravashis—we are told in the same Yasht—shall have his house filled with good things during the coming year (Yasht xiii. 51 f.).’

This custom survived far into the Middle Ages; the Arabic chronician al-Bârînšt testifies that the Persians during these days placed the meat in the rooms of the deceased, or on the roofs of the houses, believing that the dead conversed with the Fravashis, and they burnt these meats in their honour (i.e. in reality to keep them away) (al-Bârînšt, Chronology, transl. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 210 f.).

* Cf. also the metrical Rad-dar, dating probably from the end of the 15th cent., xiii., xiv., xvi., tr. Hyde, Hist. relig. sêterum

The Fravashis are not only invoked during the Hamsapathamâdaya-period, but also commemorated on the 19th of every month; in the Persian calendar (see art. CALENDAR [‘Persian’]) they have, further, their place as the protectors of the first month of the year (Fravardin; cf. the Armenian loan-name of the twelfth month, Hûshah). According to this official position of the Fravashis, the Persian imagination elevated them into higher and higher spheres; and we often meet with them as the agents of the supreme gods in the Bayans, e.g. Yasht xiii. 5–7; Mânâhîg-i Khârâxt xlii. 22 f. (cf. Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892–1895, i. 122 ff., 150 E; N. Söderblom, ‘Les Fravashîn’, RII, 1899; Manuk Abeghian, Der armenische Volksglaube, Leipzig, 1899, 23 f.).

Besides their place in the ritual, the Fravashis play a prominent part in the private cult of the Persians, especially in the funeral ceremony called afvingân (‘homage’). It was a common meal to which the survivors invited both rich and poor; the priests attired them in the finest and performed several symbolic ceremonies. On that occasion cakes of meat and flour were offered to the spirit of the recently deceased. The origin of this feast seems to be a meal to the nourishment of the deceased. The same object is served, the Fravashis being the memory of the deceased, or the Sôrôsh Dorân, where cakes are offered to the angel of Death, Sôrôsh.

In Armenia the Persian ideas on the Fravashis and their cult have continued into modern times. They are commemorated on the Saturdays before the five great festivals of the year, and, upon the whole, every Saturday. They are imagined to dwell in the neighbourhood of the tombs and in the houses of the faithful and to give them survival in the survival in the form of incense and light candles in honour of them. At the tombs the Armenians celebrate a special commemoration of the dead, on which occasion they burn quantities of incense. The Mones dwell three days on earth; then they fly away to heaven, leaving behind their blessings to their descendants. Especially between fathers and sons there is a vivid communication at that time. The Armenians as well as the Persians imagine that souls are connected with tombs as with temples (Gareis).


**ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Japanese).—** In order to understand what the worship of ancestors and of the dead actually amounts to in Japan, we must distinguish clearly the national religion, that is to say, the native primitive Shinto, as it existed during the first centuries of the Christian era, from the Shinto subsequently modified under the influence of Chinese ideas. This transformed Shinto indeed is of very little interest here, as it is only a shadow cast over Japan from the continent. Our task is to distinguish and emphasize the ideas that are really Japanese, original, and prior to this foreign influence; and to accomplish it we must examine only the most ancient documents, such as the Kojiki (Records of Ancient Matters, A.D. 712), the Nihonshiki (Chronicles of Japan, A.D. 720), the Nirayuki (rituals which were not published until the beginning of the 10th cent., but were undoubtedly composed at a much earlier date), etc., being careful to eliminate, even in these documents, any traces of Chinese influence, or anything they may contain.

It is on account of the neglect of these necessary precautions that Japanese writers, especially the great native philologists of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent., have represented their national religion as being mainly an ancestor-cult, while in reality it is mainly a cult of nature. For instance, the famous theologian Hirata (1778–1849), who claimed to restore the ancient faith, introduced into existence a fanciful religion, into which he introduces, in an artificial way, ancestor-worship as practised by the Chinese: the worshippers must pray to the whole succession of their family ancestors. But it was found that these duties were not given to ancestor-worship, as in that theory. But more recently, Prof. B. H. Chamberlain wrote (Things Japanese, 19th, p. 358): "Shinto is the name given to the mythology and vague ancestor- and nature-worship which preceded the introduction of Japan. In chief of Japan, Dr. W. E. Grifflis (Religions of Japan, 1895, p. 88) emphasizes the idea, saying, that from the Emperor to the humblest believer, the God-way is founded on ancestor-worship, and has been grafted upon its ritual system nature-worship."

Capt. Brickley sums up the whole in the very concise statement: 'Ancestor-worship was the basis of Shinto."

This theory, in the present writer's opinion, the reverse of the historical evolution as it actually took place. It is evident that at a certain period ancestor-worship was seen to be the dominant cult of Shinto, and when people in our time visit the temples which are dedicated for ever to illustrious ancestors or to certain nature-gods confounded with imperial ancestors, they are tempted to see in them a confirmation of the general theory of Herbert Spencer. But if we get rid of these modern impressions, and also lay aside the conventional opinions of native commentators, and if we confine ourselves simply to looking at what we find, we find that the oldest and most interesting parts of the Kojiki and the Nihongi, those relating to the 'age of the gods,' are essentially devoted to nature myths: that, moreover, the most important Norito celebrate the glory of the gods of nature, and that it is not animism but naturalism that in Japan, as in so many other countries, constitutes the real basis of the primitive religion. Does this, however, mean that, as Dr. W. G. Aston maintains at the present time, 'Shinto, the old native religion of Japan, had no cult of true ancestors' (Mar. 1907, N. 23, cf. his Shinto, 1905, p. 44 and passim; K. Florence, Nihongi, Zaizaiter Götter, Tokio, 1901, p. 258, and art. SHINTO)? The present writer wishes that the truth lies between these two extremes, and that, if ancestor-worship did not appear until after nature-worship, and if it was then developed chiefly under the influence of Chinese ideas, it nevertheless existed in germ in the original Shinto as in the majority of primitive religions.

We shall not discuss the question as to whether cannibalism existed in pre-historic Japan, and if so, whether it was followed by a ceremonial anthropophagy, which is then explained by the desire of the gods to eat the food they would most appreciate (see N. Gordon Muuro, 'Primitive Culture in Japan,' in Trans. of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan, Dec. 1906, vol. xiv, pt. 2, pp. 73 ff. and 133 ff.). As a matter of fact, from the time that primitive man invests all the gods, if not with his own form, at least with his feelings, this moral anthropomorphism must lead him to offer to the gods, whoever they may be, the things which appear most precious to himself, and this attribute to these sacrifices are intended to be gods of nature quite as well as ancestor-spirits. We shall therefore dismiss this questionable interpretation of customs which are themselves doubtful, and confine ourselves wholly to the written documents. These documents show that the primitive Japanese had a vague belief in the immortality of the soul, without having, however, any precise or absolute idea on the subject. The Nihongi, when relating the story of the hero Tamichi, who appeared one day as a serpent with glaring eyes to punish the violators of his tomb, ascribes to the men of that time the thought: 'Although dead, Tamichi at last had his revenge. How can it be said that the dead have no knowledge?' This passage alone is sufficient to prove that there were, after all, gods of another, in the ancient periods. But there were neither rewards nor punishments, but where all, good and bad alike, continued to lead a vague existence, regretting the life and light of the upper region. This is the dark kingdom, which swarms with the fierce deities of disease and death, the 'hideous and polluted land' where Izanagi, horror-stricken, found his wife Izanami in a state of putrefaction. Other persons, such as Izanagi himself, do not share this general destiny: it is on a terrestrial island amidst the living that this god chooses his resting-place. Lastly, many divine heroes and illustrous persons were translated to the 'Plain of High Heaven' (Takamatsuzuka). Just as the first parents had sent the most beautiful of their children, the Sun and the Moon, to that upper region to illuminate it with their brilliance, so men raised the objects of their admiration up to the stars. Like the deified Roman Emperors, they were 'sideribus recepti.' The dead whose brilliant career terminated in this world, but who, the most virtuous; they were the most illustrious, and their apotheosis was only the natural continuation of their former power. Thus, the particular abode of the dead depended chiefly upon their earthly dignity. Their future life, with which no moral consideration had to do, rested upon an idea that was purely aristocratic. The ladder of the ranks of men had a top which was lost in the clouds and leaned against the floor of the gods. In a word, the spirits of men found a place very readily in the society of the gods or of heaven, the place of the one corresponded to the physical brilliance of the other. They took up their abode in the same places, and in virtue of the same inherent sovereignty.

This being so, it follows that the cult of the dead was of a somewhat vague character, and that ancestors were worshipped mainly in proportion to the social position they had held during life. One old mythical account, in which there is a description of the burial of the god Amaterasu-hiko ('heaven-young-prince') by a flock of birds which perform the various duties of the funeral ceremony, shows us clearly that the Japanese must have practiced very complicated rites on such occasions. The existence of funeral sacrifices also shows that they rendered to their ancestors a worship intended to ensure their welfare, providing them with the
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objects, animals, and companions which they would require in the other life. The most important writing on this subject is one which relates how human sacrifices were suppressed—an event which the Chronicles of Japan place at a time corresponding to that of the birth of Christ, but which must be brought forward to the far-off ancestors, gods of nature or human beings, who were regarded as the household gods (ujigami) of the great families of the 8th century. (For further details on this last point see the present writer’s book, Le Shintoisme, Paris, 1907, p. 279 f.). This cult of ancestors, which we can assert with certainty in some illustrious cases, and logically infer also among the poor people who were unknown to the court historiographers, was speedily developed and systematized under the influence of continental ideas. Then Chinese ancestor-worship came to be established with all the ceremonies which it involves and all the consequences it entails, beginning with the very important practice of adoption, which was intended to ensure the continuance of family sacrifices. But this evolution of a system which is quite distinct from real Japanese religious ideas, is beyond our subject.

Michel Reyon.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Jewish).—As was succinctly said, the final victory of monothéism made the conscious practice of forbidden or doubtful rites in connexion with the dead impossible to those who strictly followed the sober development of pure Mosaicism in each personal national times and the various periods of Rabbinism that followed. Ancient occultism retained, however, a hold on the minds of not a few in each generation; and the confluence of Eastern and Western mystical ideas which were accepted in the medieval times of the Kabbalists, gave a further impetus to various essentially un-Mosaic notions about the dead, and even succeeded in partially invading the liturgical form of synagogue-worship.

The literary evidence, which on some important points supported by practices prevalent at the present day, has here to be collected from (1) the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings attached to the OT; (2) the Talmudic and Midrashic literature; (3) the Liturgy; (4) the Kabbalah. Only the salient features need, however, be mentioned in each part.

1. Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature. — Taking the different parts of the subject, in so far as they are纬bolical in character, in order followed in the ‘Hebrew’ article above, it must first be mentioned that the garden or Paradise assigned to Enoch and the other elect is, according to the Book of Enoch (339-659 A.D.), imagined to be at the end of the earth towards the east. In it is the tree of wisdom (325-6), whose fruit the holy ones eat and attain high knowledge. In 517 the holy ones who dwell in the heavens are, however, spoken of. The well of righteousness, also mentioned in the Book of Enoch, is a reminiscence of the ‘water of life’ which is to be found in the Babylonian heaven and other mythological localities. Whether the pseudepigraphical work known as the Assumption of Moses originally contained in the lost portions at the end an account of the translation of Moses to heaven still remains doubtful, though a negative answer would seem to accord best with the facts of the case (see the introduction to that book in Kautzsch’s edition). Josephus, however, clearly implies a belief in it (Ant., iv, 14, 2) and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the AT (ed. by Kautzsch, 1899) has been followed. The dates of the books range from about A.D. 200 (Babylonian) to the earlier Christian period.

* The books contained in the Variarum Apocryph (ed. O. J. Ball) are here quoted in the usual English form. For the other books, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT (ed. by Kautzsch, 1899) has been followed. The dates of the books range from about A.D. 200 (Babylonian) to the earlier Christian period.
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Itself (ending, 'the whole world is thy grave') would seem to be in consonance with the idea. Concerning Baruch, the friend and disciple of Jeremiah, we are informed that he was to be preserved alive ' to the end of the times' (Apoc. Bar. 13:76),—a favour which appears to stand in some relation to the translation of the earlier sayings.

In the ridicule of Babylonian idol-worship contained in the Epistle of Jeremiah is found the statement that they set gifts before the idols 'as unto dead men' (v.9): but the practice of offering gifts, not implied in such passages, seems to have been as purely Babylonian as the idol-worship itself. A direct warning against the heathen worship of the dead is contained in Jubilees 22:7 ('Their sacrifices they slay to the dead, and pray to the demons, and eat upon the graves'); and it is natural to suppose that the warning would not have been needed, if there had been no tenency to adopt these practices among the Jews.

The supposed reference to offerings made to the dead in Sir 39:24 has been disputed by the Cairo Halakah, p. 132, and it is now generally held that other offerings of meat set upon a grave, the Hebrew has 'heave-offerings placed before an idol' (gittal). The treatment of the dead spoken of in Sir 7:8 and To 4:12 may possibly refer to offerings made to the dead; but none of the references seem to be restricted to persons who died 'before the foundation of the earth,' and the references are only meant in the former passage and funeral feast in the latter (see the notes to the Variorum Apocrypha).

It would seem indeed that the progress of monotheism had by that time made habitual offerings to the dead impossible, and that the transformation of the practice into what has not inaptly been called 'the new sacrificial cult of the dead' ('Das neue Totenopfer' [Schwally, Das Leben nach dem Tode, p. 183]) had already set in. In 9 T. Bar. 12:12, Judas Maccabaeus is reported to have ordered the Jews under his command to offer up prayers and to send a large sum of money as a gift to Jerusalem, in order to effect an atonement for the Jewish soldiers killed in battle, under whose coats objects consecrated to idol-worship, no doubt intended to serve as a magical protection—had been found. It has been suggested that the prayers and offerings of money were in reality intended by Judas and his companions to clear the survivors rather than the dead of the pollution of idolatry; but as the author or compiler of 2 Mac. interpreted the act as having been performed on behalf of the dead (see vv.46-49), the practice of trying to benefit the dead rather than paying homage to them must have been in vogue when the narrative assumed its present form (some time in the late cent. B.C.).

The references to mourning customs found here and there in the Old Test. Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphical writings in the main support the view that the objectionable practices mentioned in the 'Hebrew' article lay outside the range of topics contemplated by the authors. Even the picture of priests having 'their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven,' and roaring and crying before their gods 'as men do at the feast when one is dead' (2 Esd. Jbr. 1:21-22), is taken from Babylonian idol-worship, and does not necessarily point to exactly similar practices among the Jews. With regard to the number of days given up to mourning, it is remarkable that, whilst Jth 10th and Sir 22:9-10 speak of seven days from the time after which the practice of keeping seven days was usually continued, the Life of Adam and Eve speaks of six days' mourning, the seventh being (like a Sabbath) reserved for rest and joy. Ben-Sira (apparently inconsistent with himself) furthermore recommends (38:7) a day or two, 'lest thou be evil spoken of.' If, therefore, Schwally's suggestion (op. cit. p. 41), that the seven days' mourning corresponds to the number of days assigned to great religious festivals, were adopted, it would at the same time follow that in the times to which the apocryphal books belong this idea had lost its hold upon the popular mind.

Necromancy in its ordinary form also lies outside the range of topics dealt with by the writers of this literature. But the appearance of the high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah to Judas Maccabaeus in the Midrashic works is interesting. Against Nicanor (2 Mac 15:29) represents a form of oneiromancy that is pretty closely related to necromancy (cf. the appearance of Alexander to his thrice married widow Glaphyra, recorded in Jos. Ant. xvii. 12; 4 B.J. ii. 7-8). Ben-Sira, representing, as he did, Hebraism pure and simple, declares, however, that 'divinations, and sooth-sayings, and dreams are vain' (Sir 34:8). The call addressed to the 'spirits and souls of the righteous' (Song of the three Children 4) to join in the universal herald of the day evil, is a poetic ring about it, but the whole Song might be brought into relation with animistic conceptions.

2. Talmudic and Midrashic literature.—It may at first sight seem strange that the number of persons who got funeral rites related to heaven without having died and gone down to Sheol, is considerably increased in some of the later additions belonging to Talmudic, Midrashic, and allied literature. This advance, however, in reality quite in keeping with the greater facility for the gratification of distinguished human personalities under the final monotheistic development of Mosaism referred to at the end of the 'Hebrew' article. In the minor Talmudic tractate Derekh Erez Zuṭza (7th or 8th cent.), e.g., seven (or, according to others, eight) others, besides Enoch and Elijah (including the Messiah; Elizer, the servant of Abraham; Hiram, king of Tyre, etc.), are accorded this honour. In Yalkut Be-esdei, § 367 (about 11th cent.), thirteen such translations are enumerated, the name of Methuselah being among them. The preceding list. The Alphabetum Siracides (ed. Steinschneider, Berlin, 1858) occupies a middle position between the two lists named, the number of translations being eleven (one of the number, however, being the position of King Solomon). Specially developed in Talmudic and Midrashic literature is what may fairly be called the cult of Elijah, who, according to Mal 4:5, was to be the herald of a new order of things, and whose expected appearance as the forerunner of the Messiah is referred to in the NT (e.g. Mt 17:10). Quite in keeping with this expectation is, for instance, the conversation of Elijah with R. Yosē related in Berakhoth, 3b, where the grief caused to the Deity by Israel's captivity is so fully and characteristically described. On the Midrashic statements regarding the high favour accorded to Moses at his death, see § 1 in the 'Hebrew' article.

A very important concession to popular habits of thought is made in the minor Talmudic tractate Sanhedrith (prob. 7th or 8th cent.), e.g., where the custom of placing the dead person's pen (or reed) and ink as well as his key and writing-tablet by his side in the grave is countenanced, although the belief in the ability of the departed to use these things might be considered to penetrate thereby. The concession is indeed ex-

* The suggestion that mourning for distant relatives only is here meant does not seem to suit the context (see note to Rauth's edition).

† For the full enumeration of this and the following lists see A. F. Bender, 'Death, Burial, and Mourning,' etc., in JQR vi (1884) 341 ff.
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pressly granted, notwithstanding its known approximation to a 'Amorite' customs. In the Shulhan 'Arukh of Joseph Caro (ob. Safed, 1575), which is the accepted guide of strictly orthodox Judaism at the present day, the same practice is tolerated (see Hilkhot 'Abot R. 375). Merely a pious custom, the permission to make burning of kings, but not for persons of inferior rank (ib. § 348; Shnathoth, ch. viii.; cf. the 'Hebrew' article, § 3). One of the explanations suggested to account for the pouring away of all the water found in a house in which a death has taken place, is that an offering to the dead, or, at any rate, a provision of drink for them, was thereby intended (see A. P. Bender, JQR vii. [1886] p. 106 f.). It is, however, more likely that the water was poured away because it was believed to have contracted contamination* (see § 7 in the 'Hebrew' article). A Karaite writer of the 10th cent. (Abu-Sari b. Masla is) declares that a number of Rabbinita Jews of his day were in the habit of burning candles and offering incense on the graves of the righteous.† A transformation of this form similar to that noticed in 2 Mac. (see § 1) is found, e.g., in Midrasch Tanhuma on Hala'zini (the last weekly pericope but one in Midrashim), where the religious commemoration of the dead on the Sabbath is recommended in order to prevent their returning to Gehenna (cf. the remarks on Kaddish and Haskarah Nashamo in the next §).

The Kaddish can be regarded as significant here to be noted in connexion with mourning customs. The repast provided in modern times for mourners by their neighbours after a funeral is clearly understood to have the object of thus offering hospitality to the bereaved, who are, besides, naturally unable to make satisfactory provision for their own wants at such a time. The rendering of the garments on the part of mourners is now generally but a slight ceremonial act, consisting in tearing the (left) lapel of the coat one is wearing. In Talmudical and subsequent times there was a custom of baring the shoulder and arm (see Bab. Baba Qama, 17a, and cf. Shnathoth ix.). A. Büchler (ZATW, 1901, pp. 89 et seq.) has acted, in his article on the living to the dead (see § 5 (a) in the 'Hebrew' article), if so, would there be a survival of the cult of the dead in the old sense of the word.‡

Justrow (ZATW, 1902, pp. 117-120) tries to controvert Büchler by showing that the idea of this kind is a return to ancient habits of life, entire nakedness having, in fact, originally obtained in connexion with mourning (see § 5 (a) in the 'Hebrew' article), because a state of nudity was the primitive condition of man. In reality, however, the two explanations do not clash with each other, for the sense of self-humiliation and subjection to the departed spirit would be quite compatible with a return to an older and less dignified mode of existence.

All trace of ancestor-worship (supposing that there ever was any in it) has disappeared from the other prearous working of the levirate law in modern times. Nor is there now any trace of a ritual connected with the Rabbinita Jews bearing on the uncleanliness of dead bodies, fear of contamination through contact with a decaying human organism being the explanation adopted. A certain kind of necromancy, on the other hand, reappears in, e.g., Mr. Isael Abraham, on the authority of Nissim Gerson (ob. shortly after 1374), favours the view that the pouring away of water was a method of making known the occurrence of a death, or the wishes of the deceased relative to the influence of the Biddah (tide). But if so, why need there be pouring away all the water in the house? The likelihood is that the practice, though primarily pointing to a prudential motive, got to serve as a secondary way to indicate death by a kind of association of ideas.

See Perles, NGW, 1861, p. 389.¶

¶The report found in Shnathoth ix., of R. 'Avitha striking his breast in the ancient tabernacle (see also R. Eismont, A. E. in Hamburger's AB II, a statement on the different forms of the Kaddish will also be found in these works.)

3. The Liturgy.—The high veneration, almost amounting to a cult, paid to Moses and Elijah, also finds expression in some parts of the Jewish ritual. A cup of wine is at the present time in many places reserved for Elijah in the Passover Night Service,* which, though celebrated in commemoration of the release from Egypt, also emphasizes the hope of future redemption by the Messiah, whose forerunner was to be Elijah. The same prophet is also assumed to preside at the ceremony of circumcision, the chair in which the actual operator sits being designated the 'chair of Elijah'† in the German and other forms of the ritual. In the Pirke d-Rabbi Eliezer (latter half of the 8th cent. of ch. xix.), this idea is brought into connexion with Elijah's well-known zeal for Jahweh, the child being by the rite of circumcision initiated into Israel's covenant with Jahweh. Moses, his work and his death, are the subject of hymns in the Haskarah (extended Service Book) for the Feast of Weeks (in connexion with the giving of the Law on Sinai) and the Passover. The liturgical elaboration of the life and work of Moses is specially prominent in the ritual of the Karaites (see founded about the middle of the 8th century).

The most important portions of the synagogue services to be noted here are, however, the Kaddish and Haskarah Nashamoth. (a) The Kaddish is both the nature of a doxology and embodies the Messianic hope, but contains no mention of the dead, was primarily instituted for recitation after completing the study of a section of the Talmud and at the end of a Talmudic discourse or lecture. But as the merit of the study of the Torah (by which the Talmud as the authoritative exposition of the Torah was mainly understood) was considered exceedingly potent, the idea must have arisen early that the merit thus won might be transferred to the deceased, and it probably thus came about that the doxology concluding such study was assigned to mourners.

In Masseketh Sopherim (prob. 6th or 7th cent.), xix. 12, its use in this connexion appears firmly established, the Kaddish was recited after the cantor. Later on its recital was ordered to follow every burial (see Moses b. Nurmân [ob. 1285 or 1265], Torath ha-Adam, ed. Venice, 1555, fol. 50a) and the mourners' Kaddish in the full modern sense of the word is mentioned in the French ritual known as Mahzer Vitâ (A.D. 1226). The Kaddish thus gradually became, though not exclusively so, an indirect prayer for the departed. Its original connexion with the study of the Torah was in this use of it (as indeed in several other of its technical uses) the idea of benefiting the dead by the special act of worship on the part of the surviving son or sons became very prominent.¶

The practice thus sets itself in ideas with the new or inverted cult of the dead which was apparently no ritual significance, the act having merely been an expression of great personal grief.

*This custom, of which no trace has so far been found in medieval MSS and early printed liturgical books, is probably of Karaite origin. It was first mentioned by R. P. T. Wolf, in his Kabbalistic ritual, modelled in part on an old L. N. Dembítz, Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home, pp. 100-10; see also the death gutt hushed out, the death of the Rabbi D.'s) a statement on the different forms of the Kaddish will also be found in these works.)

†The report found in Shnathoth ix., of R. 'Avitha striking his
already in vogue in Maccabean times, or, at any rate, at the time to which the composition of 2 Macc. belongs (see § 1). Instead of seeking to obtain benefits through the agency of the dead, the living engage in actions calculated to improve the condition of the departed; and as the surviving generations are the most approved agents of the form of the cult, it is a natural thing for those who see in the law of levirate (see § 6 in the 'Hebrew' article) an original connexion with the ancient sacrificial cult of the dead, to bring this use of the Kaddish into relation with that law, and to the ritual function from liturgy on the part of the descendants to the same motive in both sets of regulations. The objection that might be raised is that, if the Kaddish were really connected with the idea underlying the law of levirate and the ancient sacrificial ritual of the dead, one would have expected to find it in use in much earlier times than can be attested by the existing literary evidence, continuity in essence being one of the marks of gradual development. But it is, on the other hand, not against analogy to suppose that if — and the deliberate fact was that the idea itself was never eradicated from the popular mind, it should, under certain favourable influences,* have been later on fully revived under the form of the Kaddish Yatom (orphan’s Kaddish). Such a use would naturally have been made in fresh and later shapes. (b) The same may also be said of the most solemn office connected with the departed, i.e. the Hashkaron Nahamimoth (‘remembrance of souls’), which forms part of the Ashkenazí ritual for the eighth day of the Passover, the second day of Pentecost, the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles, and the Day of Atonement. In this office direct petitions for the weal-of-being of departed parents and other relatives are offered,‡ thus more explicitly attesting the revival (though in a much modified form), since medieval times, of an earlier idea that the living are capable of rendering substantial service to the departed. In the Spanish ritual the same idea, in the form of direct petitions, is embodied in the Hashkabah (‘laying to rest’) which forms part of the Burial Service, and is — under certain special regulations—recited during the synagogue services.¶

This also holds good in the ‘Jahrzeit,’ or annual commemoration of departed parents, at which the Kaddish forms the most important feature, a candle being also kept burning for twenty-four hours.¶ But the Jewish Liturgy also embodies petitions in which the merit of the departed is, vice versa, pleaded on behalf of the living, thus coming nearer to the old idea of seeking support from the spirits of the dead rather than offering help to them. In the famous prayer Abina Malenah (‘Our Father, our King’), the merit of the martyr is pleaded before the throne of angels, in order to obtain favour from the Almighty. The frequently occurring idea of Zkuth Abot (‘merit of the fathers’) may indeed not unreasonably be attached to the invocation, in the ancient prayer of eighteen (1st to 2nd cent. A.D.) and at the latest of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. In conclusion, the practice of asking pardon of the dead in a ceremony at the grave (see Shulhan 'Arukh, i. § 606) may be mentioned. The mystical or spiritual union of the living with the dead and the possibility of interaction between the two states of being are clearly expressed in this interesting ritual.

4. The Kabbalah. — The name of Elijah is very prominent in Kabbalistic literature. The founders (12th cent.) of the developed form of mysticism which is more particularly designated by the term ‘Kabbalah’ claimed to have received their inspiration from the so-called Zohar (a work compiled in the latter part of the 13th cent., but attributed to the Tanna Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai (2nd cent.), which is the greatest text-book of the Kabbalah, Elijah also often appears as instructor under the title Sabba (i.e. the ancient one!). Moses, under the title Ra‘ya Meshima (i.e. ‘faithful shepherd’), appears, in a section bearing the same title, in conference with Elijah and R. Simeon b. Yohai; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other worthies being also present at the hearing. The idea was that Elijah in person or his disciple appeared to all the worthies. But it was also claimed that Elijah had actually designated Buiina Kaddisha (‘sacred light’), is almost deified, and great veneration is also paid to leaders of later Kabbalistic schools, more particularly Isaac Luria (ob. 1729) and Baal-shem (ob. 1761).

Connected with the honours paid to departed worthies is the doctrine of metempsychosis, which, though in origin and essence entirely foreign to Mosaicism, and indeed to Semitic thought in general, succeeded about the 5th cent. in passing from Greek (and Indian) thought into the tenets of certain Jewish sectaries, through the medium of Muhammadan mysticism. Saadahya Gaon (ob. 942), who appears to be the first to make mention of it in orthodox Jewish literature, protests strongly against it. But it nevertheless gained a firm footing in the Kabbalah, and attained an extraordinary development in the comparatively modern Kabbalistic system of Isaac Luria, the works on Gyrqdui (‘transmigrations’) composed by himself and his followers, containing long lists of identifications of ancient personages and men of women of later date.¶ An addition to the doctrine of metempsychosis made by the Kabbalists is the principle of ‘ibbor (‘imprisonment’). If two souls (who may, of course, be spirits of the dead) do not separately feel equal to their several tasks, God unites them in one body, so that they may support and complete each other. This doctrine may have been suggested by the theory of incubation (see further on), which is itself clearly connected with the belief that a demon is a spiritual ‘spirit’ in this instance to denote a spirit, without reference to its origin or moral qualities.

Pilgrimages to graves are much more frequent among the later Kabbalists. The tomb of Simeon b. Tzemach is visited by the Samaritans often use the formula Reshnu (‘by the merit of Moses’).
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Polynesian and Tasmanian)

Yojai at Meron near Safed is thus devoutly re-sorted to on the 33rd of 'Omar (i.e. the 33rd day from the 2nd day of Passover), when a great popular festival, at which illuminations are an important feature, is held in honour of the saint. Pilgrimages to the graves of Isaac Luria at Safed and of ancestors a distinction should be drawn, evanesc-ent though the line of demarcation often becomes.

Elis (Polynesian Researches, 2nd ed., London, 1832–1836, i. 334–336) expressly postulates the existence of oromatua, or 'ancestors,' who ranked next to the atua, or gods, and were often the spirits of deceased fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, and other relatives, as well as of departed warriors who had been conspicuous for bravery. Although the oromatua frequently helped in time of need, and opposed the malevolence of other ghosts or of hostile magic, they were, as a rule, cruel and irritable. It was thus necessary to place the corpse of the dead at a considerable height above the ground, this being apparently the origin of the kata tupapa or grave for the dead (Moerenhout, Voyages aux îles du Grand Ocean, Paris, 1837, i. 470–471). Food was brought daily to the dead for six weeks or two months, and if the deceased had been a man of eminence, a special priest, known as oromatua, visited the grave every week and offered it food. It was believed that the oramatua could smell the spiritual part of this offering, and, in case it returned, it would therefore be gratified and content, so that it would not desire to resume early contacts, and might, when its time was at an end, permit the body to be buried, thereby obviating the possibility of his malefice return to his surviving kinsmen (Moerenhout, i. 552). Connected in a sense with the cult of ancestors was the mourning for the dead, together with the self-mutilations practised by the survivors (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 401–404); and here, too, belong the human sacrifices of wives, slaves, and favourites at graves in New Zealand, Hawaii (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 404–405), and the Fiji Islands (Russel, Polynesian Mythology, London, 1852, i. 218–219). The motive for both these latter features was either the gratification of the oramatua at the sight of the grief which his death had caused, or a provision for his needs in the future life.

The religion with which these practices was at a much lower stage of development than that of the Polynesians; yet it is clear that they, too, believed in a life beyond the grave, and thought that the souls of the dead might return to bless or curse them. They accordingly carried a bone of the deceased as a charm; yet the 'shades' (orarawati) of dead relatives and friends were regarded, on the whole, as more kindly than the gods. Of an actual cult of ancestors, however, little seems to be known (Ling Roth, Aborigines of Tasmania, 2nd ed., Halifax, 1899, pp. 54–55).

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Roman).—The great extent of ancestor-worship among the Romans, and its morally great limitations, make it not only one of the most interesting problems in the field of Roman religion, but also a subject the understanding of which brings with it a grasp of the fundamental principles which governed the formation and the nature of the gods of the Romans. As it is in the main a private worship (sacra privata) rather than a public one (sacra publica); for the distinction, cf. Wisowa, p. 334; Marquardt, p. 120 ff.), our sources for the Kingdom and the Republic are limited, and it is only in the

Summary.—The general result obtained from a study of the Jewish part of the subject is, owing to the diverse forms of development undergone by the thoughts and practices of the people in different wide-spread regions, far from homogeneous. The Talmudic and Midrashic literature thus exhibits a larger amount of reminiscence of, or reversion to, ancient thought than the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, though these latter as spiritual illumination, the custom cannot be regarded as a revival of the ancient practice. A species of oneiromancy is the same Kabbalists' belief that information of high import can be obtained through dream-visions of the dead.

LITERATURE.—Besides the passages of the original sources (Apocrypha, etc.) referred to in the article, the following besides may be consulted with advantage: For Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature, ch. iii. in F. Schrader's Leben nach dem Tode, 1892. From the Rabbinic point of view, J. Paris, 'Die Leichenfeierlichkeiten im nach-biblischen Judenthum' in Moew x. (1851) pp. 345 ff., 378 ff.; A. F. Bender, 'Sefirot, Rites, and Customs of the Jews, connected with Death, Burial, and Mourning' in JQR vi. (1854–5) 317 ff., 691, vii. 101 ff., 259 ff. (also discusses modern points of view); A. Büchner, 'Das Entblassen der Schäfter und des Armes als Zeichen der Trauer' in ZATW, 1901, pp. 81–92. For points in the literature, the articles 'Seelenfeier,' 'Raddish,' etc., in L. N. Dembist, Jewish Services in Ame- grop and Home (the same author wrote the art. 'Raddish,' etc., in the J.B.). For metempsychosis, etc., L. Ginzberg's Legends of the Jews, 1888, vii. 110–124. Some other works dealing with the subject will be found in the literature given at the beginning of C. Grünseim's Der Ahnenkult und die Urreligion Israels, 1900.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Polynesian and Tasmanian).—In Polynesia, ancestor-worship was far less important than in Melanesia or Micronesia. Throughout this group it was held, it was contended, that a common people perishing immediately after dis-solution (Waitz-Gerland, Anthropologie der Natur-völker, Leipzig, 1872, vi. 310; Dillon, Narrative of a Voyage in the South Sea, London, 1829, ii. 10–11). The ghosts of the dead might appear to the living and might work them either weal or woe, but they were in the main malefice, and were accordingly, for the most part, objects of dread (Waitz-Gerland, pp. 315–316, 330, 332). Between the general worship of ghosts and the cult of ancestors a distinction should be drawn, evanesc-
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Roman)

Empire, with its vast number of sepulchral inscriptions (CIL vi., CIG xiv., over 40,000 for Rome alone) that we have any extensive contemporary sources. For the earlier period, however, we have a sufficient number of literary sources to enable us to form a definite idea of the cult, inasmuch as the stereotyped character of all religious ceremonial allowed exact statement from various historical periods; and, though the underlying ideas did undoubtedly change somewhat from generation to generation, there was a certain conservative force at work too. It will be most convenient, therefore, to outline the beginning and underlying ideas, and the expressions of them in cult acts, first during the general period of the Republic, and then, secondly, to sketch the development of these ideas from the close of the Republic onwards during the course of the Empire.

I. FROM THE EARIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC.

1. The first and most fundamental question which requires an answer is this, Are any of the Roman names, e.g. Manes, Vaisnavas, etc., of similar ancestor-worship as their origin? From Euhemerus (cf. Rohde, Gr. Roman, 220 ff.) down to Herbert Spencer (Principles of Sociology) it has been a favourite contention that many great deities were in origin nothing more than an ancestor of the Roman family in its earliest states shows that this was not the case in Rome. The religion of the earliest period reveals distinct traces of animism (cf. Tylor, Primitive Culture, i. 377 ff., ii. 1–377)—that belief common to all primitive peoples, which posits for all things, animate and inanimate, living and dead, a ‘double,’ or psychic parallel; which has an effect on the thing itself and must therefore be propitiated. These doubles are potentialities rather than individualities. They are interesting not so much for what they are, as for what they do. Now, Roman religion is peculiarly interesting in this respect, because in it we see a development of animism one step further. Certain of these powers have advanced sufficiently towards individuality to acquire a name, but they are none of them as yet individuals thought of in the fashion of man (on the importance of names cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, i. 1403 ff.); hence there was not, could not be, a native Roman mythology. They were advancing when Greek influence placed her myths at Rome’s disposal, so that she never developed any of her own. On the other hand, a great number of the gods of the earliest period were still mere potentialities, thought of in groups rather than as individuals, e.g. the Di Penates, powers who guarded the store-room, the Di Agrestes, powers who looked after the crops. It was into one of these groups that the dead went, into the Di Manes, the ‘good gods’ (mannus = ‘good’; cf. Roscher, ii. 2318). It will be readily seen, therefore, that in the case of the dead that were ever made great individual gods, they received such divinity as they had by the same processes of thought which made all gods, great and small.

If further proof is needed, it may be found in the total absence of hero-worship in Roman religion, as it was before Greek influence came; and in the significant fact that, when under Greek influence two great characters of Graeco-Roman mythology, Eneas and Romulus, were elevated to the rank of gods, theologians found nothing better to do than to identify them with two already existing old Roman deities, Numicus and Quirinus respectively (for Æneas = Numicus, cf. Rosbach in CM 1915; for Romulus = Quirinus, cf. Wissowa, i. 141). Every attempt to make even the Di Manes the source of other deities has been a failure. It has been tried repeatedly, but in vain, in the case of the Lar Familias or protecting spirit of the house (cf. Fustel de Coulanges, La Cité antique, p. 20; Nissen, Tempium, p. 148; Rohde, Psyche, i. p. 254).

2. Having rid our discussion of any connexion between the deified dead and other individual deities of Rome, we must now try to make clear to ourselves what the concept of the Di Manes was, and how the Romans felt towards them. It has often been asserted that the Romans had from the beginning an idea of the immortality of the soul. This statement is absolutely misleading. We have seen that the habit of thought of the early Romans posited a double for everything; the dead must therefore have a double as well as the living. This double, even though it was the double of the dead, was thought of as possessing a certain sort of life—it could at certain times return to earth and exercise an influence for ill upon the living. This potentiality, however, was simply one of a vast number of similar potentialities, and was no individual about it, except its relation to its own family represented by the living members. Subsequent centuries, saturated with Greek philosophy and filled with an idea of individuality which the earlier Romans had totally lacked, have identified this poor shadowy potentiality with the human soul, and read into the whole matter a belief in immortality.

In the presence of the mystery of death, a mystery which even the light of Christianity has not wished fully to remove, men’s minds do not work logically, and there is no part of religious beliefs where contradictions are more abundant than in the beliefs concerning the dead. Roman religion, in spite of its generally logical character, is no exception to the rule. It will never be possible for us, even with all the sepulchral inscriptions in the world, to establish one formula which will cover all cases—for the simple reason that no such formula ever existed. We are, however, able to make a general statement, which will fairly well the normal concept, apart from the very numerous and very contradictory deviations.

When a man died, he went over into the Di Manes,—the good gods,—entering their ranks and assuming all individuality and all specific earthly relations, except that, when they came to earth, they visited the living members of the family to which they had belonged on earth; and thus the family idea, so fundamental in the social structure of Rome, triumphed over the grave, and possessed an immortality which the individual failed to obtain. The inclusiveness of the term Di Manes is seen in the fact that the gods who ruled the dead, as well as their subjects, the dead themselves as gods, were all included in the one phrase, though it is generally supposed that the actual gods of the dead, though demonstrably present, never rose to great individual prominence until the Greek Pluto—Persephone came into Rome as Dis-Proserpina.

3. Upon this theory of the Manes the cult followed inevitably. If the dead were able to influence the affairs of the living, they must be propitiated, and inasmuch as their interference was primarily with the affairs of the family to which they had originally belonged, and still did belong, it was incumbent upon the living members of that family to see that they were propitiated. Thus the cult of the dead was in its origin an ancestor-worship, and may well have been originally a family matter exclusively. Further, it was incumbent upon each living member of the family not only to perform these sacrifices, but also to
provide those who would succeed to the sacrifices after his death, in other words, to propagate the family. As for the State itself, it was also a family; and thus in that macrocosm of family life which the early State religion shows,—with its Vestal and its Penates, there might come also sacrifices for the dead, not only for the dead already provided for by their own families, but also for that ever-increasing number of ‘ancestors’ whose descendants, in spite of all precautions, had created, that homeless throng of spirits whose immediate influence on the world had been removed, and who therefore all the more readily would turn their ill-will against the State at large, unless she gave them satisfaction. Thus it was that both the sacra privata and the sacra publica were in part a worship of the dead.

There are sufficient suggestions and recollections in the body of Roman law to warrant the assumption of this theory, as one readily recognizes, is a close parallel to the Hindu law; but there is also this distinction, that, whereas Hindu law is based directly upon a sacred foundation, Roman law, when we first meet it, is already in the dual state of Duressium and its Jus Mortuum, with its intricate interlocking, so that we have now only the shadow picture of what once was. But even the shadow picture is by no means complete, and the jus Mortuum formed one of the regular topics of Roman law, especially in Roman religion. The Cardinal principle was the continuity of family worship (perpetuum aera mortu). Thus Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 22) quotes an old law: ‘Let private mortuaries keep sacred the laws concerning the divine dead.’ The heir was under obligations to continue that, and this prior lien on any money that he might receive, the inheritance might bring him. Similarly, cases of adoption were often motivated by the desire of the adopter to obtain an heir to the sacrifices, so that the process was civil, it was necessary, inasmuch as it involved the giving up of one set of sacrifices and the taking on of another. The act of adoption, to discuss it in the oldest and most primitive of all the assemblies—the Comitia Curate— and to obviate the consent of the Pontifex Maximus to the giving up of the one set of sacra (the so-called deatetasticorum, cf. Hunter, p. 766), a consent which was never given if the transfer left the heir under the shadow of an earthly representative (for a similar precedent in Hindu law, cf. Hunter, p. 205, n. 3). We may also compare the old law ascribed to Romulus (Plut. Rom. 22), whereby whoever sells his wife is given over to the Manes, probably because this was a blow to the stability of the family, and hence to the continuity of sacrifices to the dead. The actual motive underlying all the jura Mortum, all the enactments concerning the dead, was not either a chivalrous pity nor primarily a regard for the comfort of the dead, but the most general one is the desire to prevent the living from offending the gods of the other world, and lest the powers under the earth might hinder the gathering of the crops which had consumed half the land each year before the beginning of the harvest a sow (porca praestans) was sacrificed to Tellus (and probably also to Ceres) (by him who had not given the dead his due) (Paul. p. 295); later, by all men to Ceres and Tellus together, for fear they might have offended, so that eventually it became customary to offer such a sow as a sacrifice to Ceres for a good harvest (Wisw. p. 180).

4. In its earlier stages the cult of the dead belonged to the religion of fear rather than the religion of love. The spirits of the dead were capable of doing injury; they must first be brought to rest in the lower world. There they were incapable of doing harm, and they could rise from there only on certain occasions, and on those occasions religion provided for their pacification. All the cult acts pertaining to the dead may be traced. Before, under, and above the earth, there was a continuous bringing of the spirits to rest, which must be done immediately after death, and the placating of the spirits on the regular annual occasions when they returned to earth again. Around this crude religious form the word had its meaning, the cutting of the hair, the breathing a new and better spirit into these old forms, and possibly instituting one or two festivals of its own. But we must deal first with the self-protective apotropoeic side. A connection with death and burial do not as a whole concern us here, but merely those festivals which were strictly religious in character. These features seem, all of them, to go back to two ideas which are so intertwined that for us they are practically inseparable—possibly they always were. One is the offerings given to the dead as a newly formed member of the Manes, including a proper burial, as giving him a home, and the offerings of food, etc.; and the other is the ceremonies of purification which were necessary for the living, after their close contact with this lower world at the edge of the open grave (cf. the idea of the Manes coming for the dead, which occurs occasionally in inscriptions, e.g. CIL ii. 2255 [Corduba]: ‘the Manes have taken Abullia’). There is a considerable degree of uncertainty attaching to the exact order and the time for the various ceremonies connected with and following the funeral; writers of the Empire, who are practically our only authorities, seem to be confusing Greek and Roman ideas, and older with newer Roman customs, and possibly the details will never be fully straightened out. But in general the matter was as follows. The supreme duty towards the dead was burial. Doubtless an ethical motive of piety, a desire to give the dead a home for his own sake, often re-inforced by the fear for the living, was the reason why the family would take care that the dead did not return (as Romans believed they would) to haunt the living until a place was provided for it (Tertullian, de Anim. 56: ‘It was believed that the unburied dead did not descend into Hades until after they had received their due,’ i.e. burial). Curiously enough, in certain cases it seems to have been felt that the dead had forfeited the right of burial, e.g. in the case of suicides, of those lawfully put to death, the process was continued. Here it was an equally great duty to abstain from burial, and there seems to have been no fear of evil consequences from their shades. But in all other cases burial was an ethical imperative (Quintilian, Inst. 10, c. 6: ‘Because even when a just man has returned to his resting place, and no one ever in too good a hurry to honour an unburied body by putting earth, be it ever so little, on it.’) The question of burial versus cremation in the various epochs of Roman history does not concern us here, for in either case the grave was sacred; but burial seems always to have held at least a symbolic supremacy—owing to the as resexctum, or the custom of burying at least a portion of the body, e.g. a finger, when the rest was cremated. The burial itself was a self-protective act; in comparison with it the other acts were of relatively minor importance; and most of these acts seem to have had to do with the purification of the surviving members of the family rather than with the dead himself. One act of purification took place before the body was carried out for burial: the sacrifice to Ceres of a sow (porca praestans, not to be confused with the porca praestans above), ‘for the sake of purifying the family’ (Pestus, p. 220; cf. Mar. Victor. p. 25). In all probability Tellus, Mother Earth, and not Ceres, was the original recipient of the sacrifice, which was transferred to Ceres under the influence of the Greek Demeter cult (cf. Wiswosa, p. 161); and hence the sacrifice was probably originally a double sacrifice, of two Ideas united, as in the self-protection for the dead. On the day of the funeral and at the grave itself a sacrificial banquet seems to have been offered to the dead (sticernum, cf. Marquardt, Privatleben, p. 378). It consisted probably of very much the same things as were offered at the regular annual celebration of the Parentalia (see below). The nine days immediately following the funeral were days of mourning and purification, the sacrum novemnalia, the same term that was decreed by the Senate would be observed for extraordinary periods of devotion occasioned by some great calamity (on the number nine as a sacred number cf. Diels, Stibyll. Blatter, p. 41). On some of these days the Feriae Diaenales occurred, a celebration about which we know little, except that
the attendance of the members of the family was considered so necessary that the military authorities recognized it as a valid excuse for the absence of a recruit from the enlistment inspection, 'provided it had not been set on that day for the purpose of serving as an excuse' (Gell. xvi. 4. 3 ff.). The period of mourning continued on the ninth day, when only offerings to the dead, the cena novemdialis; and if funeral games were celebrated at all, as they often were, they occurred on this day (ludi novemdiales). The spirit of the dead was now safely housed in the lower world, whence he might be distinguished occasionally, and the Roman could go about his daily business, mindful only of these stated occasions when they arrived.

5. As regards the lower world itself, the Romans seem originally to have interested themselves very little in it. Every bit of description is given us by writers under Greek influence, and the details are identical with those of the lower world of the Greeks. Now, it is not likely that a strong Roman tradition could thus have been totally destroyed; we can only find in it the rudiments of the old beliefs. Hence it is probable that the Roman lower world was not furnished with the fittings of imagination until Greek mythology provided the models. There is nothing strange about this, when we realize that the former, now completely forgotten, had precluded the growth of mythology for both the greater and the lesser gods. From the time of the Punic wars onwards the Romans pictured to themselves the lower world in just the same form as the Greeks had done (cf. Rohde, Psyché, vol. i.); and before that time, if they thought of it at all, and inevitably they must have done so to some slight extent, it was merely as a place of shadows and darkness. Their practical concern was the question of the eventual return of the spirits to trouble them; and hence their attention was concentrated not on the lower world in pleasant poetic fancies, but on the door between it and the upper world, the passage through which these divine dead came up. This entrance was the mundus, about which the Romans possessed original beliefs strong enough to remain even under the pressure of Greek thought. The mundus was the opening of the lower world; it was in the form of a trench into which sacrifices to the gods of the lower world, and the dead gods, were thrown. In the centre of every town, at its foundation, such a trench was dug and sacrifices performed. The oldest mundus of Rome was that of the Palatine city (for its location cf. Richter, Die ältesten Wohnstätte des rom. Volkes, Berlin, 1891, p. 7 ff.; Hülsen, Röm. Mitt. v. 76 ff., xi. 202 ff.). It was opened three days in the year: August 24, October 5, and November 8; probably the stone, and possibly some earth was removed (cf. Festus, p. 142; Macrob. Sat. i. 15. 17 ff.). "When," as Varro says (cf. Macr. i. 1), "the mundus is open, the door of the sad gods of the lower world is open, therefore it is not proper on those days for a battle to be fought, troops to be levied, the army to march forth, nor should anyone be married. There were other sacred trenches of the same sort in Rome: one in the Forum, the Lacus Curtius, connected with the story of M. Curtius (recently discovered; cf. Hülsen, Röm. Forum, p. 159; and, in general, Gilbert, Top. i. 304 ff.), another the so-called grave of Tarpeia, opened on Feb. 13, when one of the Vestals made sacrifice there (cf. Mommsen, CIL i. p. 309; Schwager, Röm. Gesch. i. 486; and, in general, on Tarpeia, cf. as a forgotten goddess of the lower world, Wiesehöfer, Rel. 187 (1908), still another at the 'grave of Larentia' in the Velabrum, to which on Dec. 23 the Pontifices and the Flamen Quirinalis brought offerings (Varro, Ling. Lat. vii. 23 ff.; Fast. Prim. to Dec. 23; cf. Wissowa, p. 188 and note 1).

6. Apart from these special occasions for each particular mundus, there were two general occasions in the year when all the spirits of the dead were supposed to return to earth. The first days of May were called the Parentalia, and the Roman women, and the Romans in distinct contrast to that of the Greeks and of most other ancient peoples. The dead had the

Since the Lemuria represents a more primitive stage, it had better be discussed first. The most picturesque account is that given by Ovid (Fasti, v. 419 ff.), but we must be on our guard in using it, remembering that Greek ideas and local custom may be blended in everything Ovid writes. The ceremony takes place at midnight. The father of the household, barefooted, passes through the house, throws black beans behind his back, and says nine times, 'These I give, and with my hand and my mouth make holy all things, and most especially the wild and sacred places, and the altars which have been received on the first day, and which are called Manes ex pro paterni, 'Go forth, ye divine shades of my fathers.' The comparison of this ceremony with the 'driving out of the ghosts,' so common among primitive peoples of to-day, and itself itself immediately (cf. Fraser, Golden Bough, iii. 83 ff. Here, as everywhere else in this interesting and valuable book, the reader must exercise great care in examining the sources given, as they differ widely in scientific value; cf. also Rohde, Psyché, i. p. 281). The Parentalia presents quite a different picture. As its name implies, it is the festival of the parentes, or the making of offerings to one's ancestors. It began at noon of Feb. 13 and continued for nine days. The first eight days belonged only to a few of the faithful, while the ninth day (Feb. 21) was also a public celebration, the Ferialia (Varro, op. cit. 15; Paul. p. 55; cf. Marquardt, iii. 310 ff.). During all these nine days marriages were forbidden, the temples were closed, and people did not wear any dress. Every family decorated the graves of its ancestors and made offerings there. Most appropriately, on the day after the close of the Samian, and once among primitive peoples of to-day, as the sacrifice itself is immediate immediately (cf. Fraser, Golden Bough, iii. 83 ff. Here, as everywhere else in this interesting and valuable book, the reader must exercise great care in examining the sources given, as they differ widely in scientific value; cf. also Rohde, Psyché, i. p. 281). The Parentalia presents quite a different picture. As its name implies, it is the festival of the parentes, or the making of offerings to one's ancestors. It began at noon of Feb. 13 and continued for nine days. The first eight days belonged only to a few of the faithful, while the ninth day (Feb. 21) was also a public celebration, the Ferialia (Varro, op. cit. 15; Paul. p. 55; cf. Marquardt, iii. 310 ff.). During all these nine days marriages were forbidden, the temples were closed, and people did not wear any dress. Every family decorated the graves of its ancestors and made offerings there. Most appropriately, on the day after the close of the festival, Feb. 22, a family festival, the Caristia, or Cara Cognatio, was held, when family quarrels were adjusted, and the peace which the individual member of the family had just made with the dead was now extended to the living members among themselves (cf. Ovid, Fasti, ii. 617; Val. Max. ii. 1, 8; Calend.Elem., as CIL i. p. 256).

The attempt has been made to distinguish between the Lemuria and the Parentalia by considering the former as the festival of the dead, the latter as the festival of the buried, and therefore hostile, dead, and the latter as the festival of the buried, and therefore hostile, dead. (cf. Wards, Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 108). The idea of fear is certainly more prominent in the Lemuria than in the latter; but the Lemuria are just the same ancestors as the Di Parentes, and the very fact that their interference, either for good or for ill, is confined to stated seasons, proves that they were buried, i.e. admitted into the lower world and resident there ordinarily.

Of the other yearly festivals of the dead we know but little; we hear of a festival of the Caristia on the first day of May (Calendae Fabarum, Varro in Non. p. 341; Macr. Sat. i. 12, 31; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 101 ff.), so called from the offering of beans to the dead; but roses were also offered (CIL iii. 3992).

In one respect the ancestor-worship of the Romans was in distinct contrast to that of the Greeks and of most other ancient peoples. The dead had the
power of returning to earth again on stated occasions, but they could not be called up and consulted. 'Necromancy' was an altogether important idea, and wherever we meet with references to it, foreign influence is present. The absence of this characteristic is no accident. The idea of prophecy was nowhere hardly present in any form in native Roman religion; their science of augury and of the horuspices was simply a means of ascertaining the approval or non-approval of the gods in regard to a certain action, merely of obtaining an answer to a categorical question. But if the facts were called up arbitrarily to give information, it was possible for certain individuals to be over to them for punishment, as in the consenratio, or for certain individuals voluntarily to give themselves over to them in the devotio. Consenratio is the transfer of a person or thing out of the realm of the *jus humanum* into that of the *jus divinum*. Where a person is involved, it is, of course, a punishment. Persons or things might thus be given over to any deity or goddess. Of the two, *Di Manes* formed no exception; e.g., a man who sold his wife was *dis manibus aover* (Pint. Rom. 22); also a child who struck his parent (Fest. p. 230); and the violator of a grave (CIL x. 4535). The cases and statistics of the devotio and of the consenratio are these. It is in the nature of a vow, made to the *Di Manes*, or Tellus and the *Di Manes*, whereby a man's life is given to the *Di Manes* in advance in order that other men's lives may be destroyed. We have already said (Papir. Wissow. i. 224) that the *Di Manes* offered their own lives that the enemy of the State might be destroyed: the first case of Decius, the father, in the battle of Venusius, B.C. 340 (cf. sep. Livy, viii. 6. 8–16 ; 9. 1–11, and, in general, Münzer in Papir. Wissow. i. 226); the second case of the *Di Manes*, the son, in the battle of Sentinum, B.C. 295; and the third case of Decius, the grandson, in the battle of Asculum, B.C. 279 (cf. Münzer, ib. i. 2265; on the devotio proper cf. Panly-Wissow. iib, s. u.). The devotio, as a curse directed against private individuals, does not belong to this period, as it arose entirely under Greek influence, and does not seem to have been prevalent until the Empire.

II. FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REPUBLIC UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. In the earliest periods of Roman religion the *Di Manes* were quite as truly gods as any of the other deities, and quite as unlike the later god-concept as any other of the gods. They were all alike thought of anamistiically as mere potentialities; but the other gods were destined to develop and to obtain an individuality, whereas the *Di Manes* remained an unindividualized mass of spirits, into which the dead man went at death, losing, so far as the cult was concerned, all his individuality except merely his family relationship. To be sure, under Greek influence certain gods of the dead were adopted by the Romans, namely, *Tiburius and Proserpina*. After death, on the assumption of the gods of the upper world; but this had the effect of only emphasizing the more the undeveloped dense mass of the *Di Manes*. On the other hand, during these centuries of the Republic, another idea had been slowly developing—the idea of the *Genius* (or if a woman, the *Juno*), or divine double of the individual, accompanying him during all his lifetime. In the question as to what became of the *Genius* at the death of the individual, and in the meaning of that god bearing to him a life after death, the idea of personal immortality had its rise in Rome. The statements of later writers are obscure, partly by purely philosophical ideas foreign to the real beliefs of the many, and partly by a desire to identify and generally systematize all forms of Roman belief; but we can dimly recognize the following development. Originally the *Genius* and the *Di Manes* had no connection whatsoever, except the mere matter of sequence; so long as a man lived he had a *Genius*, an individuality, at first thought of as merely physical, later as psychological; but when he died, his individuality ceased, he was gathered to the majority (not the divine doubles of the individuals in it), the *Di Manes*. Now, in the course of time, one of the effects of Greece on Rome was the development of individuality and might not have just the individuality. All these ideas centred in the *Genius*, and hence it was natural to think of the *Genius* as existing after death. It must, however, in that case stand in some relation to the *Manes*, it must be identical with at least a part of them, that part contributed by the individual at his death. It is not surprising then, that, beginning with the Augustan age (cf. Hübner, in Müller's *Handbuch*, i. p. 529, § 47), the idea of the individual makes itself felt in connexion with the death of the *Manes*, and we have the form (which soon becomes the ordinary form), 'To the *Manes* of, or belonging to, such a man,' emphasized occasionally by the addition of the *Genius* (cf. CIL v. 246, etc.). Sometimes the number of the other bacilli are these. It is in the nature of a vow, made to the *Di Manes*, or Tellus and the *Di Manes*, whereby a man's life is given to the *Di Manes* in advance in order that other men's lives may be destroyed. We have already said (Papir. Wissow. i. 224) that the *Di Manes* offered their own lives that the enemy of the State might be destroyed: the first case of Decius, the father, in the battle of Venusius, B.C. 340 (cf. sep. Livy, viii. 6. 8–16 ; 9. 1–11, and, in general, Münzer in Papir. Wissow. i. 226); the second case of the *Di Manes*, the son, in the battle of Sentinum, B.C. 295; and the third case of Decius, the grandson, in the battle of Asculum, B.C. 279 (cf. Münzer, ib. i. 2265; on the devotio proper cf. Panly-Wissow. iib, s. u.). The devotio, as a curse directed against private individuals, does not belong to this period, as it arose entirely under Greek influence, and does not seem to have been prevalent until the Empire.

2. The worship of the dead and emperor-worship.

—The elevation of the Roman emperors into gods was caused by two entirely distinct sets of tendencies; the one coming from the Orient, a tendency which, in so far as it was not checked (as it always was by all the better emperors), made the emperors into gods during their lifetime as well as after death; the other a thoroughly Roman concept, the idea that during life not the man but only his *Genius* was divine, but that after death, when the *Di Manes* still lived, as the individualized *Manes*, the offerings might be made to the individual. The difference, therefore, between an emperor, who allowed himself to be worshipped merely within the limits authorized by Roman ideas, and an ordinary Roman citizen was this: during lifetime the *Genius* of each was an object of worship, but the emperor's *Genius* was always, in all cases, one of the regular gods of the State cult, whereas the *Genius* of the individual belonged purely to the private cult, usually confined to a man's household. The death of an emperor was an event of the highest nature; everyone was enthusiastic over it. The *Genius* of the dead emperor were worshipped as gods, with a similar distinction, namely, that in the case of certain emperors the Senate, after examining their acts, decreed that they should be included among the regular gods of the State. The only real distinction, therefore, was the inclusion of the emperor's *Genius* among the gods of the State in every case, during life, and the inclusion of the emperor himself, i.e. his *Manes*, among the State gods in certain cases after death. There can be little doubt that emperor-worship had the effect of strengthening the worship of the dead in general.

3. The worship of the dead and Christianity.

—Among the many difficult problems which the teachers of the Christian religion had to solve in
ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Slavonic and Teutonic)

the Roman world, perhaps none was more difficult than presented by the concept of the worship of the dead as protecting and helping deities. Polytheism, so far as the greater gods were concerned, had among the educated classes gone over into monotheism without the aid of Christianity, merely by the doctrine of a philosophical system, with inborn, almost instinctive beliefs, bred in the bone, such as the divinity of the dead, that the Church's real battle had to be fought. Her method was one of compromise; it was the authorization, nay the encouragement, of a worship of certain of the dead, with which evidently need the saints, too, must accomplish something for them. This also was granted by the Church, but merely in the sense that the saints acted as intermediaries, whose intercession with God would increase the praying of one's petition. Theology stopped there, but humanity went further. By that facile transfer of the means into the end, of the intermediary into the final, which is so characteristic of simple minds, aided too as they were in this case by a habit of thought which had made the dead into gods like other gods, these saintly intercessors soon became gods on their own account, and the legend of each became a cult-legend, indicating the circumstances in which each was especially powerful. Thus there arose, literally from the dead, a host of minor gods, a myriad of potentialities, like the old gods of the so-called Indiginta menta. Human frailty had, at least in the lower classes, triumphed over theology, and the real religious world of the Roman's latest descendants bore a startling resemblance to that of his pagan ancestors in the days of Romulus. See also art. ROMAN RELIGION.


JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.
ancestor-worship is to be found in the records of the colonists of Iceland, who believed that all members of their families would pass after death into certain hills. They regarded these places with special reverence, and constructed sacrificial shrines there. The element of ancestor-worship may be said to enter into the cult of certain gods, from whom most royal families, in England as well as in the North, claimed descent. Yet in the case of deities whose cult was wide-spread, such as that of Woden-Othin (by far the most ancient case), it would be unsafe to assume that this was the original element. On the other hand, deities whose worship was more or less local, like Thorgerdr Hólgabrot, may very well have been regarded originally as such by spirits. For the connexion account is to be taken also of the hamingi, guardian-spirits of families, who are represented as similar to Valkyries or warrior maidens.

Ancestors, mention must be made of the eft—a word which in other Teutonic languages means inherited property, but in Scandinavian a wake or feast in honour of a dead person, especially the head of the house. Such feasts were often held on an immense scale, and many hundreds of persons invited. Large quantities of ale were then drunk in memory of the deceased—whence the banquet was also called etf-il, a name which survived until recently in the northern English word arvel. The wives of the deceased were for the first time allowed to occupy the vacant high seat. At religious festivals also it was customary to drink to departed relatives as well as to the gods.

The Cult of the Dead among the Teutons will be fully described under art. Aryan Religion.


B. CHADWICK.

Ancestor-Worship and Cult of the Dead (Ugro-Finnic).—Ancestor-worship and cult of the dead is, so far as we can judge, the oldest form of religion among the Ugro-Finnic peoples. It is still the only form common to their folk. Their places of sacrifice frequently stand in close proximity to their places of burial; their images are chiefly representations of the dead; their offerings are to be explained by the needs (food, clothes, etc.) of the dead; and their whole system of magic seems in the main to aim at a union with the spirits of the dead. See artt. Finns, Lapps, Mordvinians, Ostiaks.

Kaare Krohn.

Andamans. I. The Country and the People.

The Andamans form the Northern portion of a string of islands, seven hundred miles long (the Nicobars forming the Southern portion), stretching across the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, between Cape Negrais in Burma and Achin Head in the Philippines. This very long, but narrow, plain in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, have long been held to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be sub-aerial, between these two points. Assuming this opinion to be correct, the Andamans are, in their present condition, the summits of a submarine range, connected with the Arakan Yoma range of Burma, which has, at some time or other, become almost wholly submerged by a volcanic subsidence. This range need not have been more than the physically possible on the life of this or that two hundred fathoms, to connect a long narrow peninsula, jutting out from the Burma coast with the present Andaman group of islands.

These considerations are of importance for the present purpose, as, according to what we have learned of the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bojirghir, group of tribes that Maia Tomola, the ancestral chief of the nation from which they all sprang, dispersed them after a cataclysm, caused a subsidence of parts of a great island, divided it up into the present Andaman islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants with many large and small beasts that have since disappeared. He also notes, as tending to show the junction of the Andaman and Nicobar island, that, besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and which they cannot describe.

Lying as they do in the track of a great commerce, which has gone on for at least two thousand years, both from China and Japan westwards and from the Levant and India eastwards, the existence of the Andamans has been reported probably from the days of the Crusades. (For example, Andamans as described by Ptolomy, 1885, p. 236) under a variety of names, representing some form of Andaman, meaning a ‘monkey’ people, and indicating the savage aboriginal antagonists of the more civilized early population of India. As early as the 9th century, the inhabitants of the islands were quite untruly described by Arab travellers as cannibals (Reinaud, Relation des voyagez, 1845, i. 8)—a mistake that seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could seize on his landing, as one of the tribes does still; they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy); and they would cut off the noses and tongues of their prisoners. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused in ignorant mariners’ minds by such occurrences in a far land, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result. This is a consideration of cardinal importance, as this false charge led to the Andamans being left severely alone until 1857 (except for a brief period between 1799 and 1786), when the British Government was forced to take steps to put a stop to the ships of wrecked crews by occupying the islands. The result is that there exists in the Andamans an aboriginal people uncontaminated by outside influences, whose religious ideas are of native growth and exhibit the phenomena of a truly untaught philosophy.

The Andamanese are naked pigmy savages, as low in civilization as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance in mental development between them and the highest of the brute beasts, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food, however slightly, and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial. Two various tribes belong to one race, speaking varieties of one fundamental isolated language. They are the relics of a bygone Negrito population now represented by themselves, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, and the Aetas of the Philippines (though last two being much mixed with the surrounding peoples), who very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic Continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of peoples whose existence, or traces of it, can now be found there. In this view these Andamanese are of extreme interest, as preserving in their persons and customs, owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation, the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence.
2. Character of the People. — In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax; and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilized child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor, until the English taught him the use of dogs, did he ever domesticate animals or kind kind himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count, and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate, and ill-defined. He has never developed, unbiased, any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired, and is apt to break down physically under mentat training.

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child: of very short but strong memory; susceptible of, but hospitable to, strangers; ungrateful, imitative, and watchful of his companions and neighbours; vain and, under the spur of vanity, industrious and persevering; teachable up to a quickly reached limit; fond of undefined games of goona and causal; too easy to be affected in temperament by his superstitions; too careless, indeed, to store water even for a voyage: plucky but not courageous; reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger; selfish, but always jealous of goods and causal to the ancestral spirits, or a sense of honour: petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath, and equally quick to forget; affectionate, lively in his movements, and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the weakly or the helpless, and to captives; kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered, cruel, jealous, treacherous, and vindictive, and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive, and restless, busy in their own pursuits, keen sportsmen, and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase for sheer love of it and other physical occupations, and not lustful, indecent, or obscenely abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful, and quarrelsome—a people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and adherent to ancestral customs, they find it difficult to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them has introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. The intelligence of the women is good, though not, as a rule, equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is remarkable.

There is no idea of government, but to each tribe and to every sept of it belongs a recognized chief, who commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self-interest of the other individual members of the tribe or sept dictates. There is no social status that is not personally acquired on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical. Property is communal, as is all the land; and the ideas as to individual possessions, even as to money, age, and rank, are acquired and are accompanied by an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. Custom is the only law, and the only explanation of social actions or of the form and adornment of manufactured articles. In the religion of such a people as this, religion is seen in its most primitive form.

3. Religion. — The religion is simple animism, and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease, and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the care of all the ancestors, whom it is not necessary to propitiate, though sins, i.e. acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga now dwells in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the ‘soul’ after death will go under the earth by an aerial bridge, but there is no heaven or hell, nor any idea of a bodily resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct, and in the utterances of ‘wise men,’ dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune. These practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to such personal profit, by the use of talismans, charms, and inanimate objects, which these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants, or ordeals, nor are there any forms of appeal to supernatural powers.

Puluga, who is fundamentally identifiable with some deity of the storms (tabu), despite his confusion with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate the term by ‘God.’ He has, however, a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters the Morans, who are his messengers. He has no authority over the evil spirits, and contents himself with pointing out to them offenders against himself. The two great evil, i.e. harmful, spirits are Erem-chauga of the forest and duruin of the sea. Like Puluga, both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila, and a numerous class, the Chol, who are practically spirits of disease. The sun is the wife of the moon, and the stars are their children, dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though the Andamanese twang their bows and ‘chaff’ the moon during an eclipse; and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of a soul arises out of his reflexion in water, but not attachment, and not the desire, which follows him about. His reflexion is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world (chatian) under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally, and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence, and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one (because the former babe has been transferred to the present one), and in the recognition of all natives of India and the Far East as changa, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

4. Superstitions. — The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus fire frightens Erem-chauga, lit. ‘Forest-ghost,’ so it is always carried (the practical reason is that the Andamanese are the only people known who have never been able to make fire), and not until they have experienced the strength of the sun and the moon, they keep silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in the storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning beeswax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky
and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities. For instance, murdered persons have been found with heavy stones placed on them, and with stones placed along the pathway. Every Andaman other knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the man has been murdered, but that the murderers have passed along the path in front. Primitive simplicity here comes to the surface, as the presence of the stones tells as an Englishman who understands the signs exactly what has happened.

5. Mythology.—The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor; to him and his wife Puluga brought fire and taught all the arts, and for them he created everything. This line of belief is still alive, and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus, when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano on Barren Island, seeing the smoke from the top, they at once named it Moolarchona, 'Smoking island,' and said the fire was Puluga's. The next most important element in their mythology is the story of the cataclysm which engulfed the islands, and was, of course, caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Luratut, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the changas, or 'ghostly ancestors.' Other stories relate in a fanciful way the origin of customs (e.g. tatuing and dancing), the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on. An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metamorphosis, and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, and other objects in nature. Indeed, the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

6. Customs.—There are rudimentary initiatory ceremonies for both males and females connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability, and pointing to a limited tabu, but they are not accompanied by the communication of any secrets or by any religious ceremony. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food, and every man has through life his own tabued article. This is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable. Tatuing is partly ceremonial and the perpetual evening dancing also becomes ceremonial on occasion. Neither has any religious significance, and the songs accompanying the dances rarely relate to beliefs and superstitions. Among the games, mock burials and 'ghost' hunts are favourites. Religion does not enter into the naming customs, except possibly into the 'flower' names for girls, which are bestowed after some one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sex, and endogamous as regards tribe, or more strictly, group. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Betrothal accounted as marriage is recognized, and the marriage relations are somewhat complicated, and quite as strictly observed as among civilized communities. Deaths occasion loud lamentations from all connected with the deceased. Burial in the great earthwork is universal, as an honour, and is practised. A death causes an encampment to be ceremonially marked, and to be deserted for about three months, and burial spots are also marked and avoided. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from a meal for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up, and made into ornaments. To these great importance is attached as mementoes of the deceased, and they are believed to stop pain and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is tied round the neck and worn by the chief, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower, or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential, and by no means without elaboration in detail.

LITERATURE.—E. H. Man, Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, London, 1883; M. V. Portman, History of Our Relations with the Andamanese, Calcutta (Government), 1888; R. C. Temple, Census of India, 1901, vol. iii. ('The Andaman and Nicobar Islands' , Calcutta (Government), 1903.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANDEANS.—I. The pre-Inca people.—For the study of the Andean religions it is necessary to take account of a civilization which flourished long before the rise of the Incas; because the power inherited some of the names, and with them the religious belief, of the more ancient people. Near the south shore of Lake Titicaca, now over 12,000 feet above the sea-level, there are very extensive ruins of a most remarkable character. They are of such great extent that there must have been a very large population in the vicinity; the stones are of such size, and any possible quarry so distant, that the people must have been possessed of very remarkable mechanical skill; and they are cut and carved with such accuracy and precision that the workers must have been skilful masons. The mouldings and symmetrical ornamentation show most accurate measurements, and no want of artistic taste. There were temples, market places, and much detailed carving. The monoliths are so enormous, one of them 36 feet by 7, another 26 feet by 16 by 6, that they are excelled in size only by the obelisks and statues of Egypt.* The ancient people who built them may well receive the name of the monolithic people, forming a monolithic empire.† Universal tradition points to the south as the direction whence they came. The building of Tiahuanaco, as the ruins are now called, necessitated a great population, and the result of long ages of civilization—and abundant supplies of food.‡ It appears certain that the region could not have been at its present elevation. At 12,600 feet no corn will ripen, and the country can sustain only a very sparse population. Monolithic builders cannot have worked at that elevation, or anything like it. The early Spanish writers give unanimous evidence that the ruins of Tiahuanaco were built long before the time of the Incas.¶

2. Pre-Inca religion.—The only clue to the religion of the monolithic people is to be found in a famous doorway cut out of one enormous stone. The masonry is excellent throughout, and all the lines are as straight, the angles as square, and the surfaces as level as could be produced by any good workman of the present day.‖ The length of the

* The Megalithic Age of Peru, by Sir Clements Markham, American Congress, Stuttgart, 1904.
† The best recent accounts are by Richard Inwards, The Temple of the Andes (1889), and by Le de Cereq Montfort, Mission Scientifique Française, Travaux et Fouilles de l'Andes, 1898.
‡ See A tologia, vol. VIII. (2nd series, p. 73), on the monoliths of monoliths for Stonehenge and for Egypt. All neatful appliances existed in the Stone Age, but a single command of men was essential. The date of Stonehenge is now placed at 1800 B.C., or 5700 years B.C.
§ Ciesa de Leon, cap. ov. pp. 374-379; Gallardino de la Vega, i. pp. 71, 75, 210, 212, il. 307; Astoria, pp. 71, 416. These references are to the present writer’s translation (Hakluyt Society). See also Relaciones Geograficas de Indias, ii. p. 66.
¶ Inwards The Temple of the Andes, p. 21.
monolith is over 13 ft., and the opening of the doorway 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. Above the doorway there is much carving. There is a central figure with many symbols and accessories. There are rays round the head; in each hand there is a sort of sceptre ending with heads of birds, the monoliths are the same as those round a golden representation of the sun of the Incaian times, denoting the Inca months Cacay and Ccapac Raymi. It is the work of a highly skilled mason, but not of a sculptor. On each side of the central figure there are three rows of kneeling figures, each in rows of four. They all hold a sceptre, a tassel, and an ornament. Those on one side have the heads of men, and on the other those of birds. Underneath there is a beautifully designed ornament running along the length of the stone, consisting of rectangular patterns, ending with birds' heads, and three human heads similarly ornamented. This central figure may, the present writer thinks, be assumed to represent the deity worshipped by all the chiefs of the people and all the animal creation. But there must have been an interval of many centuries between the fall of the monolithic empire and the rise of the Incas. When the old empire fell to pieces, the Andean region must have been occupied by many tribes, and the Inca state was formed by a union of them. It had a language of its own, the Quichua, and a people of its own, the Quichua. There were many dialects. One, spoken in the basin of Lake Titicaca, received the name of Aymara from the Jesuit missionaries of Juli; another spoken in the region of the Incas was called Quichua by the first Spaniards who wrote its grammar; another dialect was spoken further north. Eventually, some five centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Incas began to form another great empire, and their language prevailed over the others.

3. The Incas.—There had been a long interval of disintegration. Nevertheless, all memory of the monolithic empire had not been lost. There were myths telling how the great God first made Himself known at Lake Titicaca, how the sun first appeared there, and how the first man was created there. But the main tradition was the revelation of the almighty God, named Viracocha, who is carved with his adoring worshippers on the monolithic doorway. His worship was maintained by chiefs and learned men, after the old empire had disappeared, and was inherited by the Incas. Some of the other names were handed down as attributes of the almighty God. The chief of these were Con, Illa, Yvari, Pachayachachi, Pachacamac. The meaning of Con is unknown. Illa means light. Yvari is said to be a founder. The anonymous Jesuit explains the word as Principium rerum sine principio. The derivation of Viracocha is lost to us. Two authorities say that the first part of the word is a corruption of piruca, a depositary or abode. The primary meaning of cocha is a lake, but here it is said to mean an abyss, profundity, space.—'Dweller in space.' Pachayachachi and Pachacamac are attributes of the deity. Pacha means time or place, also the universe, yachachi a teacher, camac to rule or govern—'The teacher and ruler of the universe.' The name Viracocha sufficed to convey to the minds of the Incas the idea of a Supreme Creator, yet they added other terms to it, intended to express some of the attributes of the deity.

4. Viracocha.—The Incas, with their Amautas

*(wise men) and Quippuamayoos (registrars), certainly worshipped the Supreme Being under the name of Viracocha, having received the tradition from remote ages, and they looked upon all other deities as his servants, ordained to do his will. An Inca Indian, named Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, who lived in the 17th cent., mentions another being as having been made known in the early times, whose fame was handed down by tradition. This was Tomapa, also called Tarapaca and Pachacan. He is also mentioned by Sarmiento as a servant of Viracocha. The details about him are puerile, but it is possible that Tomapa represents a solar myth. The name occurs with that of the creator in some of the Inca hymns. The Incas certainly worshipped Viracocha, the supreme creator of all things, but they approached him as an unknown god, who to them was shrouded in mystery. They cried to him to be taught where he was, that they might know and understand him; and they recognized that the sun, the moon, and the seasons were ordained and ordered by him. They sought to know the will of the Deity, and prayed for a return to prosperity.*

5. Some hymns of the Incas have been preserved by Salcamayhua, but in a very corrupt form, and it is difficult to make out their exact meaning in English; but they are so important for the old Peruvian religion that it seems desirable to give English versions of two of the hymns.

I

'O Viracocha! Lord of the Universe,
Now let me see, 
Now art thou female,
Lord of heat! Lord of generation! 
Can divination be employed 
To learn where thou art?
If away, where art thou?
Whether thou art above, 
Whether thou art below, 
Whether thou art around, 
The thy royal throne and sceptre, 
O hear me! 
From the heaven above, 
From the sea below, 
Where er thou art, 
O Creator of the world, 
O Maker of man, 
Lord of all lords, 
To thee alone, 
With eyes that fall, 
With longing to know thee, 
I come to thee 
To know thee, 
To understand thee. 
Thou seest me, 
Thou knowest me. 
The Sun, the Moon, 
The day, the night, 
Spring and winter, 
They all travel, 
Not ordained in vain, 
From appointed places 
To their destinations; 
They duly arrive. 
Wheresoever may be ordained. 
Thou holdest them 
Underneath, 
Thou holdest them. 
O hear me! 
Let me be thy chosen; 
Do not suffer 
That I should tire, 
That I should die.'

*They were originally printed in the corrupt Quichua, exactly as in the manuscript, in the present writer's translation of Salcamayhua (Hakluyt Society, 1873). Ximénez de la Espada brought out a Spanish edition in 1579, printing the hymns in Quichua in the same way. Don Samuel de Lafonte Quevedo then took the Quichua in hand, and, with the able assistance of Pedro Moci, the author of one of the latest Quichua dictionaries, took the Quichua names, and made, and still more corrections in the separations of words. The text was thus made sufficiently intelligible to bear translation into Spanish (Ensayo Mitologico, los Hombres sagrados de los Reyes del Cuzco, from S. A. Lafonte Quevedo, Talleres del Museo de La Plata, 1892). 

Are these lines, conceivably, intended to convey an idea analogous to the Hindu Linga and Yoni?
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ii.
Come, then,
Grand as the heavens.
Lord over the earth,
Oreator of all things,
Creator of man ... Justiniani.

The bodies of the Incas were preserved with extreme care, and it is stated, in the official report of Sarmiento, that the special Huaca or idol of each Inca was kept with the mummy (Sarmiento, Hist.). There were servants for the mummies of the sovereigns, and estates for their maintenance. The names of seven of the so-called idols have been preserved; and they do not support the idea that they were idols in our sense of the word, but rather insignia or commemorative ornaments, perhaps in the nature of 'windows', used by each sovereign in his lifetime. It was a custom, not only as regards the Inca salts, but among all classes of the people, to place with the dead, offerings of food and other things required by them when living. This custom has never been eradicated, and even now it is practised secretly in many parts of Peru. The belief which originated this custom, and which has caused its continuance even to the present day, must have been very deeply seated. It is exceedingly difficult to acquire a complete understanding of the ideas of another race of people which give rise to special customs. But the present writer was well acquainted with an old priest, Dr. Pablo F. Justiniani, a linear descendant of the Incas, whose intense sympathy for his people enabled him to comprehend their ideas, if any one ever did so. He told the present writer that they felt a certainty that their dead continued to exist apart from their bodies, and that they had needs, but spiritual, not corporeal needs. They were certain of this because many of them had seen their dead. Don Pablo attributed this conviction to appearances in dreams and visions. Of a future state of rewards and punishments they do not appear to have had any idea in the time of the Incas, only the conviction that their ancestors continued to exist after death. In this state they were said to be souls without bodies, but still with needs and requirements, not corporeal, but spiritual. Thence arose the strange belief that all things had souls as well as their material parts, and that the spirits of the dead needed the souls or spiritual parts of food, chicha, coca, llamas, even clothing. By placing the corporeal parts of these things with the dead, it was believed that their souls or spiritual essences were conveyed, through prayer and certain ceremonies, to the souls of the dead. This belief was so deeply impressed on the Inca people that it survived all subsequent persecution. The practice existed.

6. Huacas.—Subordinate to Viracochas, to whom a temple was dedicated in the great square of Cuzco, the worship of the Sun, Moon, Lightning, and of certain deities, called Huacas, was ordained. When the empire of the Incas rose to greatness, there was a complicated ritual, with special ceremonies, festivals, and sacrifices for each month. Our information is mainly derived from the first Spaniards who came to Peru and wrote narratives. They were soldiers, lawyers, in two instances natives, but chiefly priests who were full of pre-conceived ideas. It is not always easy to separate their pre- conceptions and the results of their leading questions from the actual facts they were told. It is still more difficult to reach the exact nature of the beliefs of a people, when we have reports only of their ceremonies and of their outward actions.

The people were divided into ayllus or tribes, which had a close analogy to the Roman gens. Every ayllu had a common huaca or sacred object of worship, which was called paccarina. The chief paccarina of the Inca ayllu was the Sun. The Incas were children of the Sun. But there was another very sacred Huaca, which is often mentioned in Inca history, and to which a legend was attached.

The origin of the Incas is connected with this Huaca. Seven brothers and four sisters are said to have issued from 'windows' at a place called Paccarina-tampu (some leagues south of Cuzco), two words meaning 'the tavern of the dawn'. Their leader was Manco Capac, the first sovereign Inca. They had many followers, and they advanced northwards to occupy the valley of Cuzco. During the march of the brothers was turned to stone at a place called Huanacauri. This is the legend. Next to the celestial bodies, this Huaca of Huanacauri became the most sacred object of worship. It was three miles from Cusco. Very elaborate sacrifices were offered to it, and it was at Huanacauri that the great festival was celebrated, when the Inca youths went through their ordeal previous to receiving knighthood. The exact position of the Huanacauri Huaca in the Inca religion is not clear. It was certainly a very important one in the traditions of the Inca ayllu.

7. Ancestor—worship. — The other ayllus had various beasts or birds, natural objects or mummies, as their paccarinas. It was the worship of ancestors by the side of the worship of celestial bodies. The mallquits, or bodies of the dead, were preserved, and treated with the greatest respect. In the mountains round Cuzco and in the Yucay valley they were kept in caves faced with masonry. In the basin of Lake Titicaca they were preserved in towers called chulpas. Those at Sillustani are circular, and carefully built with ashlar masonry. In Quito the dead were interred in mounds called tells.

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* Inca Huayna Capac.
María Incu.
María Tupac Ichu—Pedro Ortiz de Oruba.
Catalina Ortiz—Luis Justiniani.
Luis Justiniani.
Nicolo Justiniani.
Justo Pastor Justiniani.
Dr. Don Pablo Policarpo Justiniani.
secretly fifty years ago to some extent, as Don Pablo informed us. The present writer is told by Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, who returned from Peru in the year 1906, that the practice still exists. This appears to have been the position of the Inca worship of their ancestors, possibly accompanied by some idea of intercession on the part of the gods. In each yllu had a pachacoc or so-called idol, represented by a hill or other natural object, occasionally by an image. This was apart from the household conopas, to be noticed presently.

8. Priesthood.—The complicated ceremonial worship of the Incas consisted of a great body of priests and ministers. The Villaco uma (lit. 'the head giving counsel') was the chief of the Inca hierarchy. His seat was in the great Tablalay or council place at Cusco, and he resided at Pisac and other towns in different parts of Peru. Each month had its special festival.

The first month, 22 June to 22 July, was called Chaskayraymi. Many llamas were sacrificed to the Sun, and ceremonies of great magnificence. The next month was called Chahuarquic, the season of ploughing the land. It was also called Tarpuy-quilla or the sowining month. Prayers were made for a good harvest. The people chanted a song called Yaquiyacarca, and sacrifices were offered. Next came the month Yapaquq, the season of sowing the land, when the Situa festival was solemnized. The rains commenced, and it was a time of sickness. Four hundred warriors stood in the Temple in a hundred, facing each of the cardinal points. The priests shouted, 'Go forth, all evils,' and the four parties started in four directions, shouting, 'Go forth, all evils.' They ran until they came to rivers, where they bathed and washed their arms. The Inca and the people also bathed, and there were ceremonies for driving away sickness at the doors of all the houses.

Coyna-raymi was the Moon festival, the expiatory feast being at night. It was a time for weaving fine cloth. Uma-raymi was the month in which the Incas and other classes celebrated for the initiation of aspirants. It took place at Huanacauri. The youths, after going through certain exercises and penances, were admitted to knighthood. The month of Aymara was in November and December. Next followed Coypac-raymi, one of the three principal festivals of the year. There was another ceremony of admitting youths to manhood at Huanacauri, which was conducted with great magnificence. Camay was a month of martial exercises, with the huatu-poccy or great ritual. The next month was Pacha-poccy, or the small ploughing, when the harvest of the month was celebrated, and the new fire for the altar before the Sun was kindled. The Ayaqu was next, being the beginning of the harvest. The offerings of maize were brought to the temples of the Creator and of the Sun, youths and maidens, in procession, singing a harvest song called yarayos. The harvesting month was Aymaray in May and June.

10. Human sacrifice.—The religious ceremonies included burnt-offerings in great profusion. The present writer formerly held that the weight of evidence was in favor of human sacrifices. He felt that this is remarkable, for the idea of propitiatory sacrifice is to offer the best and most loved, as in the cases of Isaac and Jephthah's daughter. He held that the Peruvian sacrifices were in the nature of thanksgiving or propitiatory offerings. But the authoritative evidence of Molina and Sarmiento has led him to modify this view. On extraordinary occasions, two children, a male and a female, were first strangled and then included in the burnt-offerings. Such occasions were the celebration of great victories, or the commencement of wars, and the Huaaca festival at Huanacauri.

11. Sun-worship.—Nearly all the ceremonies were connected with agriculture and with the course of the sun, so that it was natural that the Sun should be the chief object of the worship of the people. But some shrewd remarks on the subject are recorded of one or two of the Incas (by Garcilasso de la Vega, Comm. Real.). Seeing that the Sun had to accomplish its circle every year, they concluded that it must have a master. It was the same thought as that of Omar Khayyam:

"And that inverted bowl they call the Sky,
   Whereunto crawling occult, we can no more,
   Lift not your hands to it for help—for it
   As impotently moves as you or I."

So they turned to Viracocha, the Creator, and by the sun and all living things, as the chief object of their adoration.

12. Government.—The religious beliefs of the people away from Cuzco were connected with their mode of life and their environment. It seems desirable to give a short account of the rural life of the people, and of the administrative organization of Inca rule. It was, in fact, pure socialism—a system which can exist only under a despoticism. Several very able Spanish lawyers, notably Polo de Ondegardo and Santillana, were sent out after the conquest, to investigate and report upon the Incaistical system of government. Reliance may be placed upon the correctness of the details they collected. It appears that the whole of the peoples were divided into a score of classes, according to their ages and ability to work.

1. Mosoc aparic (baby), 'newly begun,' just born.
2. Sayo huarnas (child), 'standing boy,' age 2 to 6.
3. Mosca puric (child that can walk), age 6 to 8.
4. Tanta queica (toddler), age 8 to 10.
5. Pouliar huarnas (playing boy), 10 to 15.
6. Cusco pelas (coca picker), very light work, 15 to 20.
7. Puma huarnas (as a youth), light work, 20 to 30.
8. Puric (able-bodied), tribute service, 25 to 50.
9. Chasemi rucnas (elderly), light work, 50 to 60.
10. Pachaca rucnas (dissolute), no work, over 60.

The Puric was the unit of administration, the other classes being dependent on him. A Pachaca was 100 Purics under a Pachaca-camayoc or Centurion. 1000 Purics were under a Huaramacamayoc, or officer over a thousand, and the Huanacayoc governed the whole ayllu or gens of 10,000 Purics. There were four Vicuños over the four provinces, who were called Tucuyricos ('He who sees all'). There were also a reporter on vital statistics and an officer to investigate and report upon charges and accidents, one to each ayllu. The produce belonged to the people in their ayllu, but the produce was divided between the Inca (government), the Huaaca (church), and the Huacha (people). The flocks were divided between Inca (government) and Huacha (the people). When the people worked for the Government, they were fed by the Inca, and not from their own share of the produce.
Thus the land belonged to the whole ayllu, and each able-bodied member, or Puric, had a right to his share of the harvest. The land was very great, and increased rapidly; but the evils of division were avoided by the system of Mitimanes, or colonists.

13. Various cults.—The worship of Viracocha, the Supreme Being, was restricted mainly to the Inca and learned men. The worship of the Sun was most next and nearest to the representation of these objects, and prayed and sacrificed to them for healthy flocks and abundant harvests. The statues were made of pottery or stone, sometimes of the precious metals, and were called Incas or canoch, and when the Inca came to the towns, in other provinces, the people had mythological stories of great interest in the study of their folk-lore; and the discovery of the remaining reports on the extermination of idolatry will throw further light on the Peruvian world.

14. Oracles.—The valleys on the coast, from Nasca to the Rimac, were occupied by people of the same race and language as the Incas, and at Nasca there are marvellous irrigation works. Here the ocean and river were the representatives of these objects, and prayed and sacrificed to them for healthy flocks and abundant harvests. The temple was on the coast, at a place called Pachacamac. Raised on an eminence, with an extensive city at its feet, the oracle itself appears to have been a fish conopa, which was supposed to give answers to questions of people.

There was no temple to the Supreme Being at Pachacamac. The word is that of an attribute of the Almighty Creator. But in this case it was merely the name of the place. Many other places received names from deities or festivals. There was another Pachacamac near Tunipampa. Vices (sacred), Huaca (sanctuary), a festival, Chicha (grain), the name of the same deity in several places in Peru. The great temple at Pachacamac on the coast was dedicated to two conopas of the coast people, a fish-deity and a fox-deity, which became famous oracles. Pilgrims came from great distances, and an extensive town rose up at the foot of the temple. It was falling to ruin when the Spaniards arrived.

15. An unknown civilized people conquered by the Incas.—There was another civilized people along the northern part of the coast of Peru, quite distinct from the Andean tribes, but finally conquered by the Incas. We have civilization from the contents of the tombs examined by Reiss and Stübel at Ancon. We have further evidence in the great palace of the Gran Chimu near Trujillo, and Balboa has preserved a tradition of their arrival by sea and landing at Lambayeque, which also throws a little light on their superstitions.† There is a grammar of their language, which is totally unlike any Andean dialect. But there is no account of the religion of this strange civilized nation of the Peruvian coast, now practically extinct.

Quito was conquered by the last great and undisputed sovereign of the Inca dynasty; but though there is a work on the former Scoria rules of Quito, the accounts in it are comparatively modern and of doubtful authority. We have no narratives giving details respecting the religious belief of the Quito people previous to the conquest by the Inca Huayna Capac. It is stated that they worshiped the Sun, and observed a festival in the month of January, when the tombs were opened, and the dead were visited.

16. The Chibchas.—Further north there was a civilized people, the Chibchas, of whose religion there is some account. Their land is where the Andes divide into three cordilleras, with the three great rivers of Magdalena, Cauca, and Atrato flowing northwards between them into the Caribbean Sea. The Chibchas dwelt on the table-lands of Bogota and Tunja, with their river Tunza flowing to the Magdalena, their eastern draining river. The Inca were being carried by the Meta to the Orinoco. This territory is about 150 miles in length, by 40 to 50 broad. It was ruled by two principal chiefs, the Zipa of Bogota and the Zaque of Tunja. The Zipa was striving for a paramount position before the Inca, and the Incas, and the great Inca subjugated the chief of Guatavita. It is of this chief that the story is told that he held a great annual festival on the banks of the Lake of Guatavita, when he covered himself with grease, and then rolled in gold dust. Gilded and resplendent, he then entered a canoe, and was taken to the centre of the lake. Before all his people, he plunged into the water, and his bath was followed by feasting and dancing. This was the origin of the story of El Dorado.

The religious beliefs and festival of the Chibchas were thus stated by the earliest writers. Light was originally enclosed in a receptacle called chiminagagua, and this receptacle appears to have been in the conception of these people, the Supreme Creator. The Chibchas are said to have worshipped this almighty deity, but none the less they also worshipped the sun, the moon, the rainbow (called euchairra), hills, lakes, rivers, trees, and many idols.† Human sacrifices appear to have been offered only to the sun, as a duty and to be feared. The Chibchas had a tradition of a beneficent being named Bochica having appeared amongst them, and having taught them all they knew. He also was worshipped. He is said to have opened a channel for the river Fure near the two falls of Tequendama. The people had several curious myths, and they appear to have conducted their ceremonial worship with some magnificence. There was a procession in which the Zipa joined at the time of sowing, and another at harvest time. There is certainly a superficial resemblance between the religions of the Incas and that of the Chibchas.

There are two early authorities for Chibcha civilization. Padre Fray Pedrero de Acosta, who wrote in 1573, and the work was published at Cuenca in 1627. Dr. Don Lucas Fernandez Piedrahita, the Bishop of Santa Marta, wrote his Historia General de las conquistas y nuevos descubrimientos de la Colombia, in 1575. Simon is the best authority, being nearest to the time; and Piedrahita wrote well, and given us a description of the Chibchas. He was descended from the Incas of Peru. There is a grammar of the Chibcha language by Fray Barn buds de Lugo, 1524. It is not now spoken. The best modern work on the subject are Humboldt in his Viajes de Cordilheiras, Acosta in his Compendio Historico (Paris, 1848), and E. Urquijo in his Memorias sobre las antiquidades neo-prehispánicas (Berlin, 1860).

The Chibcha language prevailed among the Chibchas and a few scattered tribes of the Cordilleras, and some are still spoken. The Chibchas were the Quichuas for a rainbow. There may have been intercourse between the Incas and Chibchas, but there is no evidence beyond the identity of a few words. (see Quichua).
ANGEL DANCERS

tribes of the highlands, and they had all made advances in civilization, although those of Bogota and Facatativá were more advanced. The general movement of the Chibcha tribes had been from south to north, and this race appears to have advanced its settlements beyond Panama, as far as Chiriquí. There is no evidence that any people of Aryan or Maya affinities ever entered South America, or had relations with South American peoples.

17. Originality of the Andean religion.—The Andean races moved from the south northward. Their civilization was of spontaneous growth, without contact with the outside world, and without any communication with other races. Elaborate attempts have been made to establish identity between Quichua words and words of similar meaning in Aryan languages, but a careful study of the subject cannot fail to produce the conviction that they are fanciful, and based on an insufficient knowledge of the Quichua language. The South American race naturally reached its highest development in the Andean region, where agriculture and the textile and other arts were necessary for the support and comfort of the people, and where a temperate climate conduced to the development of various civilizing influences and to a reasoning contemplation of the powers of nature, guided by religious instincts. It was in this way, and not by any foreign influence, that the Andean religions were developed by the races inhabiting the cordilleras of the Andes. In their highest form the Andean religions recognized the existence of a Supreme Creator of the universe, and sought to know his will through sacrifice and prayer. The celestial bodies, the thunder and the rainbow, were revered as bringing good to man, but only as inferior deities obeying the mandates of the Creator. In the worship of the paccarinasa and of ancestors there is a clear indication of a belief in a future existence and the power attributed to the souls of animals and crops, and of inanimate objects, among the mass of the people, peculiar to the Andean races in the form in which it prevailed amongst them.

In whatever comparative position the Andean races may come among the peoples of the world, it must stand by itself as the unaided conception of the Andean people, uninfluenced by any communication with other races.

LITERATURE.—The works which give detailed accounts of the Andean races do not include all the earlier works on the civilization and history of the native races. The first account is that of the Reconnaissance of Cieza de Leon, tr. by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society. The Spanish text was afterwards printed and edited by Ximenes de la Espada at Madrid. Juan José de Betanzos wrote his Summary Narration in 1561. He knew the Quichua language, and married an Inca princess. His work has been printed and edited by Markham in 1889, but has not been translated. The two Relaciones of the learned lawyer Polo de Ostadagado are still in manuscript. But one of his reports has been translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements R. Markham, 1872. Fernando de Santillana was a Judge of the Lima Audiencia in 1560. His valuable Relación remained in manuscript until it was edited and printed by Ximenes de la Espada in 1879. The most detailed and best work on the religion of the Incas was written in about 1674 by a priest at Cuzco named Cristoval de Molina. The manuscript has been edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements R. Markham in 1872. Miguel Cavello Balboa is the authority for the civilized people of the coast of Peru. He wrote his Misiones, Asisístas at Quito between 1676 and 1692. It has been translated into French, and forms a volume of the Ternaux-Compañas series (1860). José de Acosta's Historia de las Indias del Peru was edited in 1846. It was translated in 1904, and the Eng. tr. was edited by Sir Clements R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1872. The works of Fernando Mon- tesinos, entitled Anales y Memorias Nuevas del Peru, have a peculiar interest from the long list of sovereigns he gives, to be followed by their signatures. He came to Peru in 1520. His work remained in manuscript until it was translated by Ternaux-Compañas in 1846. The Spanish text was edited by Ximenes de la Espada for the Relaciones de los Indios de los Naturalistes del Peru, by an anonymous Jesuit, is a very valuable work. It remained in manuscript until it was edited by Ximenes de la Espada in 1879. The works on the extermination of idolatry, by Francisco de Avila, written in 1608 (MS.), and Pablo José de Arriaga (Lima, 1621), are very important. Avila's report has been translated by Sir Clements R. Markham in the Hakluyt Society's series. There is also information in the history of the order of St. Augustine in Peru (1638-1668), by Antonio de la Calancha. The Conquest of the Interior Realtes by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega are well known (1st ed. Lisbon, 1609, last ed. Madrid, 1738). Their value is much increased by the extracts from the Inca's Elia Valera. The work of Garcilaso de la Vega has been translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by Sir Clements R. Markham, 1869. Bernardo Cervantes (4 vols., Seville, 1809) was written in 1653. Pachacutec Yampi Salcamayhu, an Indian of the Collao, wrote (c. 1630) a work entitled Relacion de Antiguiedades del Peru in which the manuscript was translated and edited by Sir Clements R. Markham (1872). The Spanish text was afterwards edited by Dr. Pietschmann in 1876. It is the latest important history of the Incas was written by Pedro de Sarmiento. The manuscript has been in the library of the University of New York City 1792. The text was first printed by the Librarian, Dr. Pietschmann, in August, 1905, with a learned introduction and notes. The work has been translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. The best essay on the work Yornocochas is by Don Leonardo Villas (Lima, 1887). There are two authorities on the religion of the Chibchas of Bogota. Fray Pedro Simon wrote his Noticias Historiales in 1827. The Historia General de las Conquisias del Nuevo Reino de Granada of Hernandez Piedrahita, appeared in 1786. The work on the antiquities of New Granada by Uríascochea (Berlin, 1860) may also be consulted.

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

ANGEL DANCERS.—A religious sect of Methodism origin, founded in Hackensack, New Jersey, about 1890, by Huntsman T. Mnon, with the aid of John M'Chintock ("John the Baptist"), Daniel Haines ("Silas the Pure"), Mary Stewart ("Thecla"), Jane Howell ("Phoebe"), Elias Berry, and Herman Storms, with his wife and their children, Mary and Richard (the latter a graduate of Rutgers College). At the age of fifty, Mson, after a somewhat dissolute life, became converted and organized the first Methodist revival meeting in the United States in 1888. On the night of his conversion he believed that he had a vision of Heaven and Hell, seeing both the Lord and the Devil. He chose the Lord and Heaven, and claimed direct divine guidance in all his acts. After many wanderings, he returned to Park Ridge, N. J. Here he claimed to have received the power of healing by the laying on of hands. His strange appearance, in which he sought to imitate the traditional portrait of Christ, and his wonderful magnetic will power, aided by a musical voice, evident sincerity, and easy flow of speech, made a strong impression upon men and women alike. He next appeared in Hackensack, N. J., where he commenced the preaching of his new doctrine, which he and his followers still maintain.

Mason and his followers have everything in common, and believe they shall be judged by their works, and not by their faith. They are careful to harm no living thing, and they adhere to a strict vegetarian diet. Their holy duty is to bring the form of marriage, whether civil or religious, and hold the most extreme ideas of free love. Their dress has no decoration of any kind. At the house of a farmer in Hackensack, named Herman Storms, Mnon gathered some followers, and gave the place the name of the "Lord's Farm." The house is open at any hour of the day or night, and any one is welcome, and may share food and clothing. This was carried to such an extreme that vagrants were entertained in the Lord's name," thus confessing to a sacrifice of self for the benefit of others.

Locally the sect is known as the 'Lord's Farm,' never as 'Angel Dancers.' When at the height of their influence, they used to hold outdoor meetings in neighboring towns. It was during these meetings that the religious service, in which the name of 'Angel Dancers' was derived. The dance is a species of religious frenzy, brought on by the
ANGER (Psychological and Ethical) — i. PSYCHOLOGICAL. — There are two ways, according to Aristotle (De Anima, i, 1), in which anger may be characterized. By the dialectician or speculative philosopher (απολογητικός), it may be defined as 'the desire of retaliation' or a feeling akin to the natural philosopher (φυσικός), as 'the boiling of blood of the heart, or of heat.' Neither of these two ways, taken by itself, does he regard as adequate; for the one has respect only to the 'form,' while the other takes account solely of the 'matter,' and the complete view requires that both form and matter be attended to. In other words, Aristotle is here exemplifying in a concrete instance the great psychological truth that the emotions are 'materialized moods' (mood), that is, they have both an inward or psychical side and an outward or corporal expression; and that each of these requires to be reckoned with, if the phenomenon is to be satisfactorily explained. We may even go so far as to say that we have just described, with the help of Dr. Wundt, in his book Of the Emotions in Man and Animals (p. 299), that 'most of our emotions are so closely connected with their expression, that they hardly exist if the body remains passive.' Certainly, the control of anger consists very much in conscious abstinence from the modes in which it physically embodies itself.

(1) On the physical side, anger, in the individual, manifests itself in marked disturbance of the bodily organism: e.g. the movements of hands and jaws become quickened, raised nostrils are dilated, the action of the heart is accelerated, the face changes colour, the eyes flash, the eyebrows are knit, the voice waxes loud, harsh, and discordant; and, in that species of anger which we know as rage, there is wild 'striking out,' vehement and uncontrolled, so that anger may not inaptly be designated (as by Horace, Epist. ii. ii. 82) 'a brief madness' (ira furor brevis est).

These changes in the body are obvious to the spectator. But there are others that are invisible, which take place in the internal organs, giving rise to organic sensations which play a distinct part in the process, inasmuch as they react on the emotion, modifying, accentuating, or intensifying it, as the case may be. Hence, the organism has been likened by psychologists (e.g. Bain, James, Stott) to a 'sounding-board,' on which the nervous excitement correlated with the emotion 'plays,' and which is in turn affected and modified by the organic 'resonance.' This organic factor is highly important; but we must not make too much of it, for it has been done by old Style Methodists, being opposed to all forms, and declares his religion to be based on the Book of Acts.

In May 1893, MASON and some of his followers were arrested and put in jail for malicious mischief and inciting unlawful assembly.
from wrath, which is a settled disposition, although the choleric man is liable to repeated fits of it.

Like other 'passions,' anger lacks in moderation—transgresses limits, defies proportion. This indicates its danger as a motive power. When it acts like the wind, it exercises a useful function; when it acts like the whirlwind, it may cause uncontrollable damage. On this account, its effects on the irate individual himself may be unsatisfactory; when the passion has ceased, depression frequently ensues, exhaustion thus taking its revenge.

To a man of this disposition, anger is a primary emotion a settled disposition, and needs to be experienced in order to be known. It has a distinct quality of its own, different from that of every other emotion; and no one could, by mere description, make it intelligible to a man who had never himself been angry. Not only is it not derived from other emotions, it does not even presuppose experience of other emotions to give it being. Yet it enters itself into other emotions, sometimes as their basis, sometimes as a subsidiary factor—and so may be allied with 'anger' in the same sense of anger. It is an egotistic emotion, which may quite easily be transformed into one of self-punishment; hence its ethical significance, to be considered presently.

The varieties of anger are inscrutable and peevishness. Insensibility is the susceptibility to anger of a person and the susceptibility of his state of personal disposition is undue sensibility to trifles, annoyance at them far beyond what their real value or significance warrants.

ii. Ethical—Anger, as has just been said, is not in itself malevolent; it is simply a protection or defence against harm or hurt, and may be directed against things as well as against persons. It is a species of resentment, and operates instinctively, and, therefore, without due regard to consequences; hence the need of direction and restraint, and hence the ethical bearings of the emotion. As instinctive resentment, it is neither to be praised nor to be blamed, but is to be accepted as a part of the human constitution necessary to the welfare of the individual, and therefore ultimately to the good of the community. But insensibility, as the case requires, is a primary emotion in human beings, and insensibility is not in itself malevolent; it is simply a protection or defence against harm or hurt, and may be directed against things as well as against persons. It is a species of resentment, and operates instinctively, and, therefore, without due regard to consequences; hence the need of direction and restraint, and hence the ethical bearings of the emotion. As instinctive resentment, it is neither to be praised nor to be blamed, but is to be accepted as a part of the human constitution necessary to the welfare of the individual, and therefore ultimately to the good of the community.

Sudden or instinctive resentment, on the ethical side, is directed against injury, as discriminated from hurt: it presupposes a conscious agent, intentionally doing an offending act for the purpose of injuring us. It consequently assumes the form of moral indignation, which is the spontaneous reaction of the conscience against what is wrong or evil, when the wrong or evil is designedly effected. It is the resentment of the sensitive to injustice, and responding unreflectingly immediately on the perception of the offence. Without this kind of anger, it is hardly conceivable how the moral nature could be effective at all.

When, on the other hand, we turn to deliberate resentment, we find that we are giving anger a different complexion, and are bringing it into relation with other phenomena of human nature that may or may not be conducive to men's highest interests. In so far as deliberate resentment means simply restraining the act that would naturally follow from the instinctive perception of the injury inflicted, till we have assured ourselves (in cases may do serious damage) whether our resentment is just or not, and whether the consequences of our action may not be out of all proportion to the offence, it can only be right and commendable. But when, as so frequently happens, we are not troubled with our malevolent inclinations (with the savage or the fiend within us), then it becomes morally reprehensible, often in the highest degree. It is the nature of anger voluntarily nursed to magnify the offence that caused it; vanity and offended dignity come in to intensify and transform the emotion—a grudge ranking in the bosom naturally exaggerates. Further, there can be little question that anger readily associates itself with that desire to injure others or to inflict pain on them that seeks its gratification and so is easily changed into hatred, or retaliation, or revenge, or, keener still, vindictiveness. It is now exclusively aimed at persons, and is in its nature diametrically opposed to the sympathetic and humane sentiments, the tender emotions, that bind men together; it is the antithesis of love, and, instead of attracting and cementing, alienates and repels. It is not only that the angry person, full of hate, is estranged from his fellow or resents his action; he also desires to inflict injury on him, to cause him pain, and gluts over and delights in his suffering. If he longs simply to pay him back or to require him for the offence committed, his emotion is retaliation, proceeding on the principle of equivalents, the lex talionis—an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,—oblivious altogether of the promptings of generosity and mercy. When he harbours ill-will and cherishes his wrath, refusing to be pacified, meditating unmeasured requital and waiting for the favourable opportunity, it is revenge. Revenge is in its very nature inequitable, bloodthirsty and cruel, satisfied with nothing less than 'the head of John the Baptist in a charger.' When revenge pursues its object spitefully with unremitting persistence, and finds rest in every petty infliction of evil on him, it is the control of reason. This is necessary, if anger is to be (as it ought to be) a help to justice. But, in thus rationalizing it, we are giving it a distinctively moral character, and taking it in a wider significance than is accorded by the psychologist. We are now estimating it in relation to its consequences, and assigning it a place in an ethical scheme of values. This means (to use Butler's famous analysis) that we are distinguishing between resentment that is sudden or instinctive and resentment that is deliberate, and appraising each in connexion with its social bearings.

Various questions concerning anger suggest themselves:

1. A point that the earlier British psychologists (Butler, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, etc.) delighted to investigate regarding anger and the malevolent affections, was their use or final cause. Accepting human nature as a given hierarchy of principles and faculties, and intending their philosophy to have practical value, they asked what end these faculties and objectionable forces served in the economy of man's being. They had little difficulty in showing that, given man and given his present circumstances, these forces minister both to the protection or self-preservation of the individual and to the good of the community. Sudden anger clearly conduces to the defence of the irate person against hurt or harm; and when the cause of the harm is another living person, it serves as a warning to him to desist. But why should this Scottish motif be fully displayed, with the significant motto, 'Neuerme impune laexpertis'? Even more strikingly is this purpose served by retaliation and revenge, when the vengeful person has to deal with others of like vengeful disposition as his own. His anger, being fierce, is both punitive and deterrent.
(2) In more recent times, another question has come prominently forward, viz.: Whether the mal
evolve of human nature (which nobody denies as a fact) is really native to it! The negative was
ably upheld in Mind, a few years ago, by Mr. F. H. Haldane,
ly to reduce malevolence to exi
ment of love of power. The idea of malevolence, or such
like. This was strenuously opposed by Professor Bain, who insisted that, making all allowance for self-
assertion and the love of power and similar strong emotions, there is a certain residuum that is unaccounted for, and this residuum is simply
 innate malevolence.

‘Let us take, then, the examples where we are witnesses to suffering inflicted by others, and where we ourselves are noways
concerned, or, at all events, very remotely. Why do multitudes
in delight in being spectators of punishments, including the gala
s? In former days, when executions were public, when whippings, the pillory, and the scaffold were open to everybody’s
 gaze; what was the source of the fascination attending the spec
 tacles? They were remotely connected with the security of the
people generally, but they were most frequented by those that
thought least of public security. . . . We can go a step further.
There are abundant examples of deixis in mischief of the
most absolutely gratuitous kind, beginning in tender years, and
continuing to late and still maturity. The love of lesser
practical joking, of giving trouble and annoyance, without any
cause whatever, is too manifest to be denied. . . . The demand
for execution of self proves of itself proves nothing. What we are to
ask, are the forms that it takes by preference, inasmuch as these
are probably something more than mere excitement: they in-
sure an intellectual and religious pleasure. If the votaries of execu-
tion are in the habit of seeking it by molesting, annoying, con
trary is that the excitement is mere cover for a definite pleasure, the pleasure of malevolence.
To sit on a road fence, and pass insulting and jeering remarks upon
the passerby, is not to beぶり over as mere
love of excitement; it arises from the deeper fountains of malign
ity; for mere pleasure may easily procure conscious forms that
hurt nobody; we may even find excitement, and pleasure too,
but it is the bestowing benefits; when we habitually seek it in the shape of infliction, pain, we must be credited with delighting in the perversely.

The question ever recur—Why is hatred such a source of con
solationary feeling, if there be not a fountain of pleasure in
considering the sufferings of others?’ (Bain, Dissertations on
Leading Philosophical Topics, pp. 84-104).

The strength of the argument seems to lie on the
side of the affirmative; and, however unaccepta
able it may be, the fact must be recognized that man
has an original tendency to inflict suffering on
others, and derives real satisfaction and delight from contemplating the suffering that he inflicts.

(3) Our repugnance to this position may perhaps be
a natural identification of the origin or source of the malevolent affections offered
by the theory of Evolution. In his masterly work
On the Expression of the Emotions, and elsewhere,
Darwin has amassened materials to show that these affections originated, goes old, in the prehistoric
habits of the race, taken in connexion with those of
the lower animals. They are the result of the
necessity for combat and mutual warfare in the
early struggle for existence. It was in these far back times that anger, retaliation, and revenge,
with all the ways of giving outward expression to
them, so significant of their animal origin, arose;
and they are a heritage to us from the past. By
this hypothesis, the wolf in man receives an explana-
tion of a scientific kind, which, whether fully
described or not, throws light upon the idea connected with malevolence that otherwise remain
dark and puzzling. The philosophies of some
countries (Oriental in particular) have tried to
explain the phenomenon by the supposition of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, espe-
cially the passage of the soul of a brute into the
body of a man. The lower impulses and passions seem thereby to be accounted for, and man’s baser
nature to be so far justified. That is but the imagination of non-scientists. The panic over against which has to be placed the scientific and reasoned mode of solution offered by
Evolution.

LITERATURE.—Aristotle, de Anima, i, i, and RH. Xic. iv. 5;
Seneca, de Ira; Butler, Sermons, viii. and ix.; Hume, A

ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD.

ANGER (WRATH) OF GOD.—I. THE DIVINE ANGER AS PRESENTED IN THE OT.—God is
revealed in the OT as a living Being, who has a
merciful purpose toward the universe which He has
made. During all the ages of human history, He is seeking to carry out this purpose to its
consummation. In doing so, He is confronted by the ignorance and the slowness of men, by their
greed and their hostility. These awaken in Him such feelings as would be stirred in the heart of a
wise and good man, in view of the hindrances and oppositions with which he met in the course of
some great and benevolent enterprise. The OT speaks freely of the grief, and jealousy, and
anger of God. There are doubtless very grave
difficulties in attributing these emotions, and, of
indeed, emotions of any kind, to One whose
thoughts are according to the thoughts of men. But
the writers of the OT, while guarding against an
obvious abuse of this anthropomorphic method of
conceiving the Divine nature (1 S 1524), do not stop
to discuss such problems. They are chiefly
concerned to make vivid and real the person and
the living Person in whose image human beings
have been made. Human qualities, accordingly,
are attributed to God, because human nature is
homogeneous with the Divine nature. In man
these attributes and affections are marked by
finite and imperfection. In God they exist
in absolute perfection. This makes a great differ-
ence between what is found in man and what is
attributed to God, as the OT writers are well aware. But we accept the idea of the origin or
source of the malevolent affections offered
by the theory of Evolution. In his masterly work
On the Expression of the Emotions, and elsewhere,
Darwin has amassened materials to show that these affections originated, goes old, in the prehistoric
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Psychology (1890), pp. 307-331, and The Principles of
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WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.
Incidents are recorded which seem to bring the anger of Jahweh down to the level of the inexplicable rages of an unethical heathen god (e.g. 1 S 6:19, 2 S 6:9). Regulations are made which connect the anger of the Divine with matters that are wholly outward, and, therefore, not fit occasions of wrath in a perfectly moral being (e.g. Lv 10:1, Nu 19:18; cf. Ex 32:1). In such cases, however, are to be understood by reference to the Divine purpose. It is endangered when the pride and self-will of man invade the sphere of the Divine holiness, and the results of such, but the holiness, i.e. the very Divinity, of God Himself. By being resisted, therefore, the anger of God is kindled, and upon the perpetrators of it descends in crushing might.

2. Objects.—The objects of the Divine anger, according to the need to see His will to the Divine will. Such are all who are hostile to Israel, the people of God’s choice, the realm wherein He rules:—the nations who rage, and the peoples who imagine a vain thing (Ps 51), the enemies that reproach, and the foolish people who blaspheme His name (Ps 74:16). Not these alone, however, nor these chiefly, provoke Him to anger. When Israel breaks the laws of righteousness, upon which the commonwealth of God is founded, or does dishonour to Him who redeemed His people, His holy name, His faith, His men, He has burned into the consciousness of men that sin is a reality for God, and that towards it He is moved with a just and terrible anger (Ps 119). The depth of God’s feeling with regard to sin can be fathomed only by estimating aright the relation in which He stands to His people. He is their Saviour, and the tenderest and most sacred relation in which two human beings can stand to one another is not too close to figure forth His relation to them. He is their husband and Lord; they are His spouse. Sin on their part is conjugal infidelity, the most awful outrage that can be committed against love. In such figures the prophets depict the grief and jealousy of God, and seek to manifest the fierceness of His wrath (Ps 79:10, Am 3:1, Zeph 1:5, Ps 78:23).

3. Its manifestation.—The Divine anger, therefore, is an affront awakened in the Divine nature by the presence of evil. It is manifested in judgments following upon wicked deeds. Its instruments are to be found in the forces of nature, with the commonwealth of man, whose selfish pride or ambition may be made subservient to the will of God, so that it may, unconsciously, be the rod of Jahweh’s anger (Is 10:22). The prophets, however, clearly discern that God’s operations, alike in mercy and in judgment, cannot be carried to completion in the state of the world as they know it. Not in any of these common days, which succeed one another with uncompleted significance, can the work of God be brought to a close until the consummation of the series, and at once reveals and fulfils the whole design of God. This Day of the Lord will be both the crown of salvation and the ultimate stroke of judgment. The unimaginable terrors of that Day haunt the visions of the prophets, confounding the self-righteousness of those who had expected it to bring them the gratification of their national and personal pride (Am 5:18-20, Zeph 1:7-12, Mal 3:2-4). Thus the wrath of God gains a predominantly eschatological sense, not, however, to the exclusion of the very present that it is a present quality of the Divine nature, and is continuously manifest in His attitude toward sin.

4. The turning away of the Divine anger.—Being under the control of the ultimate Divine purpose, which is love, the wrath of God may be restrained, or even entirely turned away, and give place to the unhinderer outpourings of loving kindness. It is, indeed, plain that, if God gave free vent to His anger, the objects of it would immediately be destroyed (Ps 130:1). Such an action on His part, however, would defeat His own ends. During the historic period, throughout which God is pursuing His aim, His wrath can only be fully executed regulative action is paramount—the honour of His Name, i.e. the success of His design of mercy to Israel. God cannot submit to be taunted with failure (Ezk 20:46, Is 48:8-11). He is angry, and He punishes. But He also deals out His kindness according to the proportion controlled by mercy, sinners may learn, and turn to Him, and live. Beyond this period of discipline there lies an awful possibility of exhausted forbearance, and final and measureless doom. What, then, will avert this doom, and turn anger into acceptance and delight? The OT has no clear or full answer to give. The sacrifices, obviously, could not atone for sin, in its real spiritual significance; and their symbolism cannot have conveyed any real dogmatic teaching. The prophets, however, are urged to appeal. The prophets, however, are urged to appeal to a representative of the people be found who, standing in living relation to the nation, yet separating himself from the national trespasses, shall deeply apprehend the sinfulness of the nation’s sin, and the terror of the Divine person, and shall make profound acknowledgment before God, in the name of the people, of their guilt and ill-desert, the Divine anger will be appeased, and God will return to His people in mercy (Gn 18:25-33, Ex 32:1-4, Nu 29:1-38). It is true that no perfectly competent representative can be found among the people themselves. Even a Moses or a Samuel would be insufficient for so great a work (Jr 15:19). Yet the principle of atonement through sin-bearing remained deep in the prophetic consciousness (Ezk 20:20, Jer 5:5, Is 65:3), and, in the great vision of Is 53, one is depicted capable of undertaking even this vocation of unspeakable suffering, and, through his faithful discharge of it, procuring deliverance for the transgressors.

II. THE DIVINE ANGER PRESENTED IN THE NT.—The OT and the NT are at one in their intense conviction that God is a ‘Person, with ethical attributes,’ a living Being, having moral powers and qualities, which are reflected and reproduced in man. They agree also in their presentation of, and language for, the self-righteousness of those who had expected it to bring them the gratification of their national and personal pride (Am 5:18-20, Zeph 1:7-12, Mal 3:2-4). Thus the wrath of God gains a predominantly eschatological sense, not, however, to the exclusion of the very present that it is a present quality of the Divine nature, and is continuously manifest in His attitude toward sin.

1. It may be urged, however, that while it is true that the NT, like the OT, structures emotions to be attributed to Him the emotion of anger. Is this true? Does anger disappear in NT teaching as an element in the character of God? It is well known that many teachers of the school maintain that the only NT use of the Divine anger is eschatological. Is this correct? (a) It is true that the sense of usage is prevalently eschatological. NT believers, like the prophets of the OT, had the Day of Wrath full in view. The Baptist made it the burden of his warning and appeal (Mt 3:7). However difficult the ethological questions may be in connection with certain portions of the tradition, it is certain that eschatology occupied a large place in the teaching of Jesus, and
that He used OT figures in describing the terrors of the Judgment. In the Apocalypse of St. John that final pouring out of the wrath of God weights upon the soul with an awful sense of doom (e.g. Rev 16:1-4). The preaching of the Apostles is full of the terror of the Lord. To them and to their hearers that wrath was a terrible reality; and one element, not the greatest, yet very precious and wonderful, in the gospel, is that the Messiah saves from this unutterable dread. It is an affection of One who is at once loving and righteous. It is completely under the control of sinless the will of God who is undisturbed at the sight of human pride and self-will. Sin is a reality for God, and there is one sin, which itself is the ultimate product of sin, which hath never forgiveness. Some of the parables are heavy with the weight of the Divine indignation (e.g. Mt 24:38). More significant still than the words of Jesus were His own feelings and their outcome in act. He who said, ‘He that hath seen me hath seen the Father’ (John 14:9), was not sullenly cold or sublimely unsentimental in presence of evil. One and again He was filled with a great anger (Mark 3:5; Luke 11:15-17, Mt 21:23). In allowing Himself this emotion and its utterance, Jesus certainly did not regard Himself as detached from the feeling and attitude of God toward the evils that so moved Him. On the contrary, we often remember what He taught throughout the NT. Sin always attracts to itself the wrath of God (Rom 1:18; 2 Thess 1:6), Sin, in its inmost significance, is equivalent to rejection of the Divine Will by those in the Son of God. Therefore, ‘that obeyeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him’ (John 3:36). When we remember what Jesus meant by ‘life in Me’, in the Old and New Testament sense, the favour and fellowship of God, we are compelled to put into this saying the same sense of a weight of holy indignation now resting upon the soul which is not standing in the obedience of Christ. It is possible to deny the doctrine thus conceived, and to believe that Jesus in the Gospels is more sublimely compassionate than in the NT; but it is not possible to deny that NT writers hold this doctrine, and operate with the overwhelming terror.

2. The wrath of God, then, rests on the soul that rejects Christ; but upon the soul that is ‘in Christ’ no such awful load remains. The NT writers are at one in attributing this great deliverance not so much to Christ, and specifically to His death, which they regard as a sacrifice for sin. When Christ was raised from the dead, ‘the cloud of Divine wrath—the 6pgh so long suspended and threatening to break (Rom 3:8)—had passed away. This is the thought which lies at the bottom of Ro 6:15-18 (Sunday on Ro 4:25 in TCC). The penitent believer, looking to the cross of Christ, is certified, by the witness of the Spirit within him, that the anger of God, which once rested upon him, is now turned away from him. It is then to be understood that the Biblical writers to convey the idea that Christ bore the wrath of God, that He endured the outpouring of the Divine anger? Is it fitting for the redeemed to say:

The Father lifted up His rod
O Christ, it fell on Thee?

It is a remarkable fact that the NT never does, in words, connect the death of Christ with the Divine anger, even in passages where the line of argument might have seemed to culminate in such a thought. It seems as though the writers deliberately refrained from any language which might suggest that the Son could be the subject of the Father’s anger, or that His wrath was due to an act of the Divine wrath, which was hearkening forth in lightning stroke, to smite the holy breast of Jesus. At the same time it is to be noted that experiences which are themselves expressions of the wrath of God are attributed to Christ, and not to the operation of the Divine wrath, which is being, as it were, left to itself in lightning stroke, as in the case of a thunderbolt. 2 Cor 4:14 is described as having become ‘a curse for us,’ and in 2 Cor 5:22, as having been ‘sin’ on our behalf. Whatever these mysterious expressions, ‘become a curse’, ‘made sin’, mean, they cannot be less than an expression, by the sinless One, of what sin involves; and that, without doubt, is the wrath of God. Yet the actual phrase is not used. It must be remembered, also, that Jesus, in dying, experienced an agony, whose source and bitterness we can never fully know; which, as it broke from Him in the cry of desertion, cannot have meant less than an un-speakable sense of the Divine judgment upon human sin (cf. Principal Garvie in Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus, London, 1908, p. 417 ff.). Yet it does not appear, even in that cry of infinite pain, that He felt that God was angry with Him. Descriptions are given, implying that Jesus in death bore sin, through a profound realization of what it means, and of what the Divine attitude and feeling toward it, and the Divine judgment upon it, really are. In these very descriptions, however, phrases which might lead to inferences regarding the anger of God being endured by the Son of His love are carefully avoided. Christian faith is directed to One who was the Son of God, in whom the Father was well pleased, who hung upon the cross in fulfilment of the mission to which the Father summoned Him, and who must therefore have been, in that hour, the object of the Father’s deep satisfaction and most tender love. We who yet surrender the companionship of the Father’s fellowship, identified Himself with sinful men, and passed, Himself sinless, through the apprehension of God’s sentence upon sin, acknowledging its justice, and approving, as in the holy life, so in the sacrificed life of God. The believer, when he commits himself to the crucified and risen Lord, receives from Him salvation, and enters upon the joy of those from whom the Divine anger is turned away, and who live in the Divine favour and fellowship. At the same time, being spiritually one with His Lord, He enters into the experiences in which Christ won his deliverance, realizes and acknowledges God’s judgment upon sin, dies to sin as a power over him, and begins to live the holy life, pure and free from sin; and in these experiences, which strangely reproduce both the passion and the glory of the Redeemer, the salvation, which He receives as a gift, is wrought out in a growing assimilation to Christ. He combines, in his own experience, what He has seen combined upon the Cross, the wrath of God against sin and the Divine mercy toward sinners. The terror of the Lord and the love of Christ are the two powers which operate within His soul, to make Him flee from sin and love Him who for his sake died and rose again. It may be possible to have a religious experience in which a sense of the wrath of God has no place; but it ought to be acknowledged that it would not be an experience which has the cross of Christ for its starting-point and the NT for its rule and guide.

III. DOCTRINAL CONCLUSIONS.—The Biblical usage warrants certain inferences, which require to have their place in any theology whose guiding principles are found in the Scriptures.

1. The reality of the Divine anger.—The passion of anger is implanted in man, and has for its end the prevention and remedy of injury and the miseries arising out of it. ‘It is to be considered,’ in the words of Whiston, Butler’s explanation of resentment (§ 11), ‘as a weapon, put into our hands by nature, against injury, injustice, and cruelty’; and it may be innocently employed and made use of. We ascribe human qualities to God, not because we think of Him as a magnified man, but because we necessarily regard His actions as reflecting, under conditions of finitude and limitation, the qualities of the Divine nature. Human anger shares in the imperfection and sinfulness of man. The ‘we’ experience, by the sinless One, of what sin involves; and that, without doubt, is the wrath of God. Yet the actual phrase is not used. It must be remembered, also, that Jesus, in dying, experienced an agony, whose source and bitterness we can never fully
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attributes which are themselves combined, without any opposition, in the harmony of the Divine character. But it is in God essentially what it is in man. In Him, also, it is a ‘weapon’ against injury; and its keen edge is turned against those who, in pride and self-will, seek to injure God. The classical theological statement of this position is: ‘... in Ira Dei. The gods of Epicurus inhabit ‘the lucid interspace of world and world’, where no ‘sound of human sorrow mounts, to mar their sacred everlasting calm’. The God of Stoicism is another name for the Unmoved Mover, who is embodied in the universe and is lifted far above the throb of feeling. Against any such views of the apathy of the Divine nature, Lactantius sets the Christian conviction of the character of God as love, and announces the principal ‘quid non clarit, neo dilectus’. If God is not angry with the impiety, the unrighteousness, it is clear that He does not love the pious and the righteous. Therefore the error of those is more consistent who take away at once both anger and kindness.

This line of argument has been of late, e.g., by Thomas Davidson, p. 108; ‘There is a wrath of God, who would not be good unless He hated evil, the two being inseparable, so that He must do both or neither.’

Objections to the reality of the Divine anger have arisen under an acceptance of philosophical theories of the human or natural soul into the sphere of Christian thought; and for this, in the history of theology, Aquinas is accused (Auctor sive, ch. 55) of ‘the anger of God, which does not inflame His mind, nor disturb His unchangeable tranquillity,’ and identifies it with ‘that which God pronounces upon sin. The anger of God is not a disturbing emotion of His mind, but a judgment by which punishment is inflicted upon sin.’

Language which attributes anger to God, he regards as anthropopathic, and explains it as a ‘condensation of man’s finitude, insinuating itself into the minds of all classes of men, alarming the proud, arousing the careless, exercising the inquisitive, and satisfying the intelligent.’ We may even trace something of the same hesitation in Dr. John Caird’s estimate of the value and the defects of anthropomorphic language: ‘... when we are told of His wrath as being aroused or kindled, and the blood of God spurs on His anthropomorphic figure to seize, in an indefinite but not unreal way, the hidden spiritual meaning. The representation concerns the operation of the divine will in对象物 which holy knowledge, though, literally construed, it expresses what is untrue’ (Philosophy of Religion, p. 174). It is true that the religious mind refuses to admit the more figurative descriptions, which seem to ascribe to God ‘the ignorance and carelessness and passions of our unspiritual nature.’ But it is certain, also, that the religious mind, instructed by Scripture and by experience, will not wrest the language of the Scriptures to interpret the conception of the Divine personality. The difficulty of conceiving how God can be both the ‘Absolutus’ and a living Person is, of course, very great. Probably we ought to direct our thoughts to a fresh study of the conception of the Absolute, particularly with the aim of freeing it from the immobility and sterility which an exclusive use of the category of Substance has imported into it. In any case, we must seek to do justice in our thinking to an absolute will of love, which determines the whole counsel and action of God; and, also, to His attitude towards us. It is with this will—an attitude which can be construed only as condemnation and wrath.

2. Sin and the Divine anger.—(1) The indignation of God against sin is real; and the passing away of wrath and the unbindered manifestation of love in Theology, accordingly, in its effect to give reflective expression to the facts of Christian experience, cannot neglect the idea of the wrath of God, and the problems connected with it.

Indeed, indeed, refuses to allow any theological value to the idea of the wrath of God. He speaks of it in his great work on Theology and Reconciliation as ‘ein ephemera helmslastiges wie Gestaltlosigkeit’ (ver. 164). In vol. ii, p. 239 [Eng. tr.] he says: ‘From the point of view of theology, no one must be assigned to the idea of the wrath of God and His curse upon sinners as yet unrecognized; still less, from the theological standpoint, is any special mediation between the wrath and the love of God conceivable or necessary in order to explain the reconciliation of sinners with Him.’ This view depends (a) on an interpretation of the Biblical usage, viz. that wrath has a uniformly eschatological meaning, which is surely unsound; (b) on a conception of God as being both immanently and exclusively the source of the Divine essence, which imperils the ultimate distinctions of Good and Evil. ‘When the Divine reason, clothed with our reason, has created morally free beings, punitive justice cannot be refused to it without exposing the moral nature of the world to the danger of failing a prey to that of Christian Doctrine at all. God is more a guilty feeling; and the expression of a change from Divine wrath to Divine mercy’ (Riteh, p. 255). And when judgment is perfected, falls to be angrier, at the sight of moral evil. ‘A sinner,’ says Dr. A. B. Davidson, ‘is an ill judge of sin’ (Com. on Hebrews, p. 108, on 414). God, knowing sin to its root, hates it with a perfect hatred. His love is not less affected, not less afflicted by the sight of sin, of men, which is the aim of His love, is ruined by moral evil. The highest good of men depends on the conquest of sin in them, and their conformity to the holy character of God. His love for men, therefore, intensifies the heat of His indignation against that in them which opposes the realization of His loving purpose for them.

Some theologians have pressed this close connexion between love and anger to the point of identifying them.

So Martyrion: ‘This wrath is love itself,’ feeling itself ‘restrained, hindered, and stayed through unremitting love’; Gostnerse: ‘Not without reason has this wrath been termed... the extreme burning point of the flame of love’...; and many modern writers, e.g., Scott Lidgett: ‘The manifestation of the Fatherhood of God passes beyond the idea of an anthropomorphic figure to seize, in an indefinite but not unreal way, the hidden spiritual meaning. The representation concerns the operation of the divine will in objects which holy knowledge, though, literally construed, it expresses what is untrue’ (Philosophy of Religion, p. 174). It is true that the religious mind refuses to admit the more figurative descriptions, which seem to ascribe to God ‘the ignorance and carelessness and passions of our unspiritual nature.’ But it is certain, also, that the religious mind, instructed by Scripture and by experience, will not wrest the language of the Scriptures to interpret the conception of the Divine personality. The difficulty of conceiving how God can be both the ‘Absolutus’ and a living Person is, of course, very great. Probably we ought to direct our thoughts to a fresh study of the conception of the Absolute, particularly with the aim of freeing it from the immobility and sterility which an exclusive use of the category of Substance has imported into it. In any case, we must seek to do justice in our thinking to an absolute will of love, which determines the whole counsel and action of God; and, also, to His attitude towards us. It is with this will—an attitude which can be construed only as condemnation and wrath.

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Their relations to each other constitute a problem the solution of which will tax his utmost wisdom. It is after this analogy that the Biblical usage presents the Divine anger; and by it theological thought must be guided. God is full of love to the sinner, while at the same time He burns with just passionate indignation. His love and His wrath are alike real, and each has its distinctive place in the character of God. Their relations constitute a problem whose solution cannot be adequately set forth in terms of thought; while yet Christian faith grasps the solution in the cross of Christ. Even Martensen, who identifies love and wrath, dwells upon 'the tension or apparent variance' which sin has produced between the Divine love and the Divine righteousness. He defines the idea of the Atonement as 'the solution of a certain antithesis in the very life of God as revealed to man, or of the apparent opposition between God's love and God's righteousness' (Christian Dogmatics, p. 803).

3. The turning away of wrath. — Scripture never suggests that there is any antagonism between the Divine love and the Divine anger, and nowhere do the countenances of the idea that God was so angry with sinners that He felt it necessary to pour out His fury on someone before He could begin to love anyone. Theologians, who have kept close to Scripture, have maintained that the teaching of the Christian Church and the ground of the 'objective' theory of the Atonement, have not failed to protest against this outrageous perversion of the truth. Calvin, whose expressions may often be criticised for their gloom and terror, is absolutely explicit upon this point: 'Our being reconciled by the death of Christ must not be understood as if the Son reconciled us, in order that the Father, then hating, might begin to love us, but that we were reconciled to Him, already loving us with goodness, even because of sin' (Institutes, bk. ii. ch. xvi. § 4). The Divine love, accordingly, is the original impulse and the continual inspiration of the whole redemptive activity of God. Yet the Divine love cannot expunge and obliterate the Divine anger by a mere overflow of sentiment. The Divine anger can be turned away only when those against whom it is directed enter, with profound insight and entire assent, into its grounds and reasons, and submit themselves, without murmuring or contention, to the awful displeasure of the Holy One is manifested and realized. To say this, however, is to make the problem insoluble, and to seal upon sinners the unspeakable terrors of the Divine judgment. Suppose, however, that, in the centre of the whole race, there is a man related to men that He was able to take upon Himself a service which no sinner can render for his brother, and no sinner can discharge in his own interests. Suppose that He should enter, without one shade of disparity or inadequacy, into the mind of God regarding sin, and submit Himself freely to the whole experience in which that mind is expressed, feeling, as He did so, an extremity of spiritual anguish for which no sinful soul has no doubt. If He could make His suffering be a sacrifice for which the Divine love could accept without any infringement of its holiness, while the cloud of the Divine wrath would roll away for ever? Suppose, further, that such an One were the gift of God's love to the race, as indeed He would need to be, seeing that the race could not produce Him, and were in Himself the very Word of God, the express image of His Person, as He would need to be if He were to reveal God's mind toward sinners. Would He not be the living personal meeting point of the Divine love and the Divine anger? But this is the message of the NT, In the sufferings of Christ, the love of God reaches its consummation, and by them the wrath of God is stilled for evermore. To the question whether the Son endured the wrath of God, we must, following the usage of Scripture and the obvious truth of the situation, give a negative answer. 'We do not,' says Calvin, commenting on the cry of desertion wrung from the anguish of Christ's immost soul, 'insinuate that God was ever hostile to His or angry with Him. How could He be angry with the beloved Son, with whom His soul was well pleased? Or how could He have appeased the Father by His intercession for others if He were hostile to Himself? But this we say, that He bore the weight of the Divine anger, His heart smitten and afflicted, He experienced all the signs of an angry and avenging God' (Institutes, bk. ii. ch. xvi. § 11). The last phrase in this sentence is ill chosen. But the deep truth remains, that the Redeemer knew, in that hour of lonely and unknown agony, the whole meaning of sin, and apprehended it as the object of God's just condemnation and infinite resentment. Thus He bore our sin, and thus He turned away from us the wrath which involves the hostility of God, while yet His love is devising means for the restoration of the sinner, to a state in which the Divine love may satisfy itself in accepting the penitent and crowning him with the fruits of that spiritual act has for its object Christ in His experience of sin-bearing, and implies spiritual oneness with Christ in it. The penitent, as he first comes to Christ, will know but little of what was involved in such experience. But the most rudimentary faith implies that the sinner identifies himself with Christ, as Christ had identified Himself with Him; that the Divine judgment upon sin which Christ bore and so vicariously for ever, has been delivered and entereth with purged conscience upon the new life of fellowship and obedience.

4. The day of wrath. — The NT is occupied mainly with the proclamation of the gospel, and with opening to believers the wealth of opportunity and blessedness which is theirs in Christ. It has, accordingly, comparatively little material for a doctrine of the Last Things on its negative side. Yet the conclusion to which we are led admits of no doubt, if there is any. If probation is ended, those who persist in their opposition to God and their rejection of the Divine mercy, whose characters have attained a final fixity, the NT leaves no doubt as to what their condition must be. They have sinned an eternal sin (Mt 3:9). They must endure the utmost visitation of the wrath of God (1 Th 5:2). We are not called on to decide the question whether there shall be many such lost souls, or even whether any such shall be found at the time of the consummation. We are warned against attempted descriptions of what is, in its nature, unimaginable, the loss and the misery of such a state. But any serious consideration of human nature, and of the relations of God and
man, leads to the conclusion that such fixity of opposition to God must be included in the possibilities of the development of human character, and that, if this possibility is ever realized, it must involve none other than this overwhelming judgment.

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ANGLO-ISRAELISM.—The theory that the inhabitants of England are the descendants of the 'lost' (1) Ten Tribes of Israel is held somewhat widely, and is said to have two million adherents in Great Britain and the United States. The Anglo-Israelites are, at any rate, sufficiently numerous to support a publisher, who devotes his business entirely to publication dealing with the subject. There are also several periodicals published in furtherance of the views of the Anglo-Israelites.

The earliest suggestions of an Israelitish ancestry of the English are to be found in John Sadler's Rights of the Kingdom (1649). These take the form of a series of parallels between English law and customs and those of the Hebrews and Jews. The name 'Britain' itself is traced to a Phenician source, Berit Ashek ('The Field of Tin and Lead'). Many of the legends attached to the Coronation Stone have also a Jewish tinge, and are traced back to a landing of fugitive Israelites, under the lead of Jeremiah and Baruch, in Ireland.

The modern movement owes its foundation to Richard Brothers (1757-1824), a half-pay officer of eccentric habits in the English navy. According to his account he was a Divinely appointed prophet. He described himself as a 'nephew of the Almighty,' and claimed descent from David. Among his prophecies were those of the imminent restoration of Israel to the Holy Land, and the elevation of himself as prince of the Hebrews and ruler of the world. Brothers was confined as a lunatic, but succeeded in obtaining many admirers, among them Nathaniel and Thomas Bullet, M.P. for Lymington. The non-fulfilment of his prophecies sorely tried the faith of the believers, but through good and ill repute he retained the loyalty of John Finlayson, previously a Scotch lawyer with an extensive and lucrative practice. According to the Dictionary of National Biography, Brothers printed in all fifteen volumes, chiefly in support of his theory of the Israelitish descent of most of the inhabitants of England. The more important of the volumes are Recalled Knowledge of the Prophecies and Times (1794), and A Correct Account of the Invasion and Conquest of this Island by the Saxons (1822). Prominent among the literature that followed upon Brothers' announcements were Finlayson's writings. In 1840 the theory was adopted by John Wilson, who lectured and wrote widely on the subject. His Our Israelitish Origin is the first coherent exposition of the theory. Other advocates in the nineteenth century were W. C. Carpenter (Israelites Found), F. R. A. Glover (England the Remnant of Judah), and C. Piazzi Smyth, the Astronomer-Royal for Scotland, who deduced from certain measurements of the Great Pyramid that the English were descended from the Lost Tribes. In 1874, Edward Hine published his Identification of the British Nation with Lost Israel, of which a quarter of a million copies are said to have been sold. In the United States the leaders of the movement have been W. H. Poole and G. W. Greenwood. The theory has also been adopted to a slight extent on the Continent, where, for instance, the hostility of the English to Napoleon and Russia, and the sympathy aroused by the Dreyfus case are attributed to this cause.

The advocates of the theory identify Israel with the Khumri of the Assyrians, the Cimmeri of the Greeks, the Cimbrici of the Romans, and the Cymri. All these forms, it is said, are variations of the same name, and traces of it are to be found in garumna, 'garum,' and in Coronation Stone, an ancient fortress on the banks of the Araxes, the place of the Israelitish exile. The Ten Tribes of the Assyrian Captivity on leaving the land of their sojourn are supposed to have wandered towards the west, while those of the Babylonian Captivity passed eastwards towards Afghanistan and India. It is claimed that evidence of the journey towards the north-west is to be found in the tombs, alleged to be of Israelitish origin, that stretch from the Caucasus westwards round the Euxine. The further passage westwards is to be traced to the river nomenclature of Russia: the Don, Danes, Dagestieve, Danemarke, and Danube. The theory goes on to state that these migrants were driven by Alexander over the Danube and settled in Scythia. There they were attacked by barbarian invaders, whom they ultimately repulsed. Many of them, however, were driven farther north, and founded republics, on the Israelitish pattern, in the north and west of Europe. The Goths, who were also of Israelitish descent (Goth=Geta=Gad) were driven by the Huns into the dominions of Rome, in which and beyond which they spread. In consequence of these events, almost the whole of Europe, as well as her colonies in other continents, is held to be peopled by descendants of Israel. Among the local identifications are the tribes of Simeon and Levi among the Ionians, Asher in the Etruscans, Dan in the Danes, Judah in the Jutes, and Manasseh in the Celts. The Macedonian are also stated to have been descendants of Judah.

The Khumri are divided into the Scuthae or Scythians—whence Scots—and the Sasae—afterwards Saxons (sons of Isaac). The former, it is said, composed the migration of B.C. 670, when the Tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half that of Manasseh, started on their wanderings. The latter consisted of the remainder of the victims of the captivity of nineteen years later. One branch of the tribe of Dan, however, escaped on ships, and ultimately settled in Spain and Ireland, where they were known as the 'Scatha de Danes.' They arrived in Ireland under the lead of the scribe Baruch and possibly also of Jeremiah. Accompanying them, we are told, was an Israelitish princess who subsequently married a local chieftain, the couple being crowned on the Bethel stone, rescued from the ruins of the Temple. This stone, the Lia-Fail, it is claimed, accompanied the Scots to Scotland, was invariably made use of at coronations, was removed by Edward I. from Scone to Westminster, and is identified with that now used at English coronations. There is in reality considerable doubt whether the Coronation Stone is identical with the Lia-Fail.

In support of the theory many alleged identifications: a respect of customs, traditions, beliefs, etc., have been adduced. The evidence, however, depend upon very inadequate support. Similarities as authentic have been discovered between the various languages of the British Isles and Hebrew. The theorists choose safer ground when they point to England's influence and success, and suggest as a cause God's covenant with Abraham, fulfilled in...
the persons of his descendants, the English. It is also argued that the English must be the representatives of Israel, as otherwise the many Divine promises made to that race would be unfulfilled.

The theory relies to a very considerable extent on a very literal interpretation of certain passages in the Scripture (Anguttar Edition), (Athurveda Version). It is pointed out that Israel was to change his name (Hos 11), increase beyond number, dwell in islands (Is 24) to the north (Jer 33) and the west, and be a great nation (Mic 4). Israel would also extend beyond the limits of its memory (Is 54, Dt 28 and 32). One of the tribes, Manasseh, was to become an independent nation (Gn 48). From this tribe, we are told, the United States was derived. Reference is found to the lion and the unicorn in Nu 24:9 and to the American eagle in Ezk 17. The promise that Israel shall possess the gates of her enemies (Gn 22:7 24) is fulfilled in the case of Britain by the possession of Gibraltar, Aden, Singapore, etc.

The number of works of Brothers and Hoin is hardly readable. The most important is the study of John Wilson, the Israelitish Origin (1846). Other works explaining the theory, in addition to those already mentioned, are H. W. J. Senior's The Ten Tribes (1883); T. R. Hovius, Anglo-Israel and the Jewish Problem (1905); M. Williams' The Sakal, Our Ancestors (1882); H. H. Pain's Einheimen der israelitischen Lehren (1881); S. Totten's The Ten Tribes (1887); C. A. L. Totten's Our Race (London, 1888); and Anglo-Israel (1889). Other works, that should be consulted are: C. Piastry Smyth's Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid (1864); R. Gorer's English derived from the early Hebrews (1871); and The Anglo-Israel (1889). Other works that should be consulted are: C. Piastry Smyth's Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid (1864); R. Gorer's English derived from the early Hebrews (1871); and The Anglo-Israel (1889). Other works, that should be consulted are: C. Piastry Smyth's Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid (1864); R. Gorer's English derived from the early Hebrews (1871); and The Anglo-Israel (1889).

ANGUTTARA NIKAYA.—The fourth of the five Nikayas, or collections, which constitute the Sutta Pitaka, the Basket of the tradition as to doctrine, the second of the three Pitakas in the canon of the early Buddhists. The standing calculation in Buddhist books on the subject is that it consists of 9557 suttas or short passages. Modern computational would be different. This large number is arrived at by counting as three separate sentences each a statement as: 'Earnestness in industry, and intellectual effort are necessary to progress in good things,' and so on. Thus in the first chapter, section 14, occurs the sentence: 'the following is the chief, bretheren, of the brethren my disciples, in seniority, to wit, Anada Kondakov.' The sentence is then repeated eighty times, giving the pre-eminence, in different ways, of eighty of the early followers of the Buddha, who were either brethren or sisters in the Order, or laymen or laywomen. In each case the necessary alterations in the main sentence are made. We should call it one suıta, giving a list of eighty persons pre-eminent, in one way or another, among the early disciples. According to the native method of repeating by rote, and therefore also of computation, it is eighty suttas. Making allowance for this, there are between two and three thousand suttas. The work has been published in full by the Pali Text Society, vols. i. and ii. edited by Morris, and vols. iii., iv., and v. by E. Hardy (London, 1855-1900). In the new Pali edition, published by Totten, the work has been divided into four parts, each of four pages, the majority of them being very short; and in them all those points of Buddhist doctrine capable of being expressed in classes are set out in order. This practically includes most of the psychology and ethics of Buddhism, and the references are given as: v. 991; vi. 891; vii. 981; viii. 871. The work is a valuable general introduction to the Pali language and literature.

It is always important to understand the context in which a work is written. This is especially true of religious and philosophical texts, which often contain complex and layered meanings.

In the case of the Anguttara Nikaya, the text discusses the early followers of the Buddha, using a repetitive structure to emphasize their importance. The text is divided into various sections, each focusing on a different disciple.

This type of repetition is a common feature in early Buddhist literature, where it serves to reinforce the importance of certain individuals and the core teachings of the Buddha.

The content of the Anguttara Nikaya is significant for understanding the early history and development of Buddhism. It provides insights into the early community's beliefs, practices, and the roles of its members.

In summary, the Anguttara Nikaya is a valuable resource for studying early Buddhist teachings and the role of individual disciples in the community.
being; the savage, in his treatment of the game which has fallen a victim to the prowess of the hunter, shows evidence of a similar state of mind; he attributes to the soul of the slain beast an anxiety as to, and a knowledge of, the good or bad treatment of its mortal remains. When the animal is still alive, he regards it as open to argument, he will repel the crocodile with having slain those who have done it no harm, and point out that the crocodiles, having been the aggressors, have only themselves to thank when man takes the offensive and exacts vengeance for his lost relatives and friends. And so power in the form of speech, a power which in the case of the monkey is said to be put to no use, owing to the animal's fear that he might be made to work if he once began to talk. Both in fables and folk-tales, animals are represented as carrying on conversations and as being moved by the same motives as the human beings who narrate the stories (MacCulloch, Childhood of Fiction, pp. 38-41, 247-278); so much so, in fact, that in Africa the arguments in a judicial process not uncommonly turn on the question of what form of speech, in which form will make the negro embodies his predecessors and leading cases. Even in Europe it is not hard to find traces of this primitive attitude of mind; there is a well-known custom of telling the bees when the master of the house dies; and few bodies are placed in the mind of one country people than that neglect of this precaution will offend the insects, and deprive the new master of the labours. So, too, a knowledge of the moral character of those about them is attributed to the bees, with a corresponding influence on their activity. There is therefore no line of demarcation between man and beast, so that the North American Micmacs say: 'In the beginning of things, men were as animals and animals as men' (Leland, Algonquin Legends, p. 31). To the uncultured the difference is in the form, not in the nature, of things. The Indians of Guiana do not see any sharp line of distinction between man and other animals, between one kind of animal and another, or even between animals—man included—and inanimate objects. On the contrary, to the Indian all objects, animate and inanimate, seem exactly of the same nature, except that they differ in the accident of bodily form. Every object in the whole world is a being consisting of body and soul—a type of an archetypal object in the respect that of bodily form, and in the greater or less degree of brute cunning and brute power, consequent on the difference of bodily form and bodily habits (Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana, p. 350).

But this doctrine of the essential similarity of all things, in spite of differences of form, does not embody the whole of the savage's creed. Perhaps still more essential is his belief in the impermanence of form. We find this exemplified even in fables and folk-tales are not mere comparisons of the transformation of an old witch into a cat or a hare. But magical powers are by no means essential to this change of form. To take only one example. There is a widespread belief that certain migratory birds, and especially the stork, assume human form in other lands; and no sense of incongruity is felt when the story is told of a traveller in foreign lands, being one day approached by an unknown man who displays great familiarity with his children, inquires about their health, and takes a general interest in what is going on in the distant Fatherland. The traveller's astonishment is allayed only when he learns that the stranger obtained his knowledge on the spot. His request for an explanation is met by the simple reply that the stranger is the stock who nests on the good man's roof. All the world over we find the same belief in the power of men, animals, plants, and even inanimate objects, to assume another form at will (cf. MacCulloch, pp. 149-187). It is therefore no wonder if the savage attitude towards nature is widely different from our own.

These transformations can take place during life. Of a slightly different nature, but almost equally important for the comprehension of the beliefs and customs of the uncultured, is the idea that death simply means the assumption of another form as a substitute for the former. The principal sources of the respect paid to animals is the belief that certain species are the embodiments of the souls of the dead, or even the very souls of the dead (for the view varies), and that these souls must receive respect, not only because they are ancestors or relatives, but also because their anger would mean the anger of the species of animals which their souls inhabit. Thus a kind of alliance springs up between certain human kins and certain species of animals, in which some writers have sought the very real sense of his kinship with animals; they are not merely his brothers, but his elder brothers; to them he looks for help and guidance. Not only, but on them he depends for a great part of his subsistence—a fact which is far more vividly brought home to him than to the meat-eating human being of civilized societies, and in like manner he is far more liable than more cultured peoples to meet his death beneath the claws of a lion or a bear, or to succumb to the venom of the serpent. It is therefore small wonder that his attitude towards the animal creation is one of reverence rather than superiority.

1. AGRICULTURE.—The researches of Mannhardt have shown that the European peasant of to-day conceives that the life of the corn exists in the earth, and that the integrity of this life is the true corn itself. The animal corn-spirit is believed to take various forms,—pig, horse, dog, cat, goat, cow, etc.,—and is often conceived to lie in the last ears to be cut, the reapings of which is termed in some parts 'cutting the neck.' The corn-spirit is found not only in the harvest field, but also in the barn and the threshing-floor; the corn-spirit is killed in beating out the last grains from the ears. As a rite of sacralization of the eater, or of desacralization of the corn, the animal incarnation of the corn-spirit is eaten in the harvest supper, at seadtime, or at other periods; the bones or parts of the flesh of this ritual food are used in magic to promote the fertility of the new crop. Sometimes the actual animal is not itself eaten; in its place we find the cake in animal form; but we cannot assume that this cake has taken the place of a former sacrifice of the animal, for it is made of the corn; the eating of the corn in the form of the animal is as effective a sacrament of the eating the animal itself.

In Greece and other parts of the ancient world we find traces of the conception of the corn-spirit as an animal. Demeter was closely related to the pig, and was actually represented at Phigalia in the form of a horse, while her priests were called horses. In the case of Attis and other primus facie
corn-deities a similar connexion with animals can be traced. Among the American Indians the corn-spirit is occasionally conceived in animal form (bison, deer, goat; see below). In other parts of the world an anthropomorphic or simply animistic conception is the rule.

Marillier (HUR xxvii. 381) holds that the life of the corn must be in the form of an animal. Premus explains the connexion of animals with certain other vegetables, as their tutelary deities, on the ground that they were originally held to influence the supply of seed (Am. Anth., iv. 46; 1896 Rep. Res. Ethn. p. 968, etc.), from which, like other magical animals (Globus, lxxvi. 116; A. Anth., iv. 142.), they become tutelary deities. Possibly, too, the belief in soul-animals (see p. 493) may have had some influence; it is not uncommon to make offerings to ancestors in connexion with agriculture; these ancestors are sometimes conceived in the form of animals; it is therefore no long step to the concept of a corn-spirit in animal form. In Indo-China the ancestor is actually believed to guard the fields in the form of a toad at seedtime (Miss. Cat. 1894, p. 143). In New Guinea the form of lures were believed to protect the cornfields (Grinton, Essays, p. 173). In central Java the tiger is held to guard the plantations against wild pigs (Arch. Jav., vii. 670). Vegetation spirits generally are conceived in Europe to be in animal form; but in other parts of the world this idea is seldom found.

2. ART (DECORATIVE).—It is an almost universal custom to decorate weapons, pottery, clothing, etc., with designs, often so highly conventionalized as to be recognizable only on comparison with less stylized forms. One of the main sources of decorative design is the animal world, and the object was, it may be assumed, magical in the first instance. In its later forms there is a combination of purposes, but this is usually where the animal has come to be associated with a god. In this case the use of the animal as an art motif is a form of worship; at the same time, if the animal is the emblem, for example, of rain, its use is equivalent to a prayer for rain. There are, however, innumerable instances of the use of animals in art, both in connexion with totemism and otherwise, for magical or non-theistic purposes. The totem posts of the Haidas have all sorts of decorative carvings, some of which, if not strictly genealogical significance in New Guinea, the totem is delineated on drums and pipes. The lizard (see below) is largely used in Africa and the Pacific, and the frigate bird in Melanesia. In Central Australia the sand is covered with delineations of animals which are figured at Australian South African initiation ceremonies; and many Australian decorative designs are totemic, or at least animal motifs. Probably the skin markings (see 'Tatu' below) of the Australian and other peoples are largely conventionalized forms of similar motives. Where a religious significance has once attached to a design, the art motif may continue to be largely used merely for magical purposes and finally for luck. In Europe we are far from this, but the use of animals in heraldry. See articles on Art.

3. COLOUR.—The colour of animals is highly important, both in magic (wh. see) and otherwise. In Europe the king of the snakes is said to be white. White horses (see below) were especially sacred. In Indo-China the cult of the white elephant is well known. In Japan white animals have a high importance (Globus, lxxii. 2722) and good fortune for the reigning house is inferred from their appearance. The daughter of a man who was 10 years old had a white hare, which was a prince. In Patagonia white cassowaries are sacrosanct; the Patagonians believe that the species would die out if they were to kill such white specimens; white horses and cows enjoy an equal respect (ib. lxi. 63). The white animal is often preferred as a victim. The Wogulis offer a white horse in autumn; the officiants dance round it and stab it with their knives till it falls dead (ib. liv. 332). So, too, the Tcheremiss offer white animals (Erman, Archiv, i. 415). Among the Bushmen of Assam a white buffalo is offered annually (Miss. Cath. 1896, 59), and the Battas also select white victims (Marsden, Sumatra, p. 385). In August or September the Situa festival was held in Peru; the priests received for sacrifice one year the white lamas, which were not shorn (Ausland, lixiv. 901). See also 'Bear', etc., below.

For special purposes distinctive colours must be used. Thus the rain-cloud is black; in a sacrifice for rain, therefore, the victim must be in imitation of it. The Wambwuges of East Africa offer a black sheep and a black calf when they want rain; the Garos of Assam offer a black goat on the top of a very high mountain in time of drought; in Sumatra a black cat is thrown into a river and allowed to escape after swimming about for a time, the ancient Hindus set a black horse with its face to the west and rubbed it with a cloth till it neighed (Golden Bough, i. 101-2); and in the same way white animals must be sacrificed for sunshine (ib. p. 108).

For an agricultural sacrifice at the planting of the rice, although white is not everywhere the emblem of purity, it is natural to connect with this idea the selection of a white dog for a piaicular sacrifice.

4. CREATOR.—It is by no means self-evident to the savage mind that the powers of the universe or of some part of it are necessarily united with those of its sustainer, or of a moral ruler of mankind, or even of a god. Hence, though we find cases in which the Creator is an object of worship, or at any rate respect (see 'Crown' below), we also find a share in creation assigned to animals which are not even specially sacred.

The Gose Ventre account of the origin of the world is that the world was once all water, inhabited only by fish, which in some unaccountable way produced a crow, a wolf, and a water-hen. One day the crow proposed to the wolf to send down the water-hen to look for its eggs which were much happier if they had a little ground under their feet. The earth was brought, and while the gods were engaged in a rattle, the crow sprinkled the earth about on the waters and formed the globe as we have it to-day. Subsequently the wolf was created, and the crow turned him into an Indian (Cous. Henry and Thompson, MS Jis. p. 801). According to the Guaycurus of South America, they were called into existence after all the other nations by a decree of the caracara bird, but they show it no special respect (Patriota, 1814, p. 20). In some cases chance seems to have caused an animal to figure as Creator; in S. Australia the islands were said to have resulted from a blow of a great serpent's tail, but Nooree created other things (Eyre, Expedition, i. 336).

5. CULT.—Anthropological data are supplied in many cases by the chance remarks of a traveller, who, if he understands the true nature of the phenomena he is describing, does not always appreciate their importance, and leaves us in the dark on points which are indispensable to the correct understanding of his information. This is especially the case when the information relates to the worship or supposed ownership of animals; not only are the sources of such a cult extremely various, but it is possible for actions which spring from purely utilitarian motives to appear the same whereas otherwise the ritual of an animal cult. We find, for example, that in ancient Egypt it was the practice to lead the sacred crocodiles, which were associated with the god Souchos (Scebek); in modern days we have a similar practice recorded in West Africa; but in the absence of information from those who give them food we can hardly inter-
pret the custom without fear of error. Prudence is a faculty commonly denied to the peoples in lower stages of culture; but it may well have happened that accidental, if not reflexion, suggested to some one that a hungry crocodile is a far more dangerous neighbour than one which is in no need of food. We cannot, therefore, explain the modern custom, which is mentioned above, in a way that the possibility of the utilitarian explanation must also be kept in mind. Quite apart from this, there is a difficulty in the interpretation of the data which arises from the indefinite nature of much of the material. The significance is well established, but the savage creed is often vague and fluctuating. At any rate, in the hands of European questioners, it is not uncommon for one native to assert one thing while another will maintain exactly the reverse; or one and the same man will put forward contradictory propositions either after an interval of time or even during a single interview. Where the ritual is unmistakably religious or magical, we can dispense with the commentary of the officiating priest or magician; but the room for error is then ill defined, and it is to do without this guidance, even though we know that the explanation given is not necessarily the original one.

The terms 'worship' and 'cult' are used, especially in dealing with animal superstitions, with extreme vagueness; and each instance of the facts to which they are applied is in itself uncertain. At one end of the scale we find the real divine animal, commonly conceived as a 'god-body,' i.e. the temporary incarnation of a superior being, with a circle of worshippers. At the other end, separated from the real cult by imperceptible transitions, we find such practices as respect for the bones of slain animals, or the use of a respectful name for the living animal. The question is one with the general problem of the definition of religion; it cannot profitably be discussed in connexion with a single species of cult, and it is the less necessary to do so here, as we are concerned only with general principles and broad outline.

Animal cults may be classified on two principles: (a) according to their outward form; (b) according to their genesis. The simplest kind of classification is important chiefly for the comprehension of the principles which underlie the evolution of animal worship and anthropomorphic cults; the second is primarily concerned with an earlier stage—that of the actual beginnings, it may be, of the religious sentiment or its manifestation.

(a) Formal Classification.—Animal cults may be broadly divided into two classes: (i) the whole species without exception is sacred; (ii) one or a fixed number of a species is sacred. In a certain number of cases the second class may be indistinguishable from the first; this is the case in the Borneo cult of the hawk; there were not only the three real omen birds among the Ibas of Borneo in olden days, but they were indistinguishable from their fellows.

Although it is by no means axiomatic that the cults of the species has in every case preceded the cult of the individual animal, it seems probable that we may regard this as the normal course of evolution. The transition may be effected in more than one way. (1) As in the case of the hawk (see above) among the Bornean peoples, a simple progress from theriomorphic to anthropomorphic ideas may suffice to explain the change. There is no reason to doubt that such a process may take place both without foreign influence and without any internal impulse due to the rise of sun-, moon-, or other cults of single deities, which would naturally tend to produce a species of syncretism in previously existing multiple cults. Among more than one Australian tribe, for example, the eagle-hawk seems to have been transformed into an anthropomorphic deity; but there is no reason to suspect either foreign influence or assimilation to other native cults, for the latter are admittedly non-existent. So, too, in Central Australia the kangaroo totem-sacrifice to the sacred animal; the totemic ceremonies are performed to keep him in a good humour, and not, as is the case with the other totems of the same tribe, to promote their increase; but when we reach acts intended to propitiate a magical, spiritual animal we are on the verge of worship, if indeed the boundary between totemism and animal cults proper has not long been overpassed. At the same time, not only may the rise of individual cults, such as those of the heavenly bodies, exact a deep influence on the multiple cults, but a specialization of function may, where multiple cults alone are present, aid to bring about the same result. The chief purpose for which the Bornean peoples require omens is to get directions for the hunt; the conduct of the can ill afford to do without this guidance, even though we know that the explanation given is not necessarily the original one.

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fleece of the ram which was sacrificed to him once a year. Intermediate stages are given by the Californian custom of preserving the panné skin and using it as the tobed, or cloak, of Chinechinich; and by the Floridian sacrifice of the goat (see below), whose skin was preserved for a year, until its place was taken by that of the first victim, the

(3) In the folk-lore of modern Europe the corn-spirit is conceived to bear sometimes human, sometimes animal form; but in neither case has anything like unification made its way into the minds of the peasants who are the repositories of these primitive ideas. In Greece and Rome, on the other hand, we find the corn-spirit, as recorded in literature, no longer an undifferentiated, multiple divinity, who resides equally in every field and on every farm. A process of synthesis has unified the anonymous rustic animal and human gods, though in Greece we can still trace their features in survivals. How far this unification corresponded to anything in the nature of anthropomorphization and unification in the mind of the peasants whose gods they originally were, we do not know; but it may be suspected that the process did not go far. It may, of course, be true that the corn-spirit in modern Europe is but a degenerate descendant of Wodan, Demeter, or whatever the name of the corn-deity was; but this explanation leaves us without a hint of how the former god came to be conceived as an animal. However this may be, it seems clear that the passage from multiplicity to unity by synthesis implies a certain amount of philosophizing. Just as in Egypt there was a tendency to identify all the gods with Ra, so in Greece, in a minor degree, went on the process of identifying the local corn-god, the domesticated animal, and the horned animal. The natural tendency was for the cult of a deity to spread beyond its original area and to swallow up less important or nameless objects of worship, and this went on in the case of animal no less than of other cults. At the same time, we must not overestimate the importance of the movement, which may have penetrated but slightly the lower strata of the population. It may be noted in passing that it is possible to have two distinct kinds of syncretism: (a) where one deity swallows up another being of the same species as itself, and (b) where two different species come to syncretism. In the case of Demeter, complicated, however, by the fact that the horse as well as the pig was associated with her, thus leading to a double movement of synthesis—the unification of the species of the horses and pigs, but the unification of the different species of animals, the heterogeneous corn-spirits—from which we get Demeter as she is presented to us by classical authors; and (2) where there is no underlying unity of function. If the cult of Apollo Smintheus developed from an older cult of the mouse, we can indeed explain why the mouse-god should also be the sun-god, by saying that the mice devastate the fields under cover of darkness, and that the sun-  

bol, which later came to be regarded as a 'god-  

body,' and was recognized by special marks. In the second type, the animal, so far from remaining inviolate, is sacrificed at the end of the year or after a certain period of time; but, unlike the cases referred to in a previous section, its sanctity ceases with its death, and its place is taken by another living animal. This form of worship may perhaps be due in the first instance to the common felt wish to apologize and do honour to the animal about to be slain, in order that its spirit, honoured in its person, may show no disinclination to fall victims to the hunter's dart.

(4) Side by side with the immolation of the victim, and sometimes supplementing the annual sacrifice as a cause of the sanctity of a special animal, may be placed the custom of selecting an animal as an ancestor and consecrating this practice. The first, among pastoral peoples, consists in consecrating an animal which is thenceforth inviolate. Perhaps we may see in a custom of this sort the source of the Egyptian cult of the

bull, which we shall consider as a 'god-body,' and was recognized by special marks. In the second type, the animal, so far from remaining inviolate, is sacrificed at the end of the year or after a certain period of time; but, unlike the cases referred to in a previous section, its sanctity ceases with its death, and its place is taken by another living animal. This form of worship may perhaps be due in the first instance to the common felt wish to apologize and do honour to the animal about to be slain, in order that its spirit, honoured in its person, may show no disinclination to fall victims to the hunter's dart.

(b) Genetic Classification. — In dealing with animal cults from the genetic point of view, it must not be forgotten that, while changes in ritual are at most but gradual, the explanations which are given of the acts are liable to change in a much greater degree. Foreign influences apart, development in creeds is often a slow process; but it may be taken as axiomatic, at any rate for the lower stages of culture, that belief changes far more rapidly than ritual. If, therefore, we find that at the present day a species of animals is held in reverence, it by no means follows that the explanation is the one which would have been given in pre-historic times; yet, if the primitive interpretation may not throw any light on the real origin of the cult. The etiological myth is particularly characteristic of savages, and the etiological myth is not history but guesswork.

To take a concrete example, the Atrazites explain the fact that they have the baboon as their totem by a myth which involves the supposition, if it is to be regarded as real history, that they developed totemism after their passage from barbarism to the acquisition of cultivated plants (Folklore, xv. 110). Not only is this highly improbable in itself, but the myth throws no light on the genesis of totemism in other parts of the world or among other South African kins, if indeed it be totemism with which we are confronted among the southern Bantu. Again, the southern Bantu as a whole explain their respect for the totem (?) animal, or siboko, by the story that the souls of their ancestors go to reside after death in the species which they respect. But this is an attempt to adapt to their custom of ancestor-worship, possibly a result of the change from female to male descent, there would be a tendency to bring other cults into relation with the predominant form of worship. The belief, but rarely found in other parts of the world, of transmigration into the totem animal may have taken the place of the belief in transmigration pure and simple, which is found in Australia without any connexion with totemism (Maas, 1905, No. 58).

Again, the claimer signified to his brethren on the ground that they do honour to the species on which they depend for their subsistence. That may be so at the present day; but there is no proof that the cult of the animal in question does not date back to the days before it was domesticated or when it was only in the early stages of domestication, which obviously must have been for reasons unconnected with its future usefulness. If, as is not impossible, the cult of the animal led to its domestication, the modern explanation is only guess at the causes which made the animal an object of worship in the first place.

Animal cults may be conveniently classified under ten specific heads, with another class for non-
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descript forms of unknown origin or meaning: (1) pastoral cults; (2) hunting cults; (3) cults of dangerous or noxious animals; (4) cults of animals conceived as human souls or their embodiment; (5) totemistic cults; (6) cults of secret societies, individual cults of totemic animals; (7) tree and vegetation cults; (8) cults of ominous animals, probably associated with certain deities; (10) cults of animals used in magic. Broadly speaking, it may be said that in the cases of (1), (2), and perhaps (7), the motive is mainly the material benefits which the members of the totemic group derive from the species in question, whereas the totemic attitude of the South African Bantu towards their herds is not comparable with the respect or fear for cattle shown by earlier peoples. The Bantu does not regard the animal as a divine being, but as a useful animal, though the prohibition is certainly of late development. (b) As an example of the second sub-type may be taken the Toda cult of the buffalo (see below), the Madi cult of the sheep (see below), and perhaps the West Asiatic cult of the camel (unless we should regard the rite described by Nilus in PL lxxi. as astral in its nature), since they fairly represent the class of pastoral cults in which honour is done to the species by sacrificing one of its members with special ceremony. In another class of pastoral cult the honour is done to the species by selecting one animal as its representative and letting it go free. As an example of this type may be taken the Kalmuck custom of setting free a ram lamb. But it may be noted that even here it is the practice to sacrifice the sacrificial animal eventually. This is only so, however, when it is growing old, and Frazer explains it, like many other customs of a similar kind, as due to a wish that the god or divine animal may not grow old and thus lose, with the decrease of its powers, any of the strength needed for the fulfilment of his functions.

(2) In hunting cults, on the other hand, the species which receives honour is habitually killed, and, in order to atone for the loss of individual members, (a) the species is considered to be represented by a single individual, which is itself finally killed, but not until it has, like the bear (see below) among the Ainus, received divine honours, and (b) each individual of the species at its death by the hunting of the tribe, for the sake of its meat and its uiings, or whatever treatment is conceived to be proper to make its feelings predominantly those of satisfaction, in order that its surviving fellows may show no unkindness to present themselves in their turn. As examples of this sub-type may be taken the buffalo, and the bear (see below) among some peoples (cf. Golden Bough, ii. 404 ff.), and, in fact, most animals on which hunting or fishing tribes largely depend. In some cases the propitiation does not go farther than forbidding misuse of the bones of the dead animals, such as feeding them to dogs, breaking them, etc., which may be a purely practical measure based on savage ideas of reproduction, rather than cult properly so called.

The cult of dangerous animals is generally characterized by tabus before, during, and after the hunt, and by ceremonies intended to propitiate the slain animal. They are mainly practised in Africa and South Asia; as examples may be taken the cult of the leopard, lion, and tiger (see below). The dangers to be avoided are twofold: in the first place, the soul of the slain beast may take vengeance on the hunter, who therefore submits to the same tabus as are imposed on all mourners of members of his tribe, in order to avert the idea of either deceiving or keeping at a distance the malevolent ghost; in the second place, as in the previous sections, the remainder of the species has to be kept in good humour or prevented from learning of the death of their comrade. To (3) and to some extent (5) and (10) are connected with fear of the consequences of refusing respect; (6) and (8) are connected with the assistance derived from the animal; and (9) with the fear of the wrath of a god; while (4) seems to be compounded of fear of the wrath of ancestors and desire for their help.

(1) The characteristics of the pastoral type are that a domestic animal, (a) is spared as a species, or (b) receives special honour in the person of an individual animal. (a) As an example of the first sub-type, we may take the Hindu sacrifice of the cow, and, as a modified form, the attitude of the South African Bantu towards their herds. The latter are losing their respect for cattle; but whereas in pre-European days the sacrifice of cattle was performed by the Hindis, at the present day he is absolutely forbidden to kill any species, though the prohibition is certainly of late development. (b) As an example of the second sub-type may be taken the Toda cult of the buffalo (see below), the Madi cult of the sheep (see below), and perhaps the West Asiatic cult of the camel (unless we should regard the rite described by Nilus in PL lxxi. as astral in its nature), since they fairly represent the class of pastoral cults in which honour is done to the species by sacrificing one of its members with special ceremony. In another class of pastoral cult the honour is done to the species by selecting one animal as its representative and letting it go free. As an example of this type may be taken the Kalmuck custom of setting free a ram lamb. But it may be noted that even here it is the practice to sacrifice the sacrificial animal eventually. This is only so, however, when it is growing old, and Frazer explains it, like many other customs of a similar kind, as due to a wish that the god or divine animal may not grow old and thus lose, with the decrease of its powers, any of the strength needed for the fulfilment of his functions.

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Islands it appears to be the custom for a dying man to inform his family into what species of animal he proposes to migrate (JAI xxviii. 147). The abode thus taken up in an animal is commonly regarded as permanent, the soul of the dead man passing into another of the same species, if his particular animal is killed (Maclean, 1864, No. 118), but occasionally the soul is believed to pass on after a time to its final abode (Folklore, xii. 342). The belief is occasionally found in Africa that a chief has put his soul for safe keeping into an animal, which is therefore respected (Golden Bough, iii. 407; JAI xx. 13; see below, 'Goat,' 'Cattle').

If we are entitled to assume that the *śibokoism* of the South African Bantus is totemism, or has replaced an earlier stage of pure totemism, the soul-animal occupies a specially important place in the history of savage religion. In any case, the worship or respect for the soul-animal has probably been the starting-point of other cults; thus the Zulu and Masai respect for the serpent may represent the beginnings of serpent-worship. The association of the dog with the Lar at Rome probably points to a time when the dog was regarded as a form of the soul; at the same time it should not be forgotten that the Lar was also a house-hold god, and that the dog was a domestic animal and associated with it; the dog was likewise associated with Hecate, also apparently a family goddess.

(3) One of the widely distributed animal cults is that known as *totemism*; it is, however, rather negative, consisting in abstention from injuring the totem animal, as positive, showing itself in acts of worship. There are, however, exceptions; the Wollunqua totem is a single mythical animal, the warrooings ceremony with regard to it are at the present day devoted entirely to placating it, an attitude which can hardly be distinguished from the propitiation of a god. Among certain Central Australian tribes the totem animal is required to be eaten on certain occasions, although this is to be regarded as an aberrant form of totemism (Lang, JAI xxxv. 315-336). In America, too, we hear of sacrifices to the totem (Loskiel, History, i. 49; Maclean, Twenty-five Years, p. 186), unless, indeed, totem is here in a sense of sacrifice to the animal, to the objects which are frequent (Frazer, Totemism, p. 54). Under this head may be noticed the cult of certain animals in Australia, which are associated with all the males or all the females of a given tribe. They and the other totem animals are ‘sacred’ and ‘secret’ to the members of the tribe, and the corresponding totem animal of another tribe, or of another tribe and another totem animal, carries with it a special respect.

(4) In the case of the totem kin, the association of a human being with a species of animal is hereditary, and no choice in the matter is permitted to him. Of a more voluntary nature are *secret societies*. Even here inheritance has much to do with the acquisition of membership in a society, especially in N.W. America. At the same time, initiation seems to play a considerable rôle in the case of the secret society; in the absence of initiation ceremonies a man remains outside the society. The totem kin can hardly be the totem kin, for women, too, belong to it, though their initiation ceremonies, if performed at all, do not seem, any more than those of the males, and probably much less, to bear any relation to the totem. The fundamental idea of many secret societies is the acquisition of a tutelary animal. In the same way the individual gains an animal genius by his initiation fast. Closely connected with these ‘naguals,’ as they may conveniently be termed, are the familiars of witches and the werewolves, or animal forms, of the modern European folklore.

(7) More especially in Greek and Roman mythology we find a number of woodland deities, which are very clearly spirits of the woods in animal or partly animal form. Bearing in mind the possibility of syncretism, it may be recognized that even if Dionysus and other deities commonly associated with vegetation cults are sometimes conceived in animal form, this is no proof that they were so conceived qua vegetation spirits; but this objection applies in a much less degree to Pan, the Satyrs, and Silenus, while in the case of the Fauns there is a general agreement that they are spirits of the woods (Mannhardt, Ant. Wald- u. Feldkultur, p. 113). We have a parallel to them in modern European folklore; Leshi, the wood-spirit, is believed in Russia to appear partly in human shape, but with the horns, ears, and legs of a goat (Mannhardt, Baumkultus, p. 138).

The frequent conception of an animal god, and particularly as a pig, makes it highly probable that Pan is correct in arguing that Proserpine, Atis, and Adonis were originally conceived as pigs, or, at any rate, from that of a corn-spirit in pig form. In European folklore there is little that can be termed worship or cult in the attitude towards the animal under whose form the corp spirit is believed to appear; few or no ceremonies are performed, save those whose object it is, however, of general interest to record the fanciful associations of the crop and to ensure the proper growth of the new crops when they are sown in the spring. More definite acts of worship are recorded of the Panes of the Egyptian army (see 'Bison' below), and of some of the tribes in Florida.

(8) Omens are drawn from the cries and actions of birds, among the early races of mankind more especially than in modern times, in order to guide the future, or to foretell the results of a proposed action. Some such animal deities as the hawk and the rook are mentioned in the Bible, and there is no doubt that from early times a bird has been associated with a specialized anthropomorphic deity, especially associated with warlike operations.

(9) The question of the association of certain animals with certain deities is a very difficult one. On the one hand, it is certain that the two are inextricably united in primitive religion, since the old idea that all such animals were sacred before they became associated with the god, and equally impossible to show that the god has actually been crystallized out of one or more sacred animals. On the other hand, we can only assign a moral respect for an animal paid to it wholly and solely because it is associated with a certain deity. If the jackal was respected in Egypt because it was associated with Anubis, it may be argued, on the one hand, that this association was due to the fact that the jackal was formerly regarded as a soul-animal; on the other hand, we may with apparently equal justice argue that the jackal was frequently seen about the tombs, and that this led to its being associated with the god of the dead.

(10) It can hardly be said that there is any cult proper of animals used in magic. Among the southern Bantus, however, the crocodile (see below) is sacrosanct. The explanation of this is not far to seek; the crocodile is used for evil by the witch, to kill a crocodile, therefore, would be to incur the suspicion of being a magician and possibly the penalty of death. It is therefore easy to see how the association of an animal with evil magic can be traced to its being used by the nature worshiper view that magical animals become gods, see Preuss's articles in Globus, vol. lxxxvii. passim.

(11) In a comparatively large number of cases we are unable to trace the origin of a cult of
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animals. First and foremost the facts of serpent-worship: the wide spread of animal cults are far from having been explained. The serpent is, in many cases, associated with a cult of ancestors; this readily comprehensible where the species is a harmless one; the very fact of its harmless would mark it out as different from its fellows; so, where it inhabits the house of the immediate neighbourhood, we have an adequate cause for its association with the worship of the dead; among the Zulus, for example, no other snake is an idloko, but only those which are found in the neighbourhood. This serpent-worship may be put down to their association with water; one of the commonest forms of water-monster is the serpent. The water-snake is specially honoured among the Xosa-Kafirs, in order that cases of drowning may not be frequent (Mereisnky, Erinnerunngen, p. 36). But these facts are far enough to explain the wide distribution of serpent-worship. On the other hand, its cult is much more than the cult of a dangerous animal, as is readily seen by comparing serpent-worship with that of the crocodile, and it seems doubtful if the mysterious nature of the serpent, which is sometimes invoked as an explanation, is sufficiently important to account for the preference given to the reptile. Probably a multiple origin may be assigned to its worship.

The relations of animals and gods in Australian religion are by no means clear. Baiame seems in some eastern tribes to occupy the same position which the bird-bell holds in the mythology of the central tribes; his opponent, Madgegong, is conceived under the form of an eagle-hawk, that reproducing the familiar mythical conflict which in other parts of Australia is narrated of the eagle-hawk and the crow. Farther south the eagle-hawk, under the name of Mullion, again figures as an evil spirit. The name of the god of some Victorian tribes is Pundjel, and the same name is applied to the eagle-hawk; possibly, however, both receive it simply as a title of respect. However that may be, it seems clear that a certain amount of anthropomorphization has gone on in Australian. What is not clear is the position of the animals from which the anthropomorphic gods or evil spirits seem to have been evolved. Both eagle-hawk and crow are phrathy names; but, while the crow (see below) is respected, possibly as a soul-animal, there are few traces of respect for the eagle-hawk. We cannot find that the crow has been anthropomorphized into a deity, and the deities and demons are connected with animals in areas where the phrathy names, at least in the present day, have nothing to do with these animals. On the other hand, the eagle-hawk is a common form of the wizard (Spencer and Gillen, Native Tribes of Central Australia, p. 533).

Howitt has maintained that Koik and other tribes which the European observers have regarded demons are really gods. If this be so, if the god of the Australian is no more than a magnified medicine-man, we have a sufficient explanation of the cult of the eagle-hawk. Even if Howitt's theory is generally applicable, the fact that the medicine-man of one tribe may be erected into a god by another, and into a demon by his neighbours who suffer from his machinations, gives a new improbable explanation of the facts. It does not, of course, follow that any one medicine-man has been deified; just as the Ibans have deified a generalized hawk (see below), the Australians may have apotheosized a generalized eagle-hawk-medicine-man. In view of the position of the eagle-hawk as head of one of the phrathy, it is of some importance that on the north-west coast of Australia there are two phrathy, of which the one is called Yehl, the other is called Kanhukh, whose names mean 'raven' and 'owl'; at the same time that they are two phrathy, which are also known under the names of raven and the owl. It is true that Taylor has denied (J.A.A., xxviii. 144) that Kanhukh ever appears in wolf form; Yehl, on the other hand, is in many of his adventures presented as an eagle. This does not, however, seem fatal to the view that the presiding anima of the phrathy have somehow been developed into deities or demi-gods, for Yehl is little more than a culture hero; at the same time this theory leaves unexplained the spread of the two cults into the opposite phrathy. For neither in America nor in Australia is there any trace of uni-phrathy deities, and it were should be on the supposition that the presiding anima has become a god. It should not be forgotten that in some of the central tribes of Australia there are traces of species names, which are common, and which are either true animal gods, or at any rate the names of animal-gods. It may therefore be that the deification of the eagle-hawk is due to its importance in magic not to its position as a phrathy animal, though these facts may have had influence in bringing about its preferred position.

Even were it established that phrathy animals have been promoted to godhead, it by no means follows that the god becomes a totem, or is evolved into a god. That phrathy animals have ever become totems is a pure hypothesis, and no consistent account has yet been given of the process by which they became more than totems.

Another animal-god of unexplained origin, whose importance marks him out for notice, is the Great Haro of the Algonquins (Strachey, History of Travail, p. 98; Lang, Myth, ii. 79; Brinton, Myth, p. 195), who, in his human form of Michabou or Manibosho, was the culture-hero of this important family of America. The connexion of the Great Haro with the East, has, in etymological grounds, explained it as the dawn. Meteorological explanations have ceased to be convincing; moreover, according to one form of the story, which, the rabbit (which is the symbol of the latter half of Michabou = Manibosho) was not in the east but in the north (Brinton, p. 196). To speak of the cult of the Great Haro as animal-worship is, according to Brinton, to make it senseless, meaningless brute-worship; but this is to view it from the point of view of Europe in a.d. 1900 rather than in the light of other primitive cults. It may safely be said that no attempt to explain away animal-cults on these lines can be successful in more than very small measure. Brinton's preference for a dawn myth cannot therefore carry the day against the natural meaning of the Algonquin legends. Moreover, no adequate account has ever been given of the process by which men came, on the score of a simple etymological misunderstandanding, to turn a god in human shape into an animal.

Less important is the Bushman god Ikgagen or Cagn (see 'Mantis' below), who, according to the latest account, was believed to manifest himself in the form of the mantis (iklagen), or the caterpillar (kaukel, from th-a-gago). From this it would be natural to assume that he had made some progress in the direction of anthropomorphization. The problem of how one god comes to manifest himself in several animals is a complicated one, when it is a phenomenon of the religion of savage or barbarous peoples, among whom the syncretic processes, the working of which in Greece or Egypt is fairly obvious, cannot be assumed to have played a large part, if indeed they played any at all. We see the same phenomenon in Samoa, where one village-god was believed to be incarnate in two or three kinds of animals. In the latter case it is perhaps to local causes, such as the aggregation of villages under one chief, or the coming together of more than one clan in a single village, that we must look for the explanation. But such an explanation can hardly be applied to the god of the Bushmen, who are on the very lowest nomadic plane of culture. The question is complicated by problems of Bushman origin and history; for if they were once a more settled folk, we should expect to see the disintegration when the Bantu stream overflowed South Africa, it may well be due to their disintegration that the hypothesis of syncretism, as an explanation of the cult of Cagn, seems inappropriate. Perhaps material for the solution of the problem may be found in the still unpublished mass of
material relating to the Bushmen collected by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd.

Prominent among animal gods is the Hindu monkey-deity, Hanuman, who figures largely in the Rāmāyāna. It has been argued that his cult is not primitive, but has been borrowed from some other tribe; and this conclusion is based on the fact that there are no traces of worship of the monkey in the Veda, save so far as Vishalakī (Rigveda, x. 86) may be regarded as the object of such (cf. the conflicting views of Bernhard, Religion und Mythologie, ii. 377–379, and of Hildebrandt, Religion der Veda, iii. 174; Geldner, Vedische Studien, ii. 22–42; and Hildebrandt, Védique Mythologie, iii. 278). But this line of proof overlooks the fact that the Veda is concerned with official religion, and that Hanuman may have been worshipped unofficially without any record of the fact being available.

At the same time it is by no means improbable that the cult is to some extent based on an aboriginal predecessor, for we can hardly suppose that the Aryan invaders brought with them from regions where the monkey is less prominent, if not non-existent. Hanuman is distinctly a species god; but we cannot discover the origin of the cult. The resemblance of the monkey to the Hindu Hamsa has not produced the same effect elsewhere, and seems inadequate to account for a cult, however satisfactory it may be as an explanation of a rich monkey mythology.

6. DELUGE, EARTH-FINDING.—In legends of a deluge, animals figure in two capacities. In the first place, they are simple messengers, like the raven in the Book of Genesis; the crow, hare, dog, pigeon, and other animals go out to see if the world is drained. This custom is sometimes causing it to increase magically in size by making the circuit of it. In other cases the waters show no signs of abating, and the water-birds or animals are made to dive, and bring up mud, sand, or earth; from this the new earth is formed and laid on the waters; it grows to the size of the present world. This form of the terre pêchée is especially common in America, where it also occurs as a cosmogonic myth. Among the Montagnais in the Altai the incident figures in a Creation myth. Among the Yorubas the same story is played a somewhat similar part in producing the earth from beneath the waters. See DELUGE.

7. DIVINATION.—For the purpose of divination, the entrails, the liver, and frequently the shoulder-blade of animals are used. Animals also serve to give indications which are more properly classified under 'divination' than under 'omens.' Ashes were strewn on the floor in Peru, and from the character of the tracks found on them was inferred the kind of animal into which the soul of a dead person had passed. In Mexico snuff was spit on the altar, and inferences were drawn from the footprints of eagles, etc. (Tschiudi, Reisen, p. 337; Bancroft, iii. 438). In Australia the ground was carefully searched; if a track was found on it, they infer from it the totem of the person who caused the death of the man. In other cases a watch is kept, and the movements of an insect or its flight decide the direction in which the malevolent magician resides. Another method of using animals in divination is to make dice or other instruments of their bones; knuckle bones are especially used for this purpose.

8. DOMESTICATION.—The problem of the history of the domestication of animals has seldom been attacked, and up to the present no satisfactory solution has been propounded; we are in complete uncertainty as to why or how man in the first instance came to tame animals, bring them up in captivity, and induce them to perpetuate their species. In the Pacific the frigate bird is often tamed. The Indians of South America frequently keep tame animals in their huts. But in neither of these cases can we properly speak of domestication. In the New World the domestic animals known before the advent of Europeans were few; the dog is the only one, of course, based on the fact that domesticated animals were found only in Mexico and Peru, and then only the turkey, llama, alpaca, and perhaps one or two more, of which the llama and alpaca alone were economically important. In the Old World domestication seems to have been Asiatic; but little, however, is known as to the localities in which the domesticated species first came under the dominion of man. Probably the dog (see below) attached itself to man, but in other cases a process of domestication seems to be a necessary assumption. Totemism by itself seems inadequate, even when we make allowance for the additional leverage of the segregation of totem kins. Probably some form of cult (hence 'Cattle' below) was in many cases the determining factor.

9. EARTH-CARRIER.—The problem of the stability of the earth has been solved, more especially by the people of Southern Asia and the Asiatic islands, thanks to the instinctive belief in Muhammadan influence, by the hypothesis that some great animal supports the world; the myth is also found in other areas, but only sporadically. Among the Inuits the world-turtle is domesticated, possibly from domesticated cattle. In the full story, as related by D'Anville (Trav. p. 241), the turtle, before the world was brought into existence, was a mythical animal of this description; the Winnebagos are told, according to Eberz, that the earth was supported by a tortoise and four snakes, which were in the end unequal to their task; but since a bisons has joined its forces with theirs, the safety of the earth is assured. In India we find various myths: the cow account gives the snake, another the elephant, as the world-supporting beast (Ward, a. o. p. 103). A Japanese view is that eight elephants bear the world on their backs (Monier-Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 430), and the Lushu yogita (Short Account, p. 30) and D'Anville (Trav. p. 103) show the world rest on the same animal. Another Hindu myth makes both turtle and serpent (dragon) rest upon an elephant (Civ. Res. x. 407), while a later myth gives the boar as the supporter. In Ceylon the world-carrying giant rests on a serpent, which rests on a turtle; the turtle rests on a frog, and beneath the frog is air (Miss. Herald, xviii. 365). The Indian boar occurs in Celebes (Journ. Ind. Arch. ii. 837; Med. Nat. v. 163), where an account gives the buffalo (ib. x. 286), which recurs in the Moluccas (De Ceroq, in Bûhr. 1590, p. 130). In Arabia and Egypt are found the cow and bull (Abulfeda, p. 102; Lane, 200 Nights, i. 21), which are also said to rest on a rock, and that on a fish. Probably the bull of the Indian tradition, the bull or ox is found in Bulgaria (Strauss, Bulg. p. 30); Sumatra (Hannaelt, Volksle, p. 71), where it rests on an eagle, this on a fish, which is in the sea. Probably the first one was the frog (see Vories, p. 72). The turtle in a Kalmuk myth seems to play the part of the world-carrier (Bastian, Ges. Bilder, p. 257), the snake in Nias (Tschudi, T. L. S. xxv. 110), Sumatra (Adip. Nias, xii. 404, etc.), and Java (Tschudi, Nat. Ind., i. 103); the fish in Sumatra (see above), among the Ainus (Batchelor, p. 270), and in Europe in the Middle Ages (Mone, Anzeiger, viii. 114). The frog recurs among the Mongol Lames (Tylor, Prim. Cult., i. 95). Among the Siaves four whales are said to support the world (Berl. Leskabinett, 1844, 210), and among the Tennes of West Africa a trace of Muslim influence may be seen in the underdescribed animal who bears all on his back (Gust. 1849, 189). In many cases the movements of the earth-carrier are alleged to be the cause of earthquakes. See EARTHQUAKES.

10. EARTHQUAKES.—Most of the peoples enumerated in the preceding section account for earthquakes by the movements of the animal supporting the earth. In addition we find the snake in the Moluccas (Bastian, Indonesien, i. 81), inter-changeably with the ox, in Bali (Globus, xvi. 983); Roti (Müller, Reisen, iii. 345), Flores (Jacobsen, Reise, p. 51), Mindanoo (ZE. xvii. 47), and among the Dayaks of Borneo (Pereira, Ethn. Bes. p. 8), in Flores a dragon myth is also found (loc. cit.). The earthquake fish of Japan is placed sometimes under the earth, sometimes on the surface of the earth, in another form of explanation (loc. cit.). In Sumatra the crab is found as a variant to the snake, Naga-pudoka, whose horns are perhaps due to Muslim influence
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(v. Brenner, Bernou, p. 594). In Flores (Jacobsen, loc. cit.), and Rades (Ritter, Asien, vi. 569), the dragon is the cause. In Kamathtaka the earthquake is said to be due to the dragon of Touila, whose name is Kozi; the snow collects on his coat and he shakes himself to get it off (Krachenmikow, Descr. i. 94). The movements of the other animals are due to a bee or some insect. 11. ECLIPSES.—Animals figure in some of the primitive explanations of eclipses. Among the Potawattomies they are caused by the combat of the old woman who makes the basket (Anns. xii. 350, xiii. 495); the dog plays the part of protector, as does probably the bird in a Mongol myth (Ausland, 1873, 534), and possibly in the Lules myth (Lozano, Docc. Coroc, p. 91). More commonly it is said that the moon is swallowed or attacked by an animal. In Burma the Karens say that wild goats are devouring the moon, and they make a noise to drive them away, or that frogs are eating it (Miss. Cath. 1877, 456). In Eastern Asia the dragon myth is common; it is found in China (Grimm, Deut. Myth. ii. 689), Siberia (Kromayer, loc. cit.), and Sumatra (Marx, Gesch. Hist, p. 194), and Tidore (De Clercq, op. cit. p. 73). This form of the myth is not far removed from that which makes a giant or undescibed monster attack the moon or sun.

Mythical animals are found sporadically in Asia Minor (Nau- mann, Vom Goldenen Horn, p. 75), in Carinthia (Zt. d. Myth, iv. 411), and among the southern Slavs (v. Wissolk, Volksk. p. 243). The bird-phantom in this myth is also found (ib. 92) among the Tchoupskaya and Brabanca (Völker aus Brahman, p. 30), among the Chichuquis the dog (Tybur. Priv. Cult. i. 235), who tears the flesh of the devourer and reddens her light with the blood which flows. Among the Tupis the Jaguar was the animal which was believed to attack the sun (ib. p. 30), and the Peruvians held it to be a monstrous beast (ib.). The Jaguar recurs among the Manuos (Martin, Enl. iii. 588), and the Guaranis (Ruiz de Montoya, Conquest, p. 127). The Taganan place a myth of a bush crab (Worcester, Philippine Isl. p. 497). The old Norse (Grimm, i. 202; ii. 689, iii. 205) held that a wolf attacked the sun or moon; and the same idea is found in France (ib. i. 494). In many cases the dogs are bested or incited to attack the monster which is assailing the heavenly body.

12. FABLES.—Animals figure largely in the folk-tales, no less than in the myths or sagas of primitive peoples (see Bleek, Reymard the Fox; Dennett, Folklore of the Jst'; MacCulloch, op. cit. etc.). In many folk-tales the animal acts and moves like human beings, so much so that a lawsuit on the Congo turns on which of the parties are gods. At a later stage the beast story is complicated with a moral (Aesop's Fables). Beast-stories are found in most collections of Märchen; for India, see especially the Panchatattara.

13. FAMILIAR.—All the world over the witch or wizard is associated with an animal, termed 'the familiar,' which is sometimes conceived as real, sometimes as a spirit which stands at the beck and call of the human being. Just as the injury to the nagual, or bush-soul, has fatal results for its possessor, so the familiar's life is bound up with that of the witch; if a witch-animal is wounded, the witch will have suffered an injury at the corresponding part of the body. Sometimes magical powers are attributed to whole classes, such as the Boudas, i.e. blacksmiths and workers in clay of Abyssinia, who are believed to have the power of turning into leopards or hyenas, instead of simply having the animals or their spirits at their command.

In the Malay Peninsula the alliance between the puaung (turtle) and the dragon is said to be the result of a compact entered into long ago between the species and mankind; the office is hereditary, and the son must perform certain ceremonies to ascend to the familiar's office for ever lost to the tribe. In Siberia the ye-keela (witch-animal) is said to be sent out by a shaman to do battle with the ye-keela of a hostile shaman, and the fate of the man depends on the fate of his ye-keela, which refuses the fight if it thinks it cannot beat its adversary.

In curative magic the wizardcarries figures of his familiar and imitates them; sometimes his familiar is said to appear before he meets with success.

14. FASCINATION.—The power of fascination actually possessed by the serpent has been attributed to many other animals, among them the lion (Aelian, de Nat. An. xii. 77; cf. Maspero, Études, ii. 415), apes (Sohl. ad Theoc. x. xviii), basilisk (see below), toucan (Smith, Brazil, p. 559). And, naturally, above all the serpent (Melville, iv. 570, v. 18, 41). The power of fascination is attributed to the wer-wolf in the East Indies (Tijdsschr. xili. 548 f.). Something similar is believed of the ordinary wolf in Norway (Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 533). See EVIL EYE.

15. FOOD TABUS.—The use of animals as food is prohibited for many different reasons. The totem kin usually abstains from eating the totem, the nagual is sacrascent to the man with whom it is associated; and certain animals, or in fact cattle generally among pastoral tribes, are never or only very seldom eaten. But whereas the totem is absolutely taboo, cattle, on the other hand, supply the pastoral peoples with a large part of their subsistence. Another reason is that in many cases the animal is commonly eaten by any rate for those who claim kinship with them, are soul-animals (see below).

Sometimes special persons, by virtue of their position or occupation, are forbidden the use of certain meats. In Fernando Po the king may not eat deer and porcupine, which are the ordinary food of the people. Egyptian kings were restricted to a diet of veal and goose. Certain tabus are also imposed on mourners; in Patagonia the widow may not eat horse flesh, guanaco, or cow; among the Andes Indians, to men but not to women; among the South African Bantu men may not eat fish, fowl, or pig. Other foods are forbidden to women but not to men; on the island of Nias, in the Dutch East Indies, the former may not eat monkey flesh. Especially in Australia there is an extensive system of food tabus in connexion with initiation; as one gets older, these are abrogated one by one; emu flesh is usually reserved for old men. Similarly girls may not eat various kinds at puberty; among the Aborigines, a non-vegetable diet is dogfish. Sometimes marriage removes some of the tabus. On the Murrumbidgee, ducks are the food of married people only.

In many cases only certain parts of an animal are taboo to certain persons; a Déné girl may not eat moose nose or reindeer head; among the Ottawa blood is taboo to the unmarried; heart, liver, etc., are taboo to a Dakota after initiation till he has killed an enemy. The female animal is frequently taboo; in sickness the female animal only might be eaten by some of the New England peoples.

During pregnancy and after the birth of a child many kinds of food are prohibited to one or both parents; in New South Wales the woman does not eat eel or kangaroo; in Martinique both parents abstain from turtle and manatee. The reason generally given is that the nature of the food influences the offspring. Thus a turtle is deft, and eating a turtle would make the child deaf too; a manatee has small eyes, and eating one would make small eyes too if the parents did not abstain from it.

Just as animals are eaten to gain their qualities, so their use as food is prohibited in order to avoid incurring them; this is the explanation often given for abstinence from the flesh of deer, the hare, and other timid animals.

Especially in West Africa food tabus are im-
posed upon members of a certain family by a priest, and the tabu is sometimes thenceforth hereditary. Among the Andamanese some food is prohibited to every individual, generally some kind which, in the opinion of the mother, disagrees with the child; but if it is not selected in this way, each individual is free to determine what food is to be tabu for himself.

Other food tabus are connected rather with seasons than with anything else. It is not uncommon in south-east Europe to find a prejudice against killing lambs before a certain day. In connexion with food tabus may be mentioned the prohibition against cooking certain kinds of animals together. In Kamchatka different kinds of meat may not be stewed in the same pot; the Saponas of the Eastern States of America would not cook venison and turkey together, on the ground that they would have ill success in hunting if they did. See Tabu.

16. Future Life: (1) CERBERUS.—It is a common belief that the soul has to traverse a river on its journey into the other world. Sometimes the bridge over which it passes is said to be an animal; the Ojibwa said that a great serpent served as a bridge, and that he threatened to devour those who would not inhabit one lion, ii. 154). In New Caledonia a serpent serves as a bridge from Morou to Tum, and allows to pass only such as find grace in his eyes, in other words, those who are tattooed in due form (Ann. Prop. Fo., xiii. 389). In other cases an animal is sent for the soul. On North Borneo the belief is that a fiery dog watches at the gate of Paradise and takes possession of all virgins (Forster and Sprengel, Beitrage, ii. 239). The idea of a dog at the end of the soul-bride is found among the Australian Aborigines (Le Bourdelais, Histoire d'Aventures, i. 369). Sometimes the river contains fish which devour the souls which fall in (Globus, xlvi. 108, among the Dayaks). In other cases the function of the animal is to turn back the souls of those who are to live; the Assiniboines held that a person in a trance went as far as the river, but was driven back by a red bull (Cones, Henry and Thompson, MS. Journ, ii. 521). The Senels of California also made a bull obstruct the path of the soul, but when it is met, it vanishes from him (Cont. Am. Ethn., iii. 169). In the Dayak mythology figures a bird, who lives aside from the direct road of the soul; if the soul turns aside, however, the bird sends it back (Ling Roth, Nations of Sarawak, i. 510). In the Solomon Islands the function of the bird is quite different; the natives of San Cristoval say that the soul becomes a ghost (’ataro) when it leaves the body, but that it fails to recognize that it is dead; a kingfisher strikes it on the head after two or three days, whereupon it becomes a real spirit (Codrington, Melanesians, p. 257).

The soul pursues in the other world the same occupations as it followed in this life. Consequently it is commonly represented as chasing the animal it killed, the which he needs as his sustenance on earth. The belief is especially common among the American Indians, whose 'happy hunting grounds' are proverbial (Matthews, Hidatsa, p. 49; Rev. Hist. Rel. xxx., xiii. 9f.).

Sagard, one of the early Jesuit missionaries in Canada, tells us: 'The Indians say that the souls of dogs and other animals follow the road of souls; . . . the souls of the dogs serve the souls of the masters of the house; the souls of mortals hunting with the souls of their tools and arms.' (Histoire du Canada, pp. 497, 498).

To this idea of the functions of animals and the lot of the soul in the other world is due in great part the custom of burial sacrifice (for the horse see Teutonia, ii. 148-162). Sometimes the object of the sacrifice is only to bear witness to the importance of the deceased in this life and thus influence his future lot (Abinal and Vaissièrre, Vingt ans à Madagascar, p. 221).

17. Future Life: (2) Soul-animals.—Few beliefs are more common than that the souls of the dead pass into animals. In South Africa it is the prevailing belief, but it is found in Europe (Folklore, xi. 234). America claims the totemism (ib. p. 9f.; Mission Life, N.S. i. 450; T'Onng Pao, ii. 11, etc.). Especially in the form of the doctrine of transmigration, as a punishment for evil done in this life, the belief prevails not only in India (e.g., Mani, ii. 201, xii. 55-69), but also in Oceania and New Guinea (Golden Bough, ii. 493-4) and Australia (Man, 1905, No. 28; for a collection of references, see Rev. Hist. Rel. xxxvii. 385; see also below, 'Bat', 'Crocodile', 'Lion', 'Lizard', 'Tiger', etc.).

The causes which are supposed to lead to this re-incarnation are various. Among the Mokis it is the form of the totem animal that a man assumes at death (Frazer, Tot. p. 36). In South Africa the different clans believe that their members pass into the animals which they venerate (Man, 1901, No. 111). The Zulus believe that their dead pass into snakes, called amadhlawo (Golden Bough, ii. 411); according to another account, the chiefs are transformed into snakes, the war-chiefs into another, while the old women are re-incarnated in lizards (Callaway, Religious System, p. 590). According to the Masai, the souls pass into different kinds of snakes, one of which receives the souls of each clan or family (Holus, Masai, p. 307). In Madagascar the body is thrown into a sacred lake, and the eel that gets the first bite at the body is the abode of the soul (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 291). In China the soul of the drowned man is held to become a toad, then a ruddy toad (Le Bourdelais, Aventures, i. 369). Consequent men take the first crab seen in the mud to be the receptacle of the soul (Mission Life, loc. cit.). The Barotse hold that they can choose into which animal they shall pass (Bertrand, Au Pays, p. 300). In the Solomon Islands a man tells his family which animal will be his re-incarnation (Golden Bough, ii. 453). In the Argentine Republic it is the animals which are seen about the grave that come in for respect as soul-animals (Bol. Inst. Geol. Arg., xv. 146). In Brazil a kind of hawk is believed to become one of the dead the animals on which it perches to extract maggots from their flesh (Spix and Martius, p. 1084). It is a common belief in Europe, that if a cat jumps over a corpse, it becomes a vampire; and in other words to die different; the natives of San Cristoval say that the soul becomes a ghost (’ataro) when it leaves the body, but that it fails to recognize that it is dead; a kingfisher strikes it on the head after two or three days, whereupon it becomes a real spirit (Codrington, Melanesians, p. 257).

In many cases the lodgment of the soul in an animal is held to end the matter. If the animal is killed, the soul departs; if the animal is not killed, the soul remains in the same species (Man, 1904, No. 118). In Madagascar, however, the death of the animal is held to set free the soul lodged in it (Miss. Cath. 1880, p. 551). The Chiriguanos, on the other hand, hold that the soul enjoys a few years of liberty and then passes into the body of a fox or a jaguar (Globus, xlvii. 37).

Some tribes can describe in more or less detail the process of transmigration. The Amandabele of South Africa believe that the souls of chiefs pass into lions, but that the process takes place underground; for which reason the corpse is not to remain long unburied. The body is put into a large wooden trough and hidden away in a cavern; some time afterwards it is found to have become a
The lion's whelp, which grows rapidly (Thomas, Eleven Years, p. 279). The Betsileos are more explicit. The fanany (soul-animal) is the form of a lizard, which comes to the surface after burial; the family approach it and ask if it is really the relative they have lost; if it moves its head they make offerings to it. It then returns to the tomb and grows to a large size, and the totani (spirit of the family (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 279). According to another account, the corpse is attached to the central pillar of the hut until decomposition sets in; whereupon a large worm develops, which becomes a boa at the end of several months (p. 278). Sometimes the change is regarded as the result of evil-doing; the Chinese believe that the bad go to dark caverns, in which are the entrails of all sorts of animals; they are hungry, and stretch out their hands. If the animal is summoned to appear, it will come out of its entrails they are transformed into the shape of the animal whose entrails they have grasped (Misc. Cath. 1884, p. 468). On the other hand, among the Montagnais, of whom P. le Jeunesse writes, the transformation of the soul is the result of simple misfortune or carelessness; the souls go to the extremity of the earth, which is flat with a great precipice beyond, at the foot of which is water; they dance at the edge of the abyss and some fall over; these are forthwith turned into fish (Rel. des Jts. 1637, p. 53).

The soul-animal is usually respected, for which two reasons are assigned. The injuring of the animal is the injuring of a relative or of a friend, for it is believed that the animals into which the soul has been transformed can injure only those who were allied on earth as men. By eating the animal, men may even eat the soul of a relative, and perhaps inflict unmerited hardship on it in its non-human existence. On the other hand, the entrance of Southmen into the world of the dead man or of his fellows, and thus recall the living. As a rule, however, the objection to injuring a relative is the prevailing feeling; for we find that, though a man will not injure his own family animal, he will not hesitate to kill the family animal of another man (Golden Bough, ii. 433). In the same way a man does not injure his own totem, but will kill that of another.

21. PSYCHOPOMPS.—The duty of conveying souls to the other world is sometimes assigned to animals. The Araucanians believe that Tempuleague, an old woman, appears in the form of a whale and carries off the soul of the dead man (Molina, Historia, p. 70). On the Orinoco huge snakes are said to carry off the souls in their belly to a land where they entertain themselves by dancing and other delights (Ruiz Blanco, Conversion del Pirata, p. 63). In Brazil the duty was assigned to the humming-bird (Aencion, O Guarany, ii. 150). Among the Sapocheos, the soul of the dead man had denounced if, was delivered over to a huge turkey buzzard, which flew away with it to a dark and barren country where it was always winter (Byrd, History of the Dividing Line, p. 90 f.). Sometimes the animal is not a mythical one. The object of some burial sacrifices is to provide the dead man with a conductor. In Mexico the dog (see below), according to one account, fulfilled this office. Among the Yorubas of West Africa, the young men who attend a funeral kill a fowl and throw its feathers in the air as they walk, subsequently cooking and eating the flesh. This fowl they call Aidi-Trans, 'the holy bird;' it is placed on the head of the corpse and classes the road; its function is to precede the dead man on his road (Miss. Cath. 1884, p. 342).

19. IDOLS.—It is not difficult to trace the main lines of the development of idols, so far as animals are concerned. It is a common custom, when the sacred animal is sacrificed, to shape it in the skin for the ensuing twelve months, just as the various figures made of the new corn are suspended in the house till the next harvest. From the custom of keeping the skin there arises, by a natural transition, the practice of stuffing it in order to give it a more lifelike appearance. Then it is found more convenient to have a wooden or stone image, and the skin is drawn over it, as was the ram's skin over the image of Ammon; and the idol is a faust accompli. There is, however, a tendency to regard as the commonest one to find, therefore, that in Egypt, India, and even Siberia, idols compounded of man and animal appear; sometimes the head only is human, as in the case of the Sphinx; sometimes it is the head which is animal, as in the case of the Goths and the Sabeans. Sometimes the head and body are human, but some minor portion is animal; the Fanus had goats' feet, and Dagon a fish's tail. With the appearance of the mixed form the course of evolution is completed, so far as the animal is concerned. It ceases to be an idol, and henceforth becomes an attribute of the god; he carries it on his shoulders, leads it, or stands in relation with it in some other way. Finally, if it is sacrificed to him, it ends by being regarded as his enemy.

20. INSPIRATION.—One of the methods by which inspiration may be produced is by drinking the blood of the sacrificial victim; possibly the result is in part due to physiological causes. Near Bombay, in the ceremonies of the Komatis, an old man, nearly naked, carries a knife and pierces an ant hill and opens its thorax with his teeth; when he had sucked the blood of the kid, he was regarded by the populace as a god (Miss. Reg. 1818, p. 157). In this case no mention is made of any signs of inspiration; but in some cases (Golden Bough, i. 104) the Sabeans explained the inspiration thus produced as due to the obsession of the blood-drinker by demons, whose food they held blood to be. They expected to gain the gift of prophecy by entering into communion with the demons (ib. p. 136).

21. LIFE INDEX.—It is a widespread belief that any injury done to the familiar of a witch will be shown on the corresponding portion of her body; similarly the wer-wolf is solidare with the woman; a disaster to the bush-soul (see 'Naguat') below of the Sabocheos, the soul of the dead man had denounced if, was delivered over to a huge turkey buzzard, which flew away with it to a dark and barren country where it was always winter. [Alencar, 'O Guarany, ii. 150.] The spider is a symbol for the man himself. But it is by no means necessary that the relationship between the man and the animal should be conditioned by magical rites; it may be acquired from circumstances connected with the birth of a child (Hartland, Legend of P. 150 f.), or may be selected by the person himself.
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(Golden Bough* iii. 412). In the latter case the story usually takes the form that the soul of the person whose life that of the animal is bound up has been deposited for safety in the animal. A few instances have been recorded in Australia in which the life of one of a totem kin is believed to be bound up with the life of the totem animal (Frazer, Tot. p. 7).

22. MAGIC.—The term ‘magic’ is vaguely used to denote a great number of different conceptions, but these need not be distinguished in a brief survey of the part played by animals in magic. (1) Many forms of sacrifice (see below) are magical. (2) As the ngnal (see below) or familiar, the animal gives man greater force than he would otherwise possess. (3) Just as in dying the dead animal sets free the magical power within it, so in life it may repel evil influences or attract them to itself and neutralize them. (4) By eating animals men acquire their qualities; lion’s flesh gives courage, hare’s meat makes a man a coward. By partaking of long-lived animals a man may overpass the ordinary span of life; by consuming wise animals he will acquire the gift of prophecy. (5) The external qualities of animals are susceptible of transference in like manner; by rubbing bear’s grease on a gnat it is sometimes cured of its bite, and, assured, for the bear is a hairy animal. This is called the doctrine of signatures. (6) Just as the familiar represents the witch and any injury done to the animal reappears in the witch, so any animal may be selected to represent a given person: a girl who wishes to compel the presence of an absent lover may, in Wales, take a frog’s heart and stick it full of pins. (7) Diseases in the human being may be got rid of by transferring them to an animal of the same sort (see below), or by giving the person a girl who wishes to compel the presence of an absent lover may, in Wales, take a frog’s heart and stick it full of pins. (8) The uses of the frog (see below), are connected with certain departments of nature; by injuring or otherwise constraining them, these animals can be forced to produce the natural phenomena desired by the magician; thus frogs are whipped to produce rain. (9) Magical, too, from some points of view is the torture applied to the favourite animal of a god (Golden Bough*, i. 108), to compel the deity to supply man with what he demands. From being used in magic the animal may come to be sacred to the crocodile (Amb. Munich: Die Tiere in der Vaterlandsd. Reise, 14. 22 f.). Especially important in European magic are the first animals seen in the spring, and the feathers, etc., of birds and animals carried in annual processions (see ‘Wren’ below, and art. MAGIC).

23. MARRIAGE.—Animals figure largely in European marriage customs. The custom of the ‘Hahenschlag’ (Folklore, xx. 25) is sometimes practised, but more often the cock, or other bird or animal, is eaten by the bride and bridegroom or by the guests. Custom is the ornament to the bride’s wagen; sometimes it is killed by being burned in a bonfire, or hunted, or simply thrown into the house of the newly married, or rocked in a cradle before them; in some cases it is merely a gift from the bridegroom to the bride or her parents; or a game animal, duck, goose, owl, ox, partridge, pig, pigeon, quail, sheep, swan, and wren. The object of the ceremonies seems to be in some cases simply to avert evil by the ordinary method in use at other times of the year; sometimes the more definite object of securing fertility seems to be held in view. The tail, which is sometimes given to the bride, may perhaps have a phallic significance. The mimetic dance at weddings (Cong. des Trad. pop. 1900, p. 100) is perhaps intended to secure fertility. Sometimes an animal mask, or dress only is worn. The bride is sometimes called ‘lamb,’ ‘partridge,’ etc., but this seems to be merely allegorical.

24. ‘MEDICINE,’ ANIMAL, TALISMAN.—When the American Indian kills his medicine animal, he usually takes some portion of it, such as its pelt, claw, or wing, as a talisman and puts it in his medicine bag. It is held in some tribes that the medicine, once lost, cannot be replaced; it may, therefore, be conjectured that the medicine is regarded as the seat of the tutelary spirit whose aid is secured at puberty (cf. Golden Bough*, iii. 432). In this connexion may be quoted a remark (Wied, Reise, i. 190) that many Indians believe they have in animal amulets innumerable and greater medicines. The central idea of African ‘fetishism’ is that a spirit which temporarily inhabits a stone, bone, or other object, becomes for the time being the servant of the possessor of that object. The magical apparatus consists of a bag of the skins of some rare animal which contains various talismans, such as dried monkeys’ tails, claws, etc. The same idea may be traced in the East Indies. If a Batta has a tooth as a talisman, he will, on the approach of danger, swallow this, and it may perhaps be to ensure a greater measure of protection for himself; but it is more probably to ensure the safety of the talisman, which thus equals in importance the medicine of the American Indian. The uses of the frog (see above), are connected with certain departments of nature; by injuring or otherwise constraining them, these animals can be forced to produce the natural phenomena desired by the magician; thus frogs are whipped to produce rain. Just as the American Indian believes that his medicine makes him invulnerable, so in Central Africa the leopard skin girdle is held to be a complete protection. In France the milk of a black cow is thought to confer the gift of invisibility. In Scotland serpent soup will make one wise like the serpent, but the serpent can also be made to assist the possessor of its skeleton. Often the particular purpose to be served is no longer remembered, and the talisman is simply carried for luck. In Eastern Africa the fates of the East Africans are distributed at each house where the bearers call (see ‘Wren’ below).

25. MIMETIC DANCES, MASQUERADES, ETC.— Many primitive peoples are in the habit of imitating the movements of animals. Whether this is due to the physical resemblance and the general nature of their animal knowledge, or in so doing assume the animal mask or dress. In some cases this object seems to be simple amusement, but this kind of dramatic representation is usually magical or religious in its purpose. (1) The initiation dance is frequently mimetic, and may perhaps have at its root the idea of transforming the man into a member of the kin by imparting to him a share of the nature of the animal. (2) Other dances, also performed at initiation, have for their central idea the substitution of the animal for the man in the chase. (3) This mimical dance is also sought by mimetic dances performed immediately before a hunting expedition. (4) Mimetic dances before hunting may also be sympathetic in their purpose; the animal in human form falls a victim to the fox and gazelle. The same way the real animal will fall beneath his darts. (5) Sometimes mimetic dances are performed after a hunt also; their object seems to be protective (see ‘Leopard’ below), like so many of the other ceremonies after killing animals. (6) It may, however, be intended sometimes as productive magic, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the animal and perhaps bringing to life again those laid low by the hunter. (7) With the object of provid-
ing for the due increase of the species, some Ameri-
can Indian tribes mimic the buffalo, the men tak-
ing the part of the males, the women of the females.
(8) In many of the Central Australian ceremonies
the movements of the totem are imitated in the
movements intended to provide for its due increase.
(9) Conversely, imitation of the movements of animals
and birds forms a part of some European
marriage ceremonies, and seems to be here, too, a
rite intended to promote fertility. (10) Where
animals are sacred to a god, mimickry of their move-
ments is equivalent to prayer and adoration, just
as in the Gregorian Calendar at the festival of
(11) The object of these prayers is often to produce
rain or wind or some other natural phenomenon
associated with the animals (see ‘Frog’ below);
possibility in its origin the mimetic dance was in-
tended by its magical power to produce these effects
without the intervention of a god. (12) The wear-
ing of animal disguises and imitation of animal
movements during the chase have probably the
purely rational object of deceiving the animal.
26. MYTHS OF ANCESTORS, CHILDREN, HELP-
FUL NATURAL ANIMALS, ETC. Sometimes
as a totemic etiological myth (Frazer, Tot.
p. 3 ff.), but often as a myth of tribal origin
(Hearne, Northern Ocean, p. 342; Ordbiginy,
Voyage, iii. 209 ff.; Liebrecht, Ger. Volks. p. 115,
Zur Volksk. p. 17 ff., etc.), the descent from an
animal ancestor is found all over the world. In
the same way stories are told of animal births,
which sometimes are simply etiological myths of
the origin of totem kins (Frazer, p. 6), and some-
times narratives of facts believed to occur at the
present day (see ‘Crocodile’, and cf. ‘Mimus’, ii.
212, etc.). In another type of myth, animals are
said to bring the children (Folklore, xi. 235, see
also ‘Lizard’ below; JRAS, S. B., 7, 146; Alencar,
O Guarany, ii. 321). Corresponding to the animal
form of the soul of the dead, we have the belief
that the soul of the newborn child is in the form
of an insect (Miss. Cath. 1894, 140) or of a bird
(Skeat and Blagden, ii. 4), which the expectant
mother has to eat. The helpful animal figures in
many Macconohan, Legends of P. pass., see
also v. Gennep, 214-292; MacCulloch, 225-253, etc.
Sometimes animal figure as guides in tribal migra-
tions, etc. (Wackernagel, Kl. Schriften, iii. 203 ff.)
Under this head we may perhaps classify the animal
narrative in Gennep, pass. p. 224, 250; Fornell, Culta,
p. 443; Beitrage, iii. 276-289; Fornell, Acta et Eth.
Corpus, iii. 179, 226. Associated with the myth of the
animal ancestor is the swan-maiden story (Frazor,
See also ‘Soul’).
27. MYTHS (ETIOLOGICAL).—A great part of the
mythology of savages is simply their idea of the
history of the Universe. They account for natural
facts, beliefs, customs, and rites by telling what
some god did, by explaining all naught that had
sensibility and volition, by positing the same
conditions in the heavens as exist on the earth,
and so on. In particular, they account for the
existence and peculiarities of animals by telling
stories of what happened in the early days of the
world. Once men went on all-fours, and pigs walked
like men; but something fell on the head of a pig,
and since then they have gone on all-fours and men
walk upright.
The Indians of Brazil tell how the daughter of the great
serpent spirit, in a young man who had three faithful slaves.
that time there was no light upon the earth; the young man
said, ‘If I give them 5, and the slaves were sent for it. They re-
ceived it in a nut with a bird’s nest, which they were not
account to open. En route they heard a buzzing in the nut; it
was a bee, and it stung the man.
Curiosity overcame them, they opened the nut, and next night.
Every thing in the river changed into animals and birds; ever-
thing in the river into fishes. A wicker basket became a jaguar;
the fisherman in his canoe turned into a duck, the oats forming
the feet. When the woman saw the morning star, she said, ‘I
am going to separate night and day.’ Then she rolled a thread
of cotton, and said, ‘You shall be as I am, white and red. She
rolled another thread and made the par-
tide. These two birds call, one at dawn, the other at dusk.
for their disobedience the three birds were changed into
monkeys (Magilhanes, Contes indigenes, p. 6).
The relations of animals to man, and especially their
sacrosanctity, are explained by etiological
myths. In Madagascar the Vazimbas account for
the respect paid to the kingfisher by the following
story: ‘The Vazima sent the kingfisher to visit
their relatives at a distance, and when he saw
the father and mother, and an injunction to send
owls and sheep; when it had fulfilled its errand it came
back, and the Vazimba said that as a reward for its
bravery and wisdom they would put a crown on its
head and dress it in blue by day and by night.
Moreover, young kingfishers should be cared for,
and the penalty of death inflicted on any one
who sought to kill them’ (v. Gennep, Tabot, p. 265).
More common is the explanation that the animal
in some way helped an ancestor of the kin (v.
Gennep, p. 30; ‘Owl’ below), and so America an adventure with the animal is a promi-
nent motive in the myths. Descent from the totem-
animal seems to be the prevailing form of the story
in the remainder of North America (for etio-
logical myths in Africa see Folklore, iv. 110;
Rancon, Dans la Haute Gambie, p. 445; Merensch, Beitrage,
p. 133 n., etc.).
28. NAGUAL.—In Africa, Australia, and America
it is the custom to undergo some ceremony, usually
at the age of puberty, for the purpose of procuring
a tutelary deity, which is commonly an animal.
This is called tornaq (Eskimo), manitou (Algon-
quin), nagual (C. America), yunbasai (Eskahlay of E.
Australia), etc. Among the Eskimos the bear (see
below) seems to be the usual animal. Among the
Thilkents a young man goes out and meets a river
otter; he kills it, takes out its tongue and hangs
it round his neck, and thenceforth understands the
language of all animals (JAI, xxi. 31; Krause,
Die Thilktind-indianer, p. 294). Among the Eastern
Kurdis each hunter selects a carnivorous one (Smith’s Rep. 1866, p. 307).
Elsewhere the initiate has to dream of his medicine
animal, and sometimes kills it in order to procure
some portion of its body as a talisman (Frazer, Tot.
p. 54). In Africa p. 516 is the story of the totem
animal, and the taking of the tutelary beast; in one case a blood-bond
is said to be performed with the animal selected.
In Australia also the medicine-man sometimes pro-
vides the nagual; sometimes it is acquired by a
dream. The animal thus brought into relation
with a man is usually sacrosanct for him; if he
loses his talisman, he cannot get another medicine
animal (parts of America); the death of the nagual
entails the death of the man (Nkomis of W.
Africa); in Australia the yunbasai is sacrosanct,
though the totem is not.
Closely connected with the nagual is the ‘bush-
soul’ of West Africa. Possibly only our limited
knowledge disguises their identity. A man will
not kill his ‘bush-soul animal,’ for that would
entail his own death; he cannot see it, but learns
what it is from a magician. A ‘bush-soul’ is often
hereditary from father to son, and from mother
to daughter; sometimes all take after one or the other
parent. In Calabar many are believed to have the
power of changing into their nagual (p. 267). Some-
thing of the same sort is known in Europe, one
of whom his family had attached to it an attar-fylgia;
each individual too had his fylgja, which took the
shape of a dog, aen, fly, etc. (Folklore, xi. 237;
The nagual seems to be closely related, on the
one hand, to the 'soul-animal' (see above); on
the other, it stands very near to the 'familiar' (see above) of the witch, and the 'wer-wolf' (see below). It has been argued that kin totemism arises from the *nagual*, which becomes hereditary. Up to this point, the trace of animistic ideas has been found in connexion with totemism, if we except some doubtful cases in Australia (Man, 1902, No. 85). Nor has it been explained how the totem, the descent of which is, in Australia, predominantly in the female line, has developed from a *nagual*, which is seldom, if ever, possessed by women or inherited from the maternal uncle.

Closer to the *nagual* than the kin totem is the sacred animal of secret societies (which see), the initiation ceremonies of which, it should be noted, bear a strong resemblance to those practised by totem tribes. The *nagual* is the linear ancestor of the 'genius' of the Romans, no less than of the 'guides' of modern spiritualism.

20. Names.—Animal names are very commonly used, and not among primitive peoples only, for three per cent. of English surnames are said to be derived from animals (Jacobs, Studies in Bibl. Arch. p. 68 ; for Indo-Germanic theriophoric personal names see Pick, Griechische Personennamen, p. 33). Of the names of the animal which is the name of the Aruntas in Central Australia is said to mean 'cockatoo'; the Wakeburas are the eel people. In America we have the Dog Rib Indians, who trace their descent from the dog. In India the serpent was from the Nagas, e.g., the Nagas of Assam. (2) Far more common is the practice of naming totem kins after animals; it is one of the tests of totemism. In Australia we have a long list of Arunta and other totem names in the works of Spencer and Gillen (for other ways see Frazer, Totemism). (3) The two sections into which most Australian tribes are divided are, especially in the south, often named after animals, and in particular after the eagle, hawk, and crow. Similarly we have the raven and wolf phratry among the Thilliketas (see also Frazer, op. cit.). (4) The intermarrying classes in Australia are also known by animal names; on the Annan River they are called after the eagle, hawk, and bee; at Moreton Bay they are named from the koala, kangaroo, etc. (5) In New Guinea, also, the names of the classes and the closely connected secret or dancing societies are named after animals; in West Africa there is the leopard society. (6) In Zululand, possibly as a relic of totemism, the regiments are named after animals (see below). (7) Tribes of Welsh history. (7) Both in America and in Australia sections of tribes are named from their principal food (Globus, xxxi. 381 ; lxix. 59). (8) Local divisions of Australian tribes have animal names. These are not to be confused with local totem groups. (9) Priests and worshippers are named after animals (see art. PRIST). (10) Totem kins in America, and rarely in Australia, name their members after some part of the totem animal. (11) In Africa the totem kins bear the name of the animal. (12) Especially in America personal names derived from animals, either for magical purposes or as indications of the character of their bearers, are very common. In Central America a child is named after some animal which is thenceforward his nagual (see ‘Nagual’ above; cf. Jahrb. Geog. Ges. Bern, xii. 160). (13) As a mark of respect kings and nobles receive names of animals as titles of address. (14) Gods are named from animals associated with them. (15) Sprit animals are named. (16) The signs of the calendar are named after animals in East Asia, and children take their names from them. (17) The signs of the zodiac, the constellations, etc., are named after animals. (18) Animal names are sometimes applied in Europe to the bride and bridgegroom. (19) The reaper of the last ears, as representative of the corn-spirit, conceived in animal form, is called the cow, etc. At Easter or Whitensuitide, St. Thomas’s Day, etc., animal names are applied to the last person to get up, or to an individual selected in some other way; cf. ‘gokw,’ *pickason’s Artid*. (19) Various games are known by animal names, in particular ‘Blind Man’s Buff’ (see ‘Sacrifice’ below). (20) Animal nicknames are common in Europe, and probably in other parts of the world (Lang, Social Origins, App.). (21) The last ears of corn, as emblematic of the animal corn-spirit, receive animal names.

30. OATH, ORDEAL.—Just as in more advanced societies it is the custom to call upon the gods to bear witness to the truth of an assertion or to ensure the fulfilment of a promise, so the savage calls upon his sacred animal (see ‘Bear,’ ‘Dog’). In later times this is regarded as an appeal to the gods, but originally the animal itself was believed to punish the perjurer, either by persecuting him as a ghost-animal or by degrading him as a living animal. The procedure varies, sometimes the hand is laid upon the animal or on its skull, sometimes its blood is drunk, sometimes the foot is put upon its skin. The Bantu of South Africa take an oath by their totem. The Hерero of the Orange River do the same by their oxen. In the island of Eibo the oath is taken by the Christmas boar. Corresponding to the oath by animals is a class of ordeals, in which the person to be absolved exposes himself to dangerous bear, by swimming across a river full of crocodiles, or by similar means.

31. Omen.—In many cases it is impossible to point out either the causes which determine the augural character of an animal or those which make the appearance of an animal. In Europe, however, or perjurer, either by poisoning him as a ghost-animal or by degrading him as a living animal. The procedure varies, sometimes the hand is laid upon the animal or on its skull, sometimes its blood is drunk, sometimes the foot is put upon its skin. The Bantu of South Africa take an oath by their totem. The Hèrero of the Orange River do the same by their oxen. In the island of Eibo the oath is taken by the Christmas boar. Corresponding to the oath by animals is a class of ordeals, in which the person to be absolved exposes himself to dangerous bear, by swimming across a river full of crocodiles, or by similar means.

Omen-giving animals are (1) always of evil augury; (2) always of good augury; (3) auspicious or the reverse, (a) according to the manner in which they behave, or (b) according to the number which appear, or (c) according to the actions of the augur, who may change a bad omen into a good one by magical animal-name changes, e.g., by killing the animal, by turning round three times, by spitting, or by purificatory ceremonies.

32. Possession.—A belief in possession by animals is not uncommon. In New Guinea it is held that the witch is possessed by spirits, which can be expelled in the form of snakes, etc., just like any other disease. In the East Indies wer-wolffism is regarded as a disease of the soul which is communicable by contagion, or perhaps as a kind of possession in which the soul may be regarded as a separate person. In South Africa the belief that they were sometimes possessed by colored animals or reptiles. In South Australia the natives believed that they were sometimes possessed by certain animals, and it is no uncommon belief in Africa and Samoa that an offence against a totem or other sacred animal will be followed by its
growth within the body of the offender, which is equivalent to a kind of possession. Among the Ainus madness is explained as possession by snakes, etc., and they hold that it is caused especially by killing some sacrosanct animal. Thus a man who kills a cat is liable to be possessed by a cat, and he can prevent this only by being part of a cat; it is possible that this may also be punishment, dog punishment, and punishment by all the other animals. In Japan the obsessing animal is regarded as the physical incarnation of the sins of the sufferer, and is said to leave him after a while. In New Guinea, (9) the belief is held that people who have damaged the fields, etc., of their owners; and certain families are said to own foxes which enter the bodies of offenders and cause them to blurt out their crimes. In other parts dogs are the animals used; they are held to go out in spirit form; the body may even die in the absence of the vivifying principle; if so, the spirit enters the body of the owner of the dog, who is then more powerful than ever as a magician. Belief in the possession of wizards being so widely found, it is probable that the anthropological exponents (Neisse, ii, 189) of the Ainus claim that many American Indians believe they have an animal in their bodies, refers to possession by the medicine animal. There are, however, traces of a similar belief in Australia with regard to totems.

34. SACRIFICE.—Magical powers over the totem are frequently claimed by the kin in Australia, and occasionally in other parts of the world. Mimetic dances (see above) are held to give the same control. The eating of the flesh of an animal is believed to give power to cure diseases, which are often known by the name of that animal. Wizards and others sometimes claim immunity from the bite of serpents, etc.; in some cases this is said to be the result of inoculation at initiation. See also 'Familiar,' 'Nagual.'

5. Inthisconception of the slain god (2), it has been surmised (Frazer) that the killing of the sacred animal, no less than that of the god, has for its object the preservation of the Divine life, conceived as something apart from the living animal, from the pains and penalties of old age, and from the weakness to which they would reduce the being on whose strength the preservation of the temple, or the growth of the crops, or some other important fact, depends. (5) From (2) follows also the magical totem-sacrifice, found as a totem rite in full activity only in Central Australia, by which the multiplication of the animal is promoted. The species is desecrated by men under the totem kin. Desecration seems to have been also one of the purposes of the sacrifice of the corn-spirit, although here the object may have been primarily sacralization of the personification. (8) One means of the expulsion of evil is the scapegoat (see 'Scapegoat'); the purificatory sacrifice attains the same object by killing the animal, perhaps by disseminating the mana of the sacred animal, and thus counteracting hurtful influences. (7) Corresponding to (6) we have the magical sacrifice intended to produce direct benefits; the animal representative of the corn-spirit is killed and its blood sprinkled, or its ashes mixed with the seed, to increase fertility. (8) The burial sacrifice is intended to provide the dead with means (a) of subsistence in the other world, (b) of guidance to the other world, (c) of proving his earthly status in the other world, etc., or to purify the living from the dangers of parricidium. The funerary rite may also consist in: (a) the individual with his nagual or individual tutelary spirit; (b) a building with a protecting spirit; (c) a frontier with a guardian spirit, etc. (10) We have, further, the inspirational sacrifice, where the priest drinks the blood of a victim in order to procure obsession by his god. (11) In the messenger sacrifice, an animal is killed that it may go as an envoy to the dead (see 'Bear,' 'Turtle,' etc.). The simple food sacrifice must of course be distinguished from this. (12) A common very ancient practice is that of immurement; that an animal was killed because it was the enemy of the god or had in some way injured him. Various forms of sacrifice are found. The victim may be slaughtered, or burnt, thrown over a precipice, or from a height, immured or buried; to these modes may be added the setting free of the bird or animal (see 'Scapegoat'). The skin of the victim may be put on an idol, used for a sacred cloak, hung upon a tree, etc. The flesh is frequently eaten; or part may be eaten and part burnt or buried. Special care is frequently taken of the bones. The priest sometimes arranges himself in the skin or mask of the animal to be sacrificed; if the sacrifice is that of the animal-god, the priest thereby assimilates himself to his god, and by putting on the Divine character sanctifies himself for his task. In any case, the donning of the skin and mask may be regarded as a rite of sacralization, fitting the human being for contact with divine things. Not only so, but the priest is actually called by the name of an animal. The worshippers of Ephesian Artemis were 'kion bees,' the priestesses of Demeter, Proserpine, and the Great Mother, and possibly those of Delphi, were 'kion bees'; those of Dodona were sometimes 'yorbas.' The Ephesian festival of Poseidon were 'bulls;' the girls at the Brauronian festival were 'bears' (Frazer, Paus. iv. 223). In Laconia the priests of Demeter and Kore were πέλαγος (de Visser, Götter, p. 198).

In this connexion may be noticed some facts connected with the game of 'Blind Man's Buff.' All over Europe the game is known by the names of animals (Pollok, xii. 261); to the names there given add cuckoo (Rev. des Trad. Pop. ill. 940), hoopoe (Maspons y Llabors, Jncha, p. 48), sheep (Rolland, Rimes, p. 154), raven (Gargas, Folklore, p. 84); the name 'blind fly' is also found in India. The players in the Middle Ages wore masks, as may be seen in Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, and we may certainly infer that they wore the animal whose name the game was known. The significance of these facts is only clear when we discover that the procedure in the game of 'Blind Man's Buff' is precisely that of many regular customs, in which cocks, cats, etc., are killed (Pollok, xi. 261 f.). It cannot, however, be assumed that the game is a mere imitation of rituals in which animals are sacrificed, for it was not by children only that it was played or performed in the Middle Ages. In this connexion it should not be overlooked that in Sierra Leone the leopard society don leopard skins when they seize a human victim for sacrifice (Ringesly, Tropique, p. 537). In this case, however, the victim is put to death in place of a leopard; the leopard hunters of the Gold Coast likewise dress like leopards and imitate their actions when they have killed one (see 'Leopard').

As to the priority of human or animal sacrifices, no general law can be laid down. On the one hand, we find in Central Australia the ritual eating of the totem, and this is certainly not derived from any antecedent human sacrifice. On the
other hand, we find, also in Australia, a ceremony of child sacrifice in connexion with the initiation of the magician, where the priority of animal sacrifice is in the highest degree improbable. In America the ritual killing of the medicine animal (see "Nagual"), as the central feature of the initiation, cannot be regarded as primitive. But the human sacrifices of Mexico seem to be secondary in their nature, due, possibly, to a scarcity of domestic animals. How far the agricultural sacrifice of a girl among the Pawnees can be regarded as it is difficult to say. The idea of the animal corn-spirit was certainly known to them, and the influence of cannibalism may have determined a transition from animal to human sacrifice, if indeed it did not at the outset bring about a practice of human sacrifice. Where, as in Africa and the East Indies, the sacrifice is frequently of the character of an offering to a dead man, we have no reason to argue that one form proceeded the other. At the same time we cannot affirm that these sacrifices were the original form in those regions. The question is in most cases insoluble.

35. SCAPEOGOAT. — Diseases and evil influences are commonly conceived by savage and barbarous peoples, often stock-in-trade. As a consequence they hold that it is possible by suitable means to expel or otherwise render innocuous all the illnesses which are from time to time afflicting. One method of doing so is to cause them to enter the body of an animal, or, where the personal form of the evil influences is less emphasized, to load them upon the animal, and drive it out of the neighbourhood of human habitations. In India the scape-animal may be a pig (as for instance the use of the pork as a bar of evil (for cholera in Berar)), or a cock (for cholera among the Pataris, and, in light epidemics, in Berar); and it is noteworthy that the buffalo, goat, or cock must be black (as the vehicle of Yama, the god of death). In many cases, moreover, the scape-animal becomes an actual sacrifice, as among the Hill Bhotiyas, where once a year, in honour of the village god, a dog is intoxicated with bhang and spirits, and then beaten and stoned to death, so that the body is misfortune to visit the village during the year (Crooke, i. 141 f.; 166 f., 169-174).

When the Fiaras of the Orinoco build a new hut, they believe that it is occupied by an evil spirit who must be dosed before them to take possession of their new abode. They capture some bird, by preference a toucan, alive, with its eyes and the tail; they then feed it the leaves, and pass it near to the hut, and to the people of the toucan, and is compelled to enter it. The bird, terrified by the noise and confusion, struggles within its covering of banana leaves; its movements are observed by an old woman; at the proper moment she sets it free and herself flies at full speed into the forest. The bird makes use of its recovered liberty and carries away the evil spirit (Voyage du Monde, 1888, ii. 848; for similar customs see GBV i. 102 f.).

The African custom of making images of animals instead of using living animals; in Old Calabar the expulsion of ghosts or devils is called ndok; rude images of crocodiles, leopards, snakes, gazelles, and birds, are painted at the front of huts, and guns fired to frighten the spirits into the images, which are then torn down (Ogilby, Golden Bough, p. 46; Hutchinson, Impressions, p. 163). Sometimes the scapegoat is a divine animal; the people of Malabar share the Hindu reverence for the cow, but the priests are said to have transferred the sins of the people into one or more cows, which then carried them away to whatever place was appointed by the Brahman (Golden Bough iv. 117). There is a European custom of hunting the wren and other birds, usually in the winter season, and especially about Christmas, at which time the expulsion of summer and wintertime is supposed to take place. The wren and other animals which figure in these customs are sometimes simply set free (Rolland, op. cit. ii. 297; Folkskunde, vi. 165, etc.). It is not improbable that one of the ideas at the bottom of the practice is the expulsion of evils (PL xvii. 258 f.). It should be observed that a frequent feature of these popular customs is a procession in which the wren or other animal is carried round the village or town. A similar practice prevailed in Dahomey (Miss. Cath. 1868, 107), where every three years the serpent god Danbe was carried round in a hammock, his bearers killing dogs, pigs, and fowls on their way; this ceremony they explained as intended to rid the community of its ills and diseases. In the hunting of the wren and similar customs the striking at the animal with stones, etc., is a prominent feature; this appears to be the method by which the sins and evils of the community are put away. In Bombay the Mhars celebrate the Dusserah festival, at which a young buffalo is set free and pursued, each of his pursuers striking him with his hand or some weapon. The effect of this ceremony is held to be to make the animal the bearer of the sins of every person who touches him (Globus, xvii. 24).

36. SKULL, GABLE-HEADS. — Reaching back to classical times, and in the present day extending far beyond European limits, is the custom of hanging up the skulls of slain animals, or sometimes their jawbones. The head is often regarded as the seat of the soul, and in the East Indies this is the head of the clan god as the ancestor. Among the Eskimos custom of preserving the heads of seals has a similar idea at its base. More commonly the head is put up in a field or a vineyard as a talisman to keep off evil influences; in the same way, after a head-hunting expedition, the head of a bucras (see below) is put up as a defence. American farmers frequently fasten the skulls of horses or cattle to barns and other out-houses, although the object is now merely decorative. Aising out of American tradition, in which the object is anciently used. In Europe, we find the practice of carving horses' and other heads on the gables (Folklore, xi. 322, etc.), but here again their magical significance seems to have been lost. In the Middle Ages the Wends put up a skull when there was a plague among the cattle, but in modern days the practice is rather to bury it; from the stories of the revival of the disease when the skull is dug up, it is clear that the idea now is that the plague is buried; the same idea is found elsewhere. The skull is sometimes important in ritual (see 'Bison').

37. TABU. — Respect for totems or other sacrosanct animals may be shown positively or negatively. The system of prohibitions by which respect is shown is generally positive; it is positively evil and is generally forbidden to kill the animal (Frazer, Tot. p. 9; Folklore, xi. 239-242; and below, pae.). It may not be eaten, even if killed by another person; or in some cases even touched, save sometimes for the taking of an oath. In South Africa it is held to be unlucky to see the siboko (tabu animal), and in many cases there is an objection to using the ordinary name of an animal. Sometimes it is forbidden to imitate the voice of an animal or bird; it is often accounted unlucky to keep it in the near vicinity. The idea is that the birds may be talking and there is a strong objection to the use of the feathers of certain birds in making feather beds.

The penalties for violation of these tabus, which are, of course, seldom found exemplified completely in any one area or in the case of a single animal, are varied. It is a common belief in England that the harrying of a robin's nest is punished by an accident to the offender, usually the breaking of a bone. Of other birds it is said that he who kills them is killing fewer of their number than his injury done to a sacrosanct animal is believed to be followed by ill-luck or sickness in the family or among the cattle. In the Congo area it is thought that the women of the kin will miscarry or give birth to animals of the totem species, or die of
some dreadful disease, if a totem animal is eaten. Leprosy, madness, death by lightning, and various diseases are among other penalties for disrespect to sacred animals. In Samoa the sacred animal was thought to take up its abode in the man who broke the tabu protecting it, and thus kill him; a ‘man of the turtle’ would not object to helping a friend to cut the turtle, but would take the precaution of tying a bandage over his mouth, lest an embryo turtle should slip down his throat and cause his death.

No sharp distinction can be drawn between sacred and secular animals. The mere fact that an animal is the subject of tabus is indecisive.

Name-tabs. — It by no means follows that all tabus are an indication of respect for the animal whose name is avoided. In the case of dangerous or destructive animals the use of their name may have the result of summoning them, just as the use of the name of a dead man calls him. Various words are forbidden among fishermen; but it may be that it is unlucky for seafaring folk to mention things connected with the land, just as the Eskimos that they must not be seen apart in cooking. Or it may be that the naming of an animal or fish will warn it that is being pursued. Or the words may be, for some reason, of ill omen. See TAWI.

61. GEDAIIODS, DEFORMATIONS. — In America and New Guinea totem kins frequently bear their totem tatued on their bodies (Frazer, Tot. p. 26). In South Africa (ib. p. 2) teeth are knocked out in order that a resemblance to oxen may be produced. In British Columbia the totem is painted upon the face (Globus, lxiv. 194). In South America some of the tribes of Brazil tatue their faces so as to resemble birds (Spix and Martius, Travels, p. 1027), which they respect and mourn for when they die, and into which they believe that they pass at death (von den Steinen, Naturvölker, p. 512). The Californian Indians burned their nagaids into their flesh, just as the Indians of Canada tatued theirs (Frazer, p. 65). In Africa, some of the tribal marks, probably in raised pattern, are intended to make the wearer resemble a lion or a panther (Trav. du Monde, 1891, i. 63). Some Hindu tatue marks, which are, for the most part, restricted to women, are intended to represent animals, but they are selected merely according to the desire of the person who is to be tattooed, and, though possibly originally totemistic, are now regarded simply as ornamental (Crooke, ii. 30–33). The totem mark in America and the tribal mark in Africa are sometimes emblazoned on the property of the totem kin or of the tribe (Frazer, op. cit. p. 30; Trav. du Monde, loc. cit.). In Australia the tribes of the Upper Darling are said to carve their totems on their shields (Frazer, p. 30). The wizard frequently has animals carved on his wand or painted on his dress.

39. TONGUE. — Hunters frequently cut out the tongues of slain animals, and the tongues are eaten as sacred food. In folk-tales the test of the tongues is a frequent means of deciding between two claimants. The tongue of the sacrificial victim is important, and in Bohemia such a tongue is held to confer the gift of eloquence. In N.W. America the shamans wear otter and eagle tongues round their necks as a means of acquiring supernatural knowledge. In particular, an otter’s tongue is held to confer knowledge of all inanimate objects, all birds, beasts, and living creatures (Golden Bough, ii. 421, 422; cf. Krause, Die Tinklit Indianer, p. 284). The shamanistic rattles contain the tongue motif carved on them as a rule in this part of America, and similar figures have been found in the Pacific (Am. Rep. Bur. Ethn. 1881–1882, pp. 111–112). Tongue masks are recorded in New Zealand (Parkinson, Journal, pp. 98, 123; see also Frobenius, Weltansch. p. 199).

40. TOTEMISM. — Under ordinary circumstances, totemism is a relation between a group of human beings and a species of animals, characterized by three main features: (1) the assumption by the human totem kin of the name of the animal; (2) the prohibition of the intermarriage of people of the same totem name; (3) respect paid by every member of the totem kin to the totem animal. Each of these features is liable to deformation; we find totem kins which respect an animal other than their own; the totem becomes local exogamy or disappears altogether; the totem animal is eaten ritually or otherwise. Other features of totemism are present only occasionally, and their absence in no way invalidates the totemic character of the relation. More especially in America the connexion between the kin and the animal is explained as one of descent, the animal sometimes having united itself to a human being, sometimes having transformed itself into the ancestors of the kin by a gradual process, and so on. But it must be remembered that totemic relationship has existed wherever we find a myth of descent from an animal (see ‘Myths of Ancestors’ above). More especially in Australia the totem is held to aid his kinsmen by omens in other ways. Conversely, in Central Australasia, the performance of magical rites to promote the increase of the totem species; traces of magical influence over the totem are found elsewhere; but it does not seem legitimate to assume that all cases of magical influence of this sort are totemic in origin. Sometimes the totem indicates its totem by tatuing or other marks, sometimes by deformations, or by the mode of wearing the hair, or by their dress.

In determining the totem of a child, kinship is usually reckoned through the mother. On the other hand, the usual course at marriage is for the female to remove to the husband’s house or district. The result of this is that the kins in any area are (1) intermingled, and (2) continually changing. Where the parent from whom the child takes its totem continues to reside in his or her own district, the tendency is for the totem kins to become localized. The result of this is that certain animals are respected in certain districts; in this way perhaps originated the local cults of Egypt. Tribal respect for the totem of the chief, and ancestor-worship, are also paths by which totemism may have been transformed.

Totemistic tabus do not differ markedly in form from those connected with other sacred animals; they may therefore be dealt with together in this article (see ‘Tabu’).

Sex totems. — A peculiar relation exists in Australia between the two sexes and two species of animals which might better be termed ‘animal brothers and sisters.’ It is found from South Australia as far as Brisbane, and the animals thus related to the men and women are lizards, goannas, bats, emu-wrens, superb warblers, and goatsuckers. Although the life of a man or woman is believed to be bound up with the life of one of these animals, although they are in consequence jealously protected by the sex to which they belong, as a preliminary to marriage it is the custom among the Kurnais for one of the ‘animal relatives’ to be killed by the opposite sex (Golden Bough, iii. 417–418).

41. VEGETATION. — In the ancient world a number of minor deities, especially connected with vegetation, were believed to possess animal or semi-animal form. Not only were the bull and goat closely associated with Dionysus, but Pan, the Satyrs, and the Fauns are especially associated with goats (see below). The only explanation hitherto sug-
gested of this connexion is that the goat naturally wanders in the forest and browses off the tender shoots of trees, so that the animal which so boldly appropriates the property of the tree-spirit can be none other than that spirit in bodily form. Frazer has explained the ceremonies performed at various periods in the spring as intended in part to promote the growth of vegetation by killing the old, and therefore weak, spirit of the previous year, replacing him by a more youthful and vigorous representative. Many of these ceremonies are performed during Mid-Lent; among the animals which appear at that period are the bear (in effigy), the ox, the goat, the wolf, etc. But these ceremonies seem to have had another purpose too—that of the expulsion of evils—so that we cannot identify all the animals that so appear with the spirit of vegetation. In the same way various animals (the squirrel, fox, cat, etc.) are thrown into the bonfires at Easter or other periods of the year, —Frazer says as sun-charms. It is hardly legitimate to regard these as so many representatives of the spirit of vegetation. In China the spirals are bull-shaped (de Groot, Rel. Syst. iv. 279).

43. WATER. — In Greece, Poseidon and river gods generally seem to have been conceived under the form of bulls (JHS xiv. 126, 129). The festival of Poseidon was called Tauros, and his priests were termed 'bulls' (de Visser, Götter, pp. 41, 198). In South Africa, two species of the horse seems to have been considered a more appropriate form for the god of water (see 'Horse'; cf. Folklore, v. 116). In South Africa and Switzerland, the form attributed to water-monsters is that of the serpent (see below). In India and Eastern Asia the conception of a dragon replaces that of a serpent; we find traces of the same idea in Europe in the story of Perseus and his many variants. See also 'Dragon,' 'Serpent.'

WER-WOLF. — The belief in wer-wolves is connected, on the one hand, with the pathological condition known as lycanthropy, in which the sufferer believes himself turned into an animal; on the other, with the belief in nagausis (see above), foretelling calamitous events to human beings who can secure their secrets. Corresponding to these two sources of the belief, there are two different forms of it. In the first place, the man is conceived to put off his own form and assume that of the more powerful beast, commonly the wolf, as the last dangerous animal to be exterminated or to survive in the west and south. This transformation may be temporary or permanent, may be due to eating human flesh, to the sins of the transgressors, or to some magical procedure such as the drawing on of a wolf's skin, or to contagion, such as eating food left by another wer-wolf. In the second place, it may be simply the spirit of the wer-man which undergoes the change, his body being left torpid at home; or, another way of looking at the matter, the animal is simply his servant, and the man himself goes on with his ordinary occupations while it is on the prowl; his life, however, depends on its security.

In Europe the wer-wolf is supposed to fall upon his victim like ordinary wolves. In the East Indies the procedure of the wer-animal is more complicated. He attacks solitary individuals, who with horror become drowsy. Thereupon the wer-man in his own form, cuts up his victim, eats his liver, and puts the body together again. There are various signs by which a wer-wolf can be recognized, and ordeals are prescribed for discovering it. The wer-wolf is, as a rule, in the form of a living man; but sometimes the dead are believed to return in animal form (see 'Soul-animal' above) and practise the same arts as wer-wolves proper.

A method of burial is prescribed in Celebes for preventing the revival of the dead wer-man. The wer-wolf as form of the dead is closely connected, if not identical, with the vampire in some of its forms. See above 'Nagual,' 'Totemism' above. See LYCANTHROPY.

44. PARTICULAR ANIMALS. — Ant.—We learn from Greek writers that ants were worshipped in Thessaly; the Myrmidons revered them and claimed descent from them. So in other places. Coptos (Plut. 157, Lang, Myth, ii. 197). In Dahomey and Porto Novo, ants are regarded as the messengers of the serpent-god Danbo (Miss. Cath. 1884, 232). In Jabim, New Guinea, it is believed that a second death after the first is possible, in which case the soul becomes an ant (Nachr. K. Wilhelmsland, 1897, 92). We find in Cornwall the belief that ants are the souls of unbaptized children (FLJ v. 192). In France it is held that it brings ill-luck to destroy an ant's nest (Rolland, Pauns, iv. 229). The ant is fed by Hindus and Jains on certain days, and is regarded as associated with the souls of the blessed dead (Crooke, ii. 256).

In South America and California one mode of initiation was to allow the boy or girl to be carried by ants (Golden Bough, iii. 215); it is said to make them brisk and impart strength. The Pijoes submit to it in order to acquire skill with the blow-tube (JAL vi. 221). The Athapascan Dogrib Indians believed their hand or arm was acquired by secretly putting an ant under the skin of the hand (Franklin, Second Expedition, p. 291). On the other hand, the Aruntas hold that a medicine man must not go near the nest of the bull-dog ant; or if he were a medicine man of the regular type (Spencer and Gillen, Nat. Tr. p. 525). In Bulgaria and Switzerland, ants are regarded as of bad omen (Strauss, Bulgaren, p. 298; Schm. Arch. ii. 216). The Estonians regard them as of good omen (Eston. Ges. Schriften, No. 2, p. 25) and for the Huculs red ants are lucky, black unlucky (Kaindl, p. 105).

Not only the ant but also the ant-hill is the object of superstitious observances. The Juangs of Borneo make an oath of which serve the human beings who can secure their secrets. Corresponding to these two sources of the belief, there are two different forms of it. In the first place, the man is conceived to put off his own form and assume that of the more powerful beast, commonly the wolf, as the last dangerous animal to be exterminated or to survive in the west and south. This transformation may be temporary or permanent, may be due to eating human flesh, to the sins of the transgressors, or to some magical procedure such as the drawing on of a wolf's skin, or to contagion, such as eating food left by another wer-wolf. In the second place, it may be simply the spirit of the wer-man which undergoes the change, his body being left torpid at home; or, another way of looking at the matter, the animal is simply his servant, and the man himself goes on with his ordinary occupations while it is on the prowl; his life, however, depends on its security.

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ANIMALS

de Is. et Os. 30). The Armenians sacrifice an ass at the grave of the ancestors of a person against whom they have a claim, in the belief that if their claim is not satisfied, the soul of such ancestors will pass into an ass (Haxthausen, Trans. 21). In parts of Germany, children are said to come from the ass's pond (Mannhardt, Germ. Mitt. 336). At Erechtheum, Athens, elephants enshrined in the shape of donkeys at an annual fair (ib. p. 414). In Moldavia, Calabria, and Portugal, an ass's head is a means of averting evil or the influence of the evil eye from a child (Bret, Idiotikon, 203). Trede, Heidenthum, p. 210; Miluniae, v. 14). Near Meiningen the last stroke of the reaper was said to kill the oaks, barley, or lentil ass, just as in other parts other animals are regarded as incarnations of the corn-spirit (Haupt's Zeitsch. d. Alterth., iii. 360 ff.).

Prominent among medieval festivals was the feste des ânes ou feste asinaria (Chambres, Medieval Stage, i. 293, 306, 331 ff.; Zts. des Alpenvereins, xxvii. 136-154), and there are traces of the performance of ass-masks (ib. p. 332). It seems probable that in spite of its ecclesiastical associations it was simply a popular festival of the same nature as the 'white horse' (Rev. Hist. Rel. xxviii. 334) and other customs, the existence of which far back in the Middle Ages is already attested (ib. p. 334). In the present case the association of the ass with Palm Sunday made it possible for the Church to throw a veneer of religion over the pagan rite. In Augsburg in the 16th century a wooden ass was drawn through the streets; palms were thrown down before it; a priest prostrated himself and was blessed by another priest; and the first palm to be caught up was used in magical ceremonies (Germania, xvii. 51). Many of these celebrations are kept up unofficially at the present day at various times in the spring—Mid-Lent, Palm Sunday, Easter, Whit'sunday (Tradition, v. 197, 226; Bavaria, ii. 163; Reinseiber-Düringfeld, Festl. Jahr, pass. Zts. f. Volkst., 307, iv. 23). The ass also appears in connexion with St. Nicholas on Dec. 6th, and in Zanzibar children's day carry round a wooden ass's head (Schulz, Archiv, iv. 64). In Grisons the ass of St. Nicholas is said to carry off the children and throw them down at the precipice (ib. p. 167). On the Thursday before Christmas the Posterli, children's day, is celebrated; a bunch of people from other villages arrive, and one of them represents Posterli, sometimes in the shape of an ass. The image is left in a corner of the village (Stalder, Schweizer. Idiotikon, i. 208). For myths of the ass, its supposed phallic meaning, and folk-tales relating to it, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 359-359. The story of Midas is also discussed by Czisewski, Baikja o Midsosgeych usach.

Basilisk.—Accounts of the basilisk (Basileus), a king of the serpents, have come down from Pliny (XXXIX. xix.) and Heliodorus (Ethiopica, iii. 8). It was believed to be a small serpent with a cock's head; its look was fatal. In medieval and modern Egypt supposed to be hatched from the egg of a seven-year-old cock or from the hundredth egg of a hen (Melusine, v. 18-23). On the other hand, the first egg of a black hen is held in Bohemia to be the dangerous one; this is, however, another belief, according to which it produces the joker, or demon of good luck (Grohmann, Aberg., Nos. 77, 543, 544).

Bat.—Among the Cakchiquels the chief god, Camalecan, took the form of a bat (Bancroft, iii. 434). A sacred bat figure in a Queensland myth; the first man and woman were told not to approach it, but the woman disobeyed and the bat flew away; after that death came into the world; the form of the myth, however, suggests Christian influence (Ballou, Under the Southern Cross, p. 141). Among the Bongos, bats are called by the same generic term as witches and spirits—bitakob (Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, i. 144). In West Africa an island on the Ivory Coast is peopled with huge bats, which are regarded as the souls of the dead (Bisseler, Faune, p. 191; Trede, Heidenthum, p. 210; Miluniae, v. 14). Near Meiningen the last stroke of the reaper was said to kill the oaks, barley, or lentil ass, just as in other parts other animals are regarded as incarnations of the corn-spirit (Haupt's Zeitsch. d. Alterth., iii. 360 ff.).

In Egypt, the bat is sacred, and is said to pull the dead to the other world (ib. p. 414). In Japan there is a tradition of a white bear-god which lives in an inaccessible pond. In Victoria will kill or eat them for this reason (Parker, Aboriginals, p. 25), and the Adjahurahs also respect them (R. G. S. Aust., S. Aust. Br. ii. 17). They are respected in Bosnia (Wiss. Mitt. iv. 471) and parts of Shropshire (Burne, Shrop. FolkL, p. 214), but in other places they are killed. In Kusaie, or Strong Island, bat flesh is tabu to men (Hershein, Süds. 49). Among various Victorian tribes the bat is a 'sex totem,' better termed a 'man’s brother,' (Frazier, Tot. p. 82). In Germany, in their names the bat is sometimes used as the abode of the soul of the dead (Bisseler, Faune, p. 191; Trede, Heidenthum, p. 210). In India it is good omen before sunset (Tradition, viii. 138). It is considered lucky in Sarajevo for one to come into the house (Wiss. Mitt. iv. 441). On the other hand, it is usually considered of bad omen (Wiedemann, Ekten. p. 415; Streckerjan, p. 24, etc.), and in Salzburg it is believed to bring death into the house (MS note). In Sicily the bat is regarded as a form of the devil, and a verse is sung to it; when it is caught it is killed by fire and nailed up with outspread wings (de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 203). For the song, compare Ledien, Monogr. d’un Bourg picard, p. 41. The custom of nailing up bats is common (Sébillot, Trad. de la H. Bret, p. 94; Trede, Heidenthum, ii. 249; Böller-Krenzwalz, p. 143). A bat's heart is believed to bring luck at cards (Köhler, Volksbrauch, p. 417).

Bear.—Although the bear is an object of fear and respect to most of the uncultured races who are acquainted with it, there is but little to say of them so far as mythology is concerned. In a few cases we find a myth of descent from the bear; the Modocas of California believe that they are sprung from the union of a daughter of the Great Spirit, who was blown down Mount Shasta, with a grizzly bear; before this was born, but the Great Spirit then made them quadrupeds. As a mark of respect they never mention the bear by name; if an Indian is killed by a bear, he is buried on the spot, and all who pass by the spot for years afterwards cast a stone upon the place (Miller, Life among the Modocos, p. 242). Some of the Demon kings of the Amerinds trace their origin to bears (Dwight, Travels, iv. 184; Schoolcraft, Ind. Tr. i. 265). In Europe, as well as in Syria and in Dardistan, stories are or have been told of girls who are abducted by bears or women who are transformed into bears, sometimes half-human, offspring (Rolland, Faune pop. i. 53; Twysden, Hist. Angl. Scr. x. 945; Leitner, Languages and Races of Dardistan, ii. 12; MacCulloch, 270 f.). The Crees tell a similar story, but here the offspring are bears which are later transformed into men (Petitot, Traditions, p. 400). The Malay tells of the bear a story of the Gelert type (JIAS, S.B., No. 7, p. 23).

As a useful and at the same time dangerous animal, the bemon of dangers becomes revered in many parts of the world a tribute of respect during its lifetime, which is often manifested by a disinclination to pronounce its name (see below, "Name tabu"). It is, however, but seldom that it receives actual worship before it has been laid low. In Japan there is a tradition of a white bear-god which lives in an inaccessible

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This text is a historical and cultural account of various animals and their significance in various cultures and mythologies. It covers a range of topics, from the use of animals in religious ceremonies to their roles in mythology and folklore. The text provides insights into the cultural significance of these animals, such as the bear, which is often associated with various tabus and beliefs in different societies. The text is rich in historical and cultural details, providing a comprehensive overview of the topic.
Among the Tatars the earth spirits take the form of bears among other animals, and on this account they are accorded increased respect (Castrén, Vorlesungen, p. 230), but there is nothing to show that they receive actual worship. One authority says that the Ostiaks worship the image of a bear (Iides, Travels, p. 29); and in India the bear is believed to ward off disease, so that ailing children are made to ride on the backs of tame animals of this species (Crooke, ii. 242).

Name-take.——Some animals are not called by their ordinary names for fear of summoning them, but in the case of the bear the use of special terms seems to arise from a fear of offending it and a desire to do it honour. In Sweden it is called 'grandfather,' by the Estonians 'broad-foot'; analogous to this case, though with a difference of usage, is the Ottawa practice of terming the bear kin 'broad feet.' The Finns call the bear 'the apple of the wood,' 'beautiful honey paw,' etc. (Golden Bough, i. 457): see also ARW ii. 332; Kaindl, Hawaii, 103). The Yoots never express enmity to the bear, lest he should hear and take vengeance (FLJ v. 73).

Far more marked is the respect paid to the dead bear. The weapon which has asserted the claim of some of the East Asiatic peoples that the bear is their chief divinity. There can, however, be no doubt that the Ainus and others kill the bear whenever they can, and that its flesh forms their staple food. The skin is often treated at length by Frazer (Golden Bough, ii. 375 ff.), whose account is here followed, and who explains the custom as an abatement offered to the species, through the medium of single individuals, for the loss it sustains in the slaughter of so many of its members for food.

In preparation for the Ainn festival, a young bear is caught about the end of winter and brought into the village; it is fed until its strength increases and it threatens to escape from its wooden cage; then, in the autumn, the festival is held. The giver of the feast invites all his friends; libations are offered to the bear and various deities; and the women dance round the cage, addressing the animal in terms of endearment. After the men have shot at it with blunt arrows, a number of men put an end to its life by kneeling on it and pressing its neck against a log, the women all the time uttering lamentations behind them. The carcass is set up before certain sacred wands and dishes are set out for the guests, who offer to it, and the women, laying aside all marks of sorrow, dance merrily before it. The animal is next skinned and cut up, and its blood is drunk, so far as is known, by men only. The liver and brain are eaten on the spot, and the remainder of the flesh is divided among those who have been present.

The Gilyaks hold a similar festival; but the bear is shot with arrows in this case; at the end of the ceremonies the skull is placed on a tree (G22 ii. 12). It seems to be a practice of imputing the guilt of the slaughter of the bear to the toad, which has an evil reputation among the Gilyaks (ib. p. 383). Before being sacrificed the bear is led round the village, and ceremonies are performed in its honour (ib. p. 382).

According to a later account, which is important for our attitude towards the whole of the East Asiatic bear ceremonies, the Gilyaks celebrate a festival for any bear which they kill in hunting, as well as for those they rear; as soon as the ceremony is over, the soul of the animal, which has permitted itself to be killed, goes to the 'Lord of the Mountain,' Pel, accompanied by dogs killed in his honour, and by the souls of gifts of which it is the recipient.

The bear festival proper is instituted in honour of a recently deceased kinman. It is prepared by the gens of the deceased, but forms a general feast of several gentes, which are a more important factor in the ceremony than the gens which provides the festivity. When the time comes to kill the bear, the chief guests are the husbands of the women of the host's kin; they bring with them their sons-in-law, whose duty it is to kill the bear. The guests are called narch, and they are entertained by the 'lord of the bear.' Women are excluded from the ceremony of killing the bear, which is preceded by a trial of skill with the bow, in which the narch take part as well as the kin of the 'lord of the bear'; it is a point of honour for the latter to shoot badly. The narch then settle among themselves who is to give the fatal wound.

When the guests have gone, the nearest kinsman of the dead man proceeds to cut up the bear, which is placed in a majestic pose after being killed, its head to the west. Its head is carried off by the women on a sacred sledge, on which are also tobacco, sugar, bow and arrows, etc., gifts to the dead beast, who takes their souls with him. The guests of honour alone partake of the flesh of the bear; their hosts get only bear soup. Before they depart, they throw some bear flesh (which are perhaps the bear's eyes) to its last resting-place, and then its soul goes to the 'Lord of the Mountain' (ARW vii. 260-272).

If the precise meaning of these ceremonies is not apparent, it is at least clear that the cult of dead kinsmen is one of the elements at least of the animal cult; it may be noted that the 'kin gods' of the Gilyaks are human beings who have met with a violent death, but whether it is only in honour of such that the festival is held does not appear (ib. p. 259). A second element is possibly that of purification (ib. p. 273).

On the whole, we may remark that the Gilyak ceremonial is analogous to the Shinto turtle-killing—a means of communication with the dead of the tribe.

The Ostiaks, on the other hand, appear to pay equal honour to every bear which they kill; they cut off its head, hang it on a tree, and, surrounding it, pay respect to it; then they run towards the body and lament over it, explaining that it is not dead, but that the bears are warriors (ib. p. 273). As a mark of respect, Samoyeds allow no woman to eat of its flesh (Ermann, Reise, 1. 681). If the Ostiaks show respect to the bear, they also give evidence of very different feelings; its skin is stuffed with hay and spat upon to the accompaniment of songs of triumph (ib. 670), but they subsequently set up the figure in a corner of the court and treat it for a time as a tutelary deity (ib.). For songs in honour of the bear see Retzsch, Geschichte der Tiersagen, ii. 59.

We find a similar custom among the Pottawatomies. The head of the bear is set up and painted with various colours, and all participants in the feast sing songs in its honour (Baumgarten, Allg. Ges. Am. ii. 542). Although no special ceremony is observed by the Kamchatkans, the killer of a bear is obliged to invite all his friends to partake of the flesh (Krachenminkow, ii. 107). Among the Lapps the bear hunt is the occasion of various ceremonies. When the animal is dead, they beat it with rods and then transport it to a sledge tent hutt constructed on purpose; they then go to a hut where their wives await them; the latter chew bark to colour their saliva red, and spit in the faces of the men (probably as a purificatory ceremony).
Continence is observed for three days, and then the flesh is cooked and eaten by men and women separately; the women may not approach the place where the bear is cooked or partake of flesh from the rump (Voyages et Av. des Émigrés français, ii. 150). The Montagnais prohibit a bear's flesh to women and children (Hind, Explor. i. 179); the Ojibwas used to touch a dead bear (J.A.F. ii. 111). The Taouatis eat bear's flesh at the feast of the dead (Harmon., Journ. 289). The Mohawks offered bear's flesh to Agreskouwen when they had met with ill-success in war (Megaopolensis, Bat. iv. p. 109). In East Asia an oath by a bear is not uncommon. In some cases the skin or a piece of flesh is brought (Schrénck, i. 408); or an offering of a skin is made (Idea, p. 19), and in case of perjury the animal comes to life; we may take this to mean that they believe the bear will devour the perjurer, for the Samoyeds make a man bite a bear's head, and hold that a bear will devour him if he swears falsely (Billings, i. 228; cf. Latham, Russian Empire, p. 124).

There is a European practice, possibly connected with animal sacrifice, that the first bear may be the victim of a male. There is a bear, especially in the winter season, and going with him in procession (Mannhardt, Ant. W. u. Feldcult. 188 ff.; Zts. Ver. Volks. vi. 429). The custom is especially prevalent in the Lansiitz, a Wendish area (MS notes). In Poland the 'bear' is thrown into the water (Kolberg, Pesznikstw. i. 134, 136, 139, ii. 350).

The Central Eskimos believe that they can acquire a bear spirit as tutelary deity, or tomaq. The would-be angakok must travel to the edge of the greatest ice-side and summon the bears. When he appears, he falls down at once; and if he falls upon his face, a bear steps forward and asks his will. The man recovers and goes back with the bear (Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth. 1884-1885, p. 591). The bear is especially associated with Berne, the name of which means 'bear,' and the town has kept bears for centuries. The explanation given is that duke Berthold delivered them from a gigantic bear, but this is simply etiological and probably late; for it is certain that the bear was associated with the town centuries before Berthold. In 1832 a statue of a goddess, Artio, was discovered in the neighbourhood, which dated from Roman times. Now Artio is certainly connected with the Irish race; and Gr. artos means the goddess of the bear or something of that sort. A bear was also discovered among the other statuettes, but was not until later brought into connexion with the goddess, before whom it was standing in the original form of the group (Rev. Celt. xxi. 290).


In Greek cult, bears were burnt in honour of Artemis Άρης at Patre (Paus. vii. xvii. 8), and 'bear Artemis' was one of the names by which she was known. There is a good deal of evidence to connect Artemis with the bear (Farnell, Cults, ii. 435). Callisto, in an Arcadian myth, is changed into a bear, and she seems to be only another form of Artemis (Muller, Proleg. pp. 78-79), who is also called Αλεκτρις. Moreover, at Brauron, in Attica, the Cerina or Αρινα was reverenced (cf. Lang. Myth. ii. 212-215) in ceremonies which were perhaps a survival of initiation customs. Young maidens danced in a saffron robe, and, like the priestesses, were called 'bears'; the dance was epti kai arpho, and the participants were of ages from five to ten; the celebrations were quinquennial, and no girl might marry before undergoing the rite. There is a trace of a bear sacrifice at Brauron (Farnell, ii. 437), but the animal usually offered was a goat or hind. For folk-tales of the bear see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 109-119. For myths see Bachofen, Der Bär.

Bee.—The Tchuwashes of East Russia have a bee-god, and celebrate a festival at which they drink beer sweetened with honey (Globus, lxxiii. 323). The priestess of Ephesian Artemis were called 'king bees'; the priestesses of Demeter, Proserpine, and the Great Mother, were known as 'bees.' The fact that the priestesses of the goddess Demeter were called 'horses,' we may infer that the goddesses in question were bee-goddesses, or that their cult had included a local cult of the bee (Frazier, Paus. iv. 223). As a means of attacking or defending cities, bees figure in Quiché and Yucatecan legends (Liebrecht, Volks. p. 76). In North Guinea bees are actually hung at the entrance to a village, but the intention is probably magical (Wilson, Western Africa. p. 158). For myths of bees proceeding from the bodies of animals, as in the story of Samson (Jg. 14), see Globus, xxxix. 222. The soul is believed in parts of Europe to take the form of a bee (ib. li. 316; Jecklin, Volkstümliches, i. 59).

In European folklore the bee is everywhere sacrosanct (Folklore, xi. 239), but, as often happens, the associations are falsely and grotesquely interpreted (ib. p. 254). As ominous animals, bees vary in their signification; in some parts of Wales a swarm entering a house is a bad omen; elsewhere the reverse is the case (Rev. Hist. Belg. xxviii. 308). If they leave their hive it is a death omen (Brand, Volks. p. 215). A swarm on a house means fire (Globus, xviii. 96). The European peasant attributes special intelligence to bees; they suffer no uncleanness of any sort near them; they should not be sold; the death of a member of the family must be announced to them, and mourning put on their hives (Globus, xxxix. 221 ff.). At certain times in the year honey should be eaten (ib.). For myths and folk-tales of the bee see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 215; for the symbolism of bees see Pauli-Vissou (1894), p. 446 ff.; for myths, p. 448 ff. See ARYANS.

Beech.—The cult of the scarabab was general in Egypt (Budge, Gods, i. 579). At the present day it is feared by the Hotten tots, of whom Kolbe says that they sacrifice sheep and oxen to a beetle (Walckenaer, Hist. Gen. xv. 372). The beetle is killed in various parts of Europe (Folklore, xi. 239, 242). Killing it is believed to cause rain (Rolland, Faune, iii. 324; Napier, Folklore, p. 116; MS notes). In East Russia it is burnt on a stick to a beetle on its feet when it has got 'cast' (MS note; cf. Afzelius, Sagohäfder, i. 13). In Schleswig-Holstein its name connects it with Thor (Schiiller, Thier . . . buch, p. 11). It is sometimes kept in a cage for luck (Napier, Folklore, p. 116; Bohme, Kinderspiel, p. 224). In Scotland the stag beetle is killed because it is the devil's imp; the black beetle is killed whenever it is found, and a story is told to explain the custom (Gent.'s Mag. 1856, ii. 510; cf. Rolland, Faune, iii. 327). In a number of cases it is burnt on a stick in the ground and strike blindfold at its horns; the one who hits it is the winner and takes the beetle home (Kuhn, Nordd. Sagen, p. 377). In the Graufasen Mark the horns are used for divination (Wüste, p. 96).

The ladybird is often taken (Grohmann, Abergel, No. 1688; Strackenjar, Abergel. p. 45). It is said to bring the children (Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, p. 272). It is regarded as of good omen. The cockchafer is also tabu (Folklore, xi. 240). It is greeted in the spring (Bavaria, iv. ii. 428) as carried in procession by children (Lat. Pascha) in the spring (Germannia, vii. 435; PLR iii. 138; cf. Rolland, Faune, iii. 340). It is considered of good omen for one to settle on the hand (Bavaria, iv. ii. 402). The children often repeat verses to the ladybird (Ledieu, Monographie, p. 40; Rolland, Faune, iii. 351-368). In Picardy it is the custom
to kill the ladybird (Ledien, loc. cit.). A beetle is carried for luck (Spiess, Aberglauben, p. 417), and used in magic (Heyl, Volksglauben, p. 787; Wuttke, Der Aberglaube, passim). In the mythology of the Sia the beetle was entrusted with a bag of stars; getting very tired, he peeped in, and they flew out and covered the heavens (Arom. Rep. Bur. Ethn. 1889-1890, p. 35). For the folklore of the beetle see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 209 ff.

Bison.—One of the Omaha clans traced its descent from a bison, which is said to have been originally under the surface of the water; they believed that they returned to the buffalo at death (Frazier, Tod. pp. 4, 36). Both Iowa and Omaha males dress their hair in imitation of the bison when it is their totem (ib. p. 27). A southern tribe, probably the Kawapas, propitiated the dead bison; they adorned its head with swan and birdskin down dyed red, and put tobacco in its nostrils and in the eft of its hoofs. When they had flayed it, they cut out its tongue and replaced it by a piece of tobacco. The wooden forks were then stuck into the bone and a crescent laced upon them, on which were placed pieces of flesh as an offering (Hist. Coll. Louisiana, i. 181). Another account says that the Louisiana Indians behaved to the bison before they set out for the chase (Heckenweller, iv. 80). Possibly the Blackfoot practice of putting a bison skull on an altar is part of a similar propitiation (Miss. Cath. 1869, 359).

Many tribes performed mimetic dances in order to increase the supply of bison (Frazier, Tod. p. 41; Bates, A. Quaker, p. 112). The Indians believed that they could attract the bison by imitating the bark of the coyote (Tour du Monde, 1864, i. 54). The Pawnees used to 'dance the bison' for their neighbours; they dressed in war costume and covered their faces with a bison skin attached (Perrin du Lac, Voyage, p. 334). It does not appear whether this had anything to do with the belief in the bison form of the corn-spirit, but the Creek dance was performed at the time of their Green Corn dances; men, women, and children took an active part in the ceremony, dressing themselves in the scalp of the bison with horns and tail attached; uttering sounds in imitation of the animal, they danced in a circle, their bodies in a vertical procession, with the head led by a ceremonial man, who was seated on two sticks which represented the forelegs of the animal (Stanley, Portraits, p. 10). The bison is associated with corn in various ways by the Pawnees (Dorsey, Traditions of Skidi Pawnees, pp. 85, 336). They cut corn by a bison skin made by killing a bison; this is done by a woman; the pericaridium is dried and filled with various kinds of corn. For the dance itself the floor must be as clean as possible; sacred bundles of corn and bison flesh are prepared, and a bison skull and two hoes of bison bone are placed before them; the women dance, holding their hoes, and every one searches for buffalo hairs; if they see any they say, 'Now we are going to be successful in our hunt and in our corn' (Grinnell, Pawnee Real Stories, p. 372). They gave the name of 'another' to the dead skull of a bison cow painted red, which they place at the bottom of the hut on a sort of altar; they think that it has the power of attracting bison. At seed-time the corn is brought to the hut, and the old men bring out little idols and bird skins, and sing all day to obtain a good harvest. Offerings of first-fruits are also made (Du Lac, Voyage, p. 270). Probably the same ideas prevailed among other tribes; for we find that the Osages had a myth that corn was given the ball (Arom. Rep. Bur. Ethn. viii. 379; cf. Matthews, Ethn. of Hiudatsa Indians, p. 12).

Buceros (rhinoceros-bird).—This bird is important in the East Indian area. In Borneo the gables of some of the houses have a buceros in wood; and with this may be connected the fact that when they have taken a head on a head-hunting expedition, a wooden buceros is set up with its beak pointing towards the foe; on the gable it is said to bring luck. In Celebes the priests put the head of a buceros on a magic staff, and it is also believed to attract purchasers to shops on which it is placed. Under the central post of the house it is believed to avert evil from the dwelling. The head-hunter sometimes wears a buceros head on his own, probably for the same reason that one is set up; in Borneo it has become general to wear feathers and carved bills, but the right to do so is restricted to those who have taken a head with their own hands. It figures in the death dance of the Battas; a mimetic dance in Borneo seems to have in the present day no other object than amusement. At a ceremony of peacemaking the Iban.s suspend from a wooden buceros a great number of cigarettes, which are taken down and smoked ceremonially by all the men present (Kidn. iv. 512 ff.; J. A. I. xxv. 109, 108; Tydings. T.-L. V. xviii. 517, xxxi. 349).

Buffalo.—Like many other pastoral peoples, the Todas show their domestic animal, the buffalo, a degree of respect which does not fall far short of adoration. As often happens the female is never eaten; once a year a bull calf is killed and eaten by the adult males of the village in the recesses of the wood. It is killed with a club made of a sacred wood; the fire is made of certain kinds of wood, produced by rubbing sticks together (Marshall, Todas, p. 129 f.; see also Rivers, Todas, p. 274 f.). In other parts of India the animal serves as a scapagoat in case of cholera (Golden Bough, i. 101). The Mhars of Bomboy sacrifice a bull to the god Dvapar when they lead it to the temple of Bhavani, and the chief strikes it on the neck with a sword; thereafter it is huntéd and struck with the hand or with a weapon; in this way it is laden with the sins of those who succeed in touching it. After being driven round the walls, its head is struck off at the gate; a single stroke must suffice if the sacrifice is to be efficacious. Then they fall upon the victim and tear it in pieces; the bENTS are performed by the women; the demons are prayed to receive the offering; pieces of flesh are thrown backwards over the wall for them (Globus, xvii. 24). A somewhat similar sacrifice is performed among certain hill-tribes at the feasts of the Drummen, the foster-father, and was also celebrated formerly by the Bhumi. The buffalo is frequently sacrificed, moreover, in honour of Durga, the consort of Siva, and in art is the vehicle of Yama, the god of death, the female being regarded as the incarnation of Savitri, the wife of Brahma (Crooke, i. 112, ii. 236 f.). The Zulus hold that the souls of the dead pass into the Cape buffalo (Fritsch, Eingeborene, p. 139). The Ewe tribes hunter observes tabus when he kills a buffalo (Mitt. des K. Bln. V. xv. 156). Among the Ewe tribes, when a buffalo is killed, it is cut up and sold before the hut of the hunter. With an old woman as president, he and older companions partake of a meal in a hut, and the entrails of the buffalo are round some of the guests. The successful hunter must remain in his hut for some days, and for nineteen days wear no clothes. He is led by an older man through the villages during this period, and is permitted to capture and take home chickens. He may eat the head and feet of the animals only, and may eat no pepper, though salt is permitted. This period of tabu is concluded by a general festival, at which a mimetic representation of a hunting scene is given. At the close the
hunter who killed the buffalo is carried home (Zts. Geol. Ges. Thür. ix. 19).

Butterfly, moth.—In a Pima myth, the Creator, Chiuwotmahke, takes the form of a butterfly, and flies until he finds a place fit for man (Baneroti, iii. 78). Many of the Malagasy trace their descent from a sort of moth, and believe that it was a man who was swallowed in the form of a moth at death. The Siyanae believe that the soul has to suffer after death till the body is only a skeleton; if it cannot endure this it becomes a butterfly; the Anteriminae call the soul by the same name as the butterfly (v. d. Fries, Norges Magnetf. iii. 13). Butterflies are tabu in Europe (Folklore, xiii. 239; Napier, Folkkl. p. 115). In Bukowina they should not be taken in the hand (Zts. Ost. Volksk. ii. 322).

In the Vosges, France (Sauvé, Folklore, p. 317; Noel du F. ed. Asseryat, i. 119), they should be caught. In Oldenburg the first butterfly should be caught and allowed to fly through the coat sleeve (Strackerjesan, Äberg, p. 105). In Suffolk, butterflies are ‘tenderly entertained,’ and white butterflies are kept in the house (Suffolk Folkslore, p. 9; Napier, Folklore, p. 115), while at Llanidloes (Montgom. Coll. x. 260) the coloured ones are killed; in Scotland it is unlucky to kill or to keep them. Moths are killed in Somerset and Devon (Folkslore, i. 270). In Germany butterflies are caught in the North of England (Denham Tr. ii. 325), the small tortoiseshell in Pitigal (FLJ vii. 43), the first butterfly in Devonshire (Hone, Tablebook, p. 339); while in Essex the directions are to catch the first white butterfly, bite off its head, and let it fly away (MS note). The Magyars say that it brings great luck to catch the first butterfly (Jones and Kropt, Folktales, xlix.). In Yglan it is put in the gun to make it impossible to miss (Zts. Ost. Volksk. iii. 273). Some of the customs point to a scapegoat ceremonial; in other cases there is a belief that butterflies and moths are the souls of the dead (Arch. Rev. iii. 238). In Scotland, Friesland, and Bosnia, moths are regarded as witches (Gregor, Folklore, p. 147; Wiss. Mitt. vii. 315; Globus, xxvii. 183). In Germany, at the wedding of a newly married couple, the bride and groom are also sometimes said to bring the children (Plaas, Kind, i. 12).

There is a curious diversity in the omens given by butterflies. In North Hants three butterflies are a bad omen (NQ, 8th ser. iv. 165). In Brunswick a dead or seen first butterfly, a yellow butterfly a birth, and a coloured one a marriage (Andree, Braunschweig. Volksk. p. 259). Elsewhere a white butterfly means a rainy summer, a dark one thunderstorms, and a yellow one sunshine (Am Urdebrunnen, iv. 16). The Ruthenians hold that a red butterfly in spring means health, and a white one sickness (Globus, lxxiii. 245); while for the Bulgarians the dark butterfly announces sickness (Strausz, Bulgaren, p. 280).

Cat.—The cat was generally respected in Egypt, and mumified at Thebes; but this is not enough to establish cat-worship proper. In many parts of Europe it is considered unlucky to kill a cat (Folklore, xii. 239) and the same belief is found in Africa; the Washambas respect the cat, and believe that if one is killed, some one in the family falls ill; a sheep is led four times round the sick person, and then slaughtered; its head is buried, a living cat is caught, and part of the sheep’s heart, covered with honey and fat, is given to it; if it will not eat, the ill person is put down to another cause; finally, the cat has a dark neckband put on him in set free (Mitt. von d. Schutzgebieten, ii. 313, 325; Zts. Geol. Ges. Thür. xx. 108). It has been stated, but incorrectly, that in Egypt a cat is regarded as holy, and that if one is killed, vengeance will sooner or later fall on the person who committed the deed (PEFS, 1901, 267). On the Gold Coast a cat which had been of good omen received offerings; it was also held that the souls of the dead passed into cats (Bosman, Beiss, p. 444; Müller, Feti, p. 97). At Aix, in Provence, on Corpus Christi the finest tom-cat in the country, wrapped like a child in swaddling clothes, was publicly exhibited in a magnificent shrine (Mills, History of Crusades, quoted in Gent. s May., 1882, i. 605).

The cat is one of the animals sacrificed in Europe at various times (Folklore, xi. 233; Lund, Danmark og Norges Historie, viii. 160, etc.), in some cases by being put into a tomb, and in others burnt with the body; and L’Année, p. 53; Mitt. des Ver. für. Ges. der Deutschen in Boehmen, x. 347, etc.). In other cases the cat is burnt (Rolland, Faune, iv. 114; Golden Bough, 324; Chessel, Diet. Hist., etc.). The explanation of these customs seems to be that they are survivals of a custom of expelling evils; this interpretation is borne out by the fact that at Wambbeck the custom took the form of throwing the cat out of the village on a day known as ‘Kat-nit. In Bohemia they kill it and bury it on the fields in order to drive away the evil spirit may not injure the crops (Volkskunde, vi. 155; Grohmann, Äberglaube, No. 367). Sometimes the cat is associated with marriage ceremonies. In the Eifel district the ‘Katzenschlag’ follows the marriage ceremony, and the cat is killed; the bodies are thrown to the church and afterwards killed by striking people with it; it is then cooked and given to the newly married couple (Schmidt, Sitten, p. 47; Rolland, Faune, vi. 102). In Poland, if the man is a widower, a pane is broken in the window and a piece of the cat thrown in; the bride follows through the same opening (Tradition, v. 346). In Transylvania the farm hands bring a cat in a trough the morning after the wedding and rock it on the cradle before the bride (Haltrich, Zur Volksk., p. 290). Probably the idea of getting rid of evils is in part an explanation of these customs, in part a magical rite to promote fertility. In India, on the other hand, the cat, being regarded as an uncanny animal, is respected, and it is a serious offence to kill it (Crooke, ii. 241, 270 ff.).

The corn-spirit is sometimes believed to appear in the form of a cat (Golden Bough, ii. 270). At the Carnival in Hildesheim a cat is fastened in a basket at the top of a hr tree; influence over the fruit harvest is attributed to it (Kehrino, Volkep. p. 142). In Sumatra an ap, the cat, is used in rain charms (Golden Bough, i. 102; Tijdsschr. vi. 83). There is a curious conflict of opinion as to the omen to be drawn from the sight of a cat. In Germany, Scotland, the Vosges, etc., a cat, especially a black one, is of bad omen (Gregor, Folklore, pp. 123, 125; EB xv. 90; Sauvé, Folklore, p. 116). On the other hand, in Hildesheim and other parts of Germany the black cat is held to bring luck (Niedersachsen, vi. 61; Zts. Volksk. V. f. Volksk. x. 209; Alemannia, xx. 254; Schreiber, Zeitschr. p. 329). In the United States it is an evil omen for a cat to cross one’s path, but good luck to be followed by a black cat, while a strange cat, especially a black one, brings good fortune to the house which it chooses to make its home. For folk-tales of the cat see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 53-66, and for Jewish material Jacob, in JE iii. 613 f.

Cattle.—Among the cults of domesticated animals the most important is that of cattle. The question of the origin of the domesticated oxen is in no case; the problem of the origin of domestic animals; for if the pastoral peoples who in historical times have respected or worshipped their cattle obtained them from a single centre, where they were originally domesticated, possibly, in part at least, through practices connected with religion (Hahn, Demeter
und Baubo, pass.), we cannot base any argument on the attitude of the cattle-keeping tribes of the present day. If, on the other hand, no sanctity attached to cattle when they came to them, the respect—and even love—which these peoples feel for their herds is important as a factor in the evolution of the more definitely religious attitude.

Pastoral peoples, of whom in pre-European days there were many representatives in Africa, commonly live on milk or game (Alberti, De Raffera, p. 37; Fleming, S. Africa, p. 260). The Damaras cannot dispose of a cow alive upon meat from such a source; when they have any special feast, the killing of the cattle is almost a sacrificial function, and falls to the lot of the chiefs. In the same way bulls in ancient Egypt were killed only as a piscarium (Herod. ii. 41); and cows, as among the Phenicians (Porphyry, de Abstin. ii. 11), were never eaten on any pretence.

In these cases there is no positive cult, though the cow is recorded to have been sacred to Hathor. With the male animal it was different. Conspicuous among Egyptian animal cults was that of the bull, and the worship of Apis (Hâp) goes back to the earliest times. According to Herodotus (iii. 28), it was the 'sacred of a cow in camp,' a living god, and the Egyptians say that lightning descends upon the cow from heaven; on the latter point another story was that the god descended on the cow as a ray of moonlight (Wiedemann, Religion, p. 188; Plut. xxix. et Dion. xix. viii. 1). Various accounts are given of the marks by which it was recognized; Herodotus (loc. cit.) says it is black, and has a square spot of white on its fore-head; on its back a figure of an eagle; in its tail darts on its side. The bull, however (viii. 72), says that a white crescent on its right side was the mark, and adds that after a certain age it was drowned in the fountain of the priests. Oxen were sacrificed to Aphis, and had to be pure white (Herod. ii. 28). When the old Aphis died, a new one was sought; the owner of the herd in which it was found was honoured; the discoverer was rewarded, and the dam of the bull was brought with it and confined in a second sanctuary (Vit. Strabo, xxvii. 31). Once a year a cow was presented to Aphis, and then killed (Pliny, vili. 186); others were regarded as concubines and permitted to live (Amm. Marc. xxii. 14. 7; Solinus, Polyb. c. 32). Its food consisted of flour and honey; a special well was provided for its use. Its birthday was celebrated once a year; when it appeared in public, a crowd of boys attended it. Women were forbidden to approach it save during its four months' education at Nicopolis, when they exposed themselves before it (Diodorus, i. 58).

Oxen were obtained (1) by the behaviour of the bull, (2) by dreams, which came to sleepers in the temple, and (3) by the voices of children praying before the temple. Both the living and the dead of the bull are venerated, and its spirit is in company with Osiris a dual god Sam-Apis (Serapis). The dead bull was carefully mummiified and buried in a rock tomb. The cult of Aphis was national. Less wide-spread was the cult of Mnevis, also consecrated to Osiris (see Budge, i. 286 ff.).

At the present day similar observances have been noted on the Upper Nile. The Nuba (= Shilluk and Bonjack) venerate a bull, according to Petherick (Travels, ii. 10), usually a piebald one; it leads the cattle; its aid is sought in theft and in the death it is mourned with great ceremony; at its master's death it is killed, and its horns fixed on his grave. This latter feature suggests that it may have been regarded as the abode of its master's soul, or possibly of the soul of the previous owner of the family. Another account says that it is venerated under the name of Madjok (the Great God), and worshipped with music and dancing (Hasan, Vita, i. 68). Among the Nueri the bull is likewise honoured; it is regarded as the tutelary deity of the family, and receives the name Ngied, which is also applied to thunder and lightning, to their Supreme Being (Marno, Reisen, pp. 243, 347; Mitt. Ver. Erdk., Leipzig, 1873, p. 6).

Among the Angons the spirit of a dead chief was located in a bull, which was then set apart and considered sacred. Offerings were made through it to the indwelling spirit; if it died, another was put in its place. This cult ceased as soon as the next chief died (Folklore, xiv. 310).

The Sakalavas of Madagascar have a black bull in a sacred enclosure in the island of Nosybe, which is guarded by two hundred priests. When it dies, another takes its place. In January the queen visits the island and a bull is sacrificed, whose blood is held to drive away evil spirits from the temple and to give birth to the Good God (Alcantara, Vita, p. 248). In some parts of Madagascar myths of descent from cattle are told (ib. p. 239). When the sick perform the bilo ceremony to remove the tabu under which they lie, a bull is sacrificed. When this is burned, it is consumed until its master's death (ib.). Cattle played a great part in the ancient unexplained ceremonies of Fandrosa at the New Year (ib. p. 240). Cattle were kept for their milk and as sacrificial animals only (ib. p. 243. dympt. viii. 3). There are still a few Words in their name; and custom prescribed the persons to whom particular parts of the animal should fall (ib. p. 243). A child born on an unlucky day was usually put to death, but its life might be saved if the ordal by nulling of a cow could determine it (ib. p. 243). Among the most honourable terms of address were 'bull' and 'cow' (ib. p. 247).

The origin of the Hindu respect for the cow is an unsolved problem. Unlike Egypt, it is clear that India developed a respect for the animal in historic times. Of actual worship there is little to record; but the païchâ-gavya, or five products of the cow, are important factors in exorcism and magic; as a means of annulling an unlucky horoscope, re-birth in oxcart, etc. (v. c. 386). When the Hindu touches the tail of a cow at the moment of dissolution, and believes that it will carry him across the river of death; just as, in the last re-incarnation before the assumption of the human form, she received from her cow mother the sacred river Vaitarani, which bounds the lower world. Cattle festivals are celebrated in Nepal and Central India, but their object seems to be mainly magical. The nomadic Banjars, however, devote a bullock to their god Balaji, and call upon it to cure them in sickness (Crooke, Pop. Rel. ii. 235-236).

In Iranian mythology the moon is closely associated with the bull, and is regarded as containing the seed of the primeval bull (Bûdâ-bihâd, iv. x.), whence one of the standing epithets of the moon in Irania, and its name gacitira, is corrupted from the bull. Here the underlying idea is evidently a fertility-concept (Gray, 'Maoncha Gacitira' in Spiegel Memorial Volume). In Zoroastrianism, moreover, as in Brahmanism, the urine of the bull is one of the chief modes of religious purification (Musul. ix. 105-112). For the bull and cow in the Veda, see de Gebueratiis, Zool. Myth. i. 1-41; in later India, p. 41; in Persia and North Asia, p. 90 ff.; for the Slavs, p. 171; among the Teutons and Germans, p. 261 ff. For other cases of respect for cattle, see Hahn, Demeter, p. 60. For the bull as form of water god, see 'Water' above; see also de Gebueratiis, i. 265.

In Greek cult the bull was associated with
Artemis TavpoirSXos and Toi/pt/n), which Farnell interprets as referring to the agricultural functions of the goddess; in the worship of TavpoirSXos the bull and cow were rarely, the calf never, sacrificed; the goddess is represented with horns on her shoulders, which are usually supposed to refer to the moon; the horns certainly appear in the representations of Artemis, Dioneus, Demeter, Hestia, Apollo, Poseidon, etc. (Farnell, Cults, ii. 451, 454, 456, 529). The bull was one of the chief sacrificial animals in the cult of Zeus (forSoupéna); but this is of no value as evidence (ib. i. 181). White oxen drew the priestesses in the lèpòs γάμος (ib. i. 188). The bull was prominent among victims offered to Athene (ib. i. 290); an Athenic Boar-mas (‘ox-yoker’) was worshipped in Boeotia (ib. i. 376). In Crete cults seem to have been mingled—that of a Semitic goddess whose animal was the goat and whose lover was the bull, and that of Zeus-Dionysus and Europa; the bull may originally have belonged to the latter, but only mammals of Dioneus have been referred to some extent with Zeus (ib. ii. 632, 645). The bull was important in the ritual of Astarte (ib. ii. 676). In the cult of the Syrian goddess worshippers sometimes cast their children at the feet of Pachynysa, of her temple, ‘calling them oxen’ (ib. i. 92). For the bull in Celtic religion, see Celtic Religion, § 5. 8.

Bouphonia.—The sacrifice of an ox at the altar of Zeus Pánoos on the Acropolis requires to be noticed at length. The myth of origin is as follows: A certain Sopatrus, a stranger, was offering corn, when one of his oxen devoured some of his corn; Sopatrus slew it; he was then seized with remorse and buried it; after which he fled to Crete; a dearth fell upon the land, and to remove the curse the sacrifice of the Soupéna was instituted. The oracle directed that the murderer should be punished and the dead raised; all were to taste the flesh of the dead animal, and refrain not.

The ritual was as follows: At the festival of the Dikaios, the wheats were driven round the altar, and the one which tasted the cereals was the chosen victim. The axe with which the deed was done was sharpened with water brought by maidens and handed to the sacrificer; another cut the throat of the victim, and all partook of its flesh. The hide was stuffed with grass and sewn together, and the counterfeit ox was yoked to the plough. The participants in the sacrifice were charged with ox murder (Soupéna), and each laid the blame on the other; finally, the axe was condemned and thrown into the fire. This sacra has been interpreted by Robertson Smith as totemistic, but no totem sacrifice of this kind is known elsewhere. On the other hand, Mannhardt and, following him, Frazer have regarded it as connected with butchers. As Farnell points out, the sacrifice of the corn-spirit is not attended clandestinely, where with a sense of guilt. The admission of Sopatrus to citizenship as a result of his sacramental meal lends little or no support to the totemistic hypothesis, although there was an ox-cult (Boutades) at Athens.

In modern European folklore the corn-spirit is frequently understood to take the form of a bull or cow (Golden Bough, ii. 279 ff.). Perhaps we may look to this conception for an explanation of the custom of leading round, about Christmas, a man clad in a cowskin (ib. 447; Evans, Tour in S. Wales, p. 44; Panzer, Beitrage, ii. 117; FlJ iv. 118; Schweizer, Archiv, ii. 228, cf. 178; Rolland, Panne, vi. 91; AV, 9th ser. vii. 247, etc.). The same explanation probably holds good of the Athenian sacrifice of the Bouphonia (see above), after which a mock trial took place, in which the instruments of sacrifice were condemned to be cast into the sea. Possibly we may trace this custom in the sacrifices to the spring ox of the Chinese (Zool. Garten, 1900, p. 37). The emperor offers a hecatomb annually to heaven and earth; the animals must be black or red-brown (ib. p. 31).

In Egypt also a bull or cow played the part of a scapegoat (Golden Bough, iii. 1). Among the Abchasians a white ox, called Ogginn, was sacrificed annually, perhaps as a ‘pastoral’ sacrifice (see above).

The Ova-Hereros have some practices which have been interpreted as totemistic. They are divided into eanda and oruzo; membership of the eanda is inherited through the mother, and is inalienable; the oruzo, on the other hand, descends, like the chieftainship and priesthood, in the male line. Sacrifices were offered after the birth of a rabbit, rain, etc.; the oruzo, after the chameleons, etc.; they are distinguished (1) by the practice of keeping or not keeping cattle with certain marks, and (2) by practising certain abstinences which other totem animals, the orozem oruzo, for example, do not keep. They may even injure the chameleons. It seems clear that the ommusa comes nearer the totem-kin, though no totemistic practices are assigned to its members (Ztschr. Ethnol. 1886, p. 361). It has been recorded that certain plants are sacred to each ‘caste,’ but whether eanda or oruzo is meant is not clear (Andersson, Gleanings, p. 238). The Batokas break their upper teeth at puberty to make themselves like cattle; but here, too, there is no connexion with totemism (Livingstone, Mem. Trave. p. 632), for it is not confined to any special clan.

Among the Bechuanas a cow or bull that beats the ground with its tail is regarded as bewitched (Mackenzie, Ten Years, p. 892). In the Hebrides, oracles were given by a man wrapped in a fresh bull’s hide and left all night at the bottom of a precipice near a cataract (Saussure, New Voyages, Lond. 1819, vol. viii. 92). The Kalmuks take an oath by the cow; the accused stands on the skin of a black cow, moan, jump and throw down the threshold (Jalay i. 415).

In opposition to the practice of the African pastoral peoples, of the Hindus, and probably of ancient Europe (Hahn, Demeter, pp. 60—61), the East Asiatic culture area abstains from the use of milk, regarding it as a pathological product (ib. p. 21). These peoples employ their cattle for draught purposes only, over a considerable area (ib. p. 60; Zool. Garten, 1900, p. 34), without using them as an article of food. They explain their abstinence on the ground that it is improper to eat milk, which labours to provide them with food. There is nothing to show that the Hindu or Chinese explanation of the sacrosanctity of cattle within their areas is incorrect; and possibly the African tabus are explicable on similar grounds. It seems clear, however, that the Chinese learned to know cattle as draught animals, possibly as sacred animals, and not as direct factors in the economic situation. Prima facie this leads us to suppose that cattle were domesticated for a long period before the use of milk was introduced, for otherwise the practice of abstinence in China is hard to explain. On the other hand, it seems probable that a certain sanctity attached to cattle at their introduction into the East Asiatic culture area; for there does not seem to be any difficulty in the
way of breeding cattle for food and at the same time making use of their labour in agricultural operations.

Hahn has argued (Die Hautier, Leipzig, 1835; Domestier und Baubo, Lübeck, 1896) that we must look to the motive of domestication as the decisive factor in the domestication of cattle. If neither the milk nor the flesh was originally used, we are left to choose between the religious and utilitarian theories of domestication. It is by no means impossible that the idea of replacing hoe culture by plough culture may have occurred to a people destitute of domestic animals; and they may have proceeded to tame and utilize cattle for this purpose. But in this case we should expect to find that man as a draught animal preceded the ox as the motive power of the plough; there is, however, no evidence of this. It seems, however, far more probable that man already had cattle in partial subjection, and that possibly on religious grounds he proceeded to employ them in agriculture, than that he took the ox as a single stride from hoe culture to ploughing with cattle. The use of milk in early times as an offering seems to point in the same direction; for there would be no special reason for attaching sanctity to the products of an animal domesticated utilitarian purposes. As to the grounds which led to cattle becoming associated with religion in the first instance, Hahn has put forward a theory that it was the shape of their horns which brought them into connexion with the sickle of the moon at an early period. On the whole, it seems more probable that cattle, like the bison among the Pawnees, were associated with agriculture, possibly as a form of the corn-spirit, before they came under man's domination. The association of the moon with vegetation would naturally result in bringing cattle into close connexion with the moon-goddess. Just as the Pawnees use the bones of the bison as house-beams, so is the impression cast on this theory, into the service of agriculture on magical grounds, even if they were not employed at an earlier period as draught animals for the car of the god or goddess, and thus inured to labour. In some cases the animal in the sacred car was the primitive usage, it seems probable that the processions would visit the fields, and herein we may see another factor which may have suggested the use of the draught animal for the plough.

See also 'Earth-carrier,' 'Earthquakes,' 'Vegetation,' 'Water,' in present article.

Coyote.—The coyote figures largely in American mythology, especially among the tribes of California. The Gallinomeros attributed to him the creation of the man, with the aid of the mountains (Bancroft, iii. 85). The Neenahams made him their ancestor, and told how he rescued them later from a terrible old man (ib. 546). In Shuswap and Kutenay myths he is the Creator (Brinton, Myths, p. 161). According to the Chinooks, he was the creator of the human race, but fashioned men clumsily, so that another powerful spirit had to open their mouths and teach them how to make canoes (Bancroft, ii. 95). The Cahoks attributed to him the gift of utilitarian purposes. A bag of entrails to a crocodile is supposed to have incurred the vengeance of some one who has taken that form; those who kill crocodiles are supposed to take that form after death. Slightly different is the Malagasy view, which makes the crocodile the ally of the magician in his lifetime (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 280). The Matabele hold that killing a crocodile is a serious crime, because its liver and entrails can be used as charms (Decle, Three Years, p. 153); so, too, in West Africa (Hutchinson, Impressions, p. 248); and in South America (Bancroft, iii. 390). On the other hand, some of the Bantu tribes—it is not clear whether the Bakuens alone or not (probably not; cf. Chapman, Travels, i. 46) —seem to regard the crocodile in another light. A man over whom a crocodile splashes water is excluded
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from the village, in other cases a man bitten by a crocodile (Merensky, Beiträge, p. 92; ZE i. 43); the dead crocodile is handed over to the doctors to make medicine of; if one is killed, the children cough, and a piacular sacrifice of a black sheep must be offered (Merensky, loc. cit.). In many places the crocodile is attacked only if it has already shown its hostility to man. The Antimerinas trace their descent from the crocodile, which, however, formerly wagged from on them, after which a treaty was made. If this is violated, notice is given in the district, and complaint is made to the offended party. If the crocodile tribe is called upon to hand over the offender, and to make matters more certain a baited hook is thrown into the water. On the following day the capture is hauled up, condemned to death, and executed on the spot. Therefore the persons present begin a lamentation; and the body is wrapped up in silk and buried with the ceremonies usual at the interment of a man. On its grave a tumult is raised (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 251 ff.). The same precautions are taken and the body is recovered by a magician (Golden Bougâ, ii. 390 ff.). In the Philippines, offerings were made even when the islanders had no intention of attacking the animals (Marsden, Sumatra, p. 303). In North Arakan the ceremony of hitting the ears and beards when any animal belonging to a village has been killed by an alligator (JAI ii. 240). This is perhaps explained by the belief of the Philippine Tagalogs that any one killed becomes a deity, and is carried up by the rainbow (Marsden, Sumatra, p. 301). Connected possibly with the belief that crocodiles are a magician or his servant, is the Baso belief that a crocodile can seize the shadow of a passer-by and draw him into the water; it is believed to suck the blood of the men and animals thus captured, but not to injure them otherwise (Parker, cf. Dawson, Awest. Abor. p. 54, where the crows are represented as keeping the fire to themselves). Among the Algonquins the crow was held to have given man Indian knowledge of the 'power of the thunder-bird' (Quinn, 'The Indian Crow in America' in Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 219). A Spanish expedition in California in 1602 reported that the Indians of Santa Catalina Island venerated two great black crows; but it seems probable that they were in reality buzzards (Bancroft, iii. 134), which are known to have been respected and venerated in California (Golden Bougâ, ii. 367). As a parallel fact may be quoted the keeping of ravens at Nimequen at public expense (Hone, Everyday Book, i. 44). The Ainu also keep crows, and reverence them (Frazer, Tot. p. 14). For Indian crow myths, etc., see Crooke, i. 166, ii. 243-245.

The name of the crow is sometimes tabu (Holzmaier, Oxtl. p. 41; cf. Wiedemann, Eksten, p. 492, for another form of respect). It is not killed in Victoria (Morgan, Life of Benj. cf. Abor. p. 25), New England (Williams, in Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 219), among the Gilyaks (v. Schrenck, Reisen, iii. 437), parts of Europe (Folklore, xi. 240; New Voy., London, 1819, lv. 60), and North America (Pennant, Arcus, p. 246), the explanation given being that it contains the souls of the dead (Morgan, Parker; cf. Crooke, ii. 243). Connected possibly with the idea of the crow as a soul-animal, it is the belief that it brings the children (Germania, viii. 349; Pless, Kind, p. 12; Zts. d. Altertum, N.S. x. 11; cf. Anian, Lexicon, s. v. kowi̱gumovs, etc.). The crow is one of the birds which figure in the annual processions so commonly found in Europe (Schütze, Holst. Mitb. i. 165; J. des V. f. Meckl. Ges. ii. 123). As a symbol of water, it is compared to the turtle (cf. Long, Life of Benj. cited in Crooke, ii. 243). Connected with this is the idea that the crow song of the ancient Greeks (Athеnæus, viii. pp. 359, 360) was used in connexion with a similar ceremony may be regarded as certain. In some cases the crow is killed (Niedersecken, 172). The ceremony is probably connected with the idea of the expulsion of evils. Offerings are made to crows at funerals in India (Home and For. Miss. Res. 1839, p. 303).

As a bird of omen, the crow, raven, or rook is inauspicious (Dorman, Prim. Surv. p. 224; Purchas, ii. 1758; Billing's, i. 321; Zts. des V. f. Volksk. iii. 134; Wolf, Beiträge, i. 232; Henderson, Folklore of N. C. p. 20, etc.; the Talmudic tractate Shabbath, 67b). Occasionally it is the reverse (Autob. of Ka-hu-ge-ga-bowh, p. 48), especially at a funeral (Crooke, i. 243). The crow is specially associated
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with sorcerers in Australia (JAI xx. 90), America (Schoolcraft, Ind. Tr. iv. 491; Adair, Hist. pp. 173, 194), and Europe (Clouston, Folklore of Raven, p. 20). The Twanas hold that when a person is very sick the spirit of some evil animal, sent by a wizard, has entered into him and is eating away his life (Koels, Ten Years, p. 43). Ancient diviners sought to imbue themselves with the spirit of prophecy by eating the hearts of crows (Golden Bough, ii. 355); and raven broth in Denmark is held to confer the powers of a wizard on the person who tastes it (Clouston, loc. cit.). The crow is largely used in magical recipes (Folklore, xi. 255). A stone found in its nest is believed to confer invisibility (ELJ vii. 56; Alpenburg, Alpenmythen, p. 385). Both in India and Greece the brains of crows were regarded as specific against old age (Crooke, ii. 245; Golden Bough, ii. 355). For folk-tales of the crow see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 250-258, and Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. ‘Aberglaube,’ p. 76.

Cuckoo.—In various parts of Europe are performed ceremonies named after the cuckoo. At Pollern, near Thieux, was held, on August 21st, a cuckoo court; husbands whose wives deceived them had to appear, and at the end of the proceedings were married abruptly, thrown into the water (Düringsfeld, Col. belge, i. 115). In other parts the ceremony was in the middle of April (Rolland, Fasne, i. 91). At Stembert a man called the cuckoo was placed on a waggon, the last man of the village by his side; they were dragged through the village and the cuckoo was thrown into the water (Haron, Contrib. ix. ii.). With these customs we may perhaps connect a Harz custom of putting a cuckoo into a lamb; it was probably as a fertility charm (Prohle,HBsilder, p. 87), and the cuckoo dance at North Friesland marriages (Ausland, ivi. 810). In S.E. Russia at Whitsuntide, a pole is put up with a cuckoo upon it; round this a dance is performed (ib. lix. 137). The scavenger caste also worship cuckoos (ib. p. 380). A cuckoo tabu is very common in European folklore (Folklore, xi. 240), and in Madagascar (v. Genep, Tabou, p. 264). Like many others it was brought into connexion with the wild cow by leaping or running (Traditions pop. iii. 345). It is said to lay Easter eggs (Schw. Arch. i. 115), and ‘coco-mallard’ is one of the names given to ‘Blind Man’s Buff’ (Trad. pop., loc. cit.). The cuckoo is a bird of bad omen (Bööler-Kreutzwald, Elähen, 140; Russwurm, Eibovolk, sec. 338; Malvinsie, i. 454). It is connected with rain (Panzer, Beitrag, ii. 172; de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 255). It is commonly believed that it is not a migrant, but winter comes when it sing (cf. de Gubernatis, loc. cit.). For cuckoo myths, beliefs, etc., see ZM lii. 298-299, and de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 226-235.

Deer.—Tame deer were kept in Guatamala, which were held sacred by the inhabitants on the ground that their greatest god had visited them in that form (Bancroft, iii. 182). The natives of Nicaragua had a god whose name was that of the deer, but the animal was not regarded as a god; they explained it by saying that this god had to be invoked by those who hunted the deer (ib.). Deer are taboo in Sarawark, and both there and in California they are held to be the abode of souls of deceased ancestors (JAI xxxi. 187, 193; Bancroft, iii. 131). In West Africa an antelope is sacrificed annually (Ellis, Tshi-speaking Peoples, p. 224).

Especially in America, deer, moose, and elk were treated with great respect by hunters; their bones might not be given to the dogs, nor might their fat be dropped upon the fire, because the souls of the dead animals would know that they were not being properly treated and tell the others. In Hindoos the Indians preserved the bones till their house was quite encumbered, for they believed that otherwise they would not be able to take other deer. If a man were ill among the Chiquitos, the medicine-man would explain it by saying that he had thrown deer flesh away, and the soul of the deer had entered him and was killing him. The Tzentales and Kekchis offered copal to a dead deer before they ventured to skin it. Cherokee hunters ask pardon of the deer they kill, otherwise Little Deer, the chief of the deer tribe, who can never die or be wounded, would track the hunter by the blood drops and put the spirit of rheumatism into him. The Apache medicine-men resorted to certain caves, where they propitiated the animal gods whose progeny they intended to destroy. When the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia killed a deer, they thought the survivors were pleased if it was butchered cleanly and nicely; if a hunter had to leave some of the village to hunt, especially the head, so that it might not be contaminated by dogs and women. Venison was never brought in by the common door, because women used it; the head was never given to the oldest or the youngest, for this would make the deer wild (Golden Bough, ii. 406). The Eskimos of Hudson Bay believe that a white bear rules over the reindeer. They pray to him to send the deer, and assure him that they have been careful not to injure, kill, or frighten the deer; sea and sea-animal may not come in contact with one another (2nd Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., p. 595).

The deer is eaten by more than one tribe in connexion with the feast of new corn. Among the Delawares, venison and corn were provided, and divided into twelve parts, according to the number of the old men who took part in the ceremony; after they were eaten, the new corn was free to all; in the evening, venison was again eaten and the somnambulist burn not remain till the sun rose, nor might a bonfire be built; the deer burnt-offering was made with much ceremony once a year (Beatty, Journal, p. 84; cf. Rupp, History of Berks, p. 23, quoting a letter of W. Penn). The Housatunmus also had a deer feast, but it is not otherwise there is any mention of it in the writings (Hist. Memoirs, p. 10). Probably the deer was regarded as a form of the corn-spirit; for in Florida it was the custom to take as large a deer hide as could be procured, leave the horns on it, and at the end of February fill it with all manner of herbs and saw it together. They then proceeded to an open space and hung the skin upon a tree, turning the head to the east. A prayer was then offered to the sun, asking that these same fruits might be given (cf. de Gubernatis, loc. cit.). A Papago rain dance performed beneath a deer’s head stuck on a pole in the month of July may be similarly interpreted (ib.). A small deer figure largely in Malay and Indian folk-tales (Stokes, Fables).

Dog.—It can hardly be doubted that the dog is the oldest, as it is also the most widely spread of the domestic animals. It has been maintained (Ausland, 1881, p. 485) that man’s association with the dog was due in the first place to its being used as food. Though there is no reason to suppose that the religious factor entered into the causes which brought about its domestication, the food
theory seems less probable than the view that the dog made himself the companion of man, rather than that he was brought into subjection by the acts of man (cf. Much, *Heimat der Indogermanen*, 182–185). The dog is used as an article of food by a large number of peoples of low grades of culture, and sometimes by higher grades, e.g., the Chinese. It was used by the Andrians to keep a man in Europe for the pursuit of game, and is employed in a similar way all the world over at the present day. In some cases the breed has come into no way specialized thereby; but among the Bataks (Int. Arch. Ethnog. 1894, pp. 231), Indo-China (Am. *Q. Rev.* 3rd ser. i. 140), Kirghiz (Perternann, 1864, p. 185), New Guinea (Chalmers, p. 151), among the Kalangans of Java (Haffen, i. 258), and even in Europe (Liebrecht, p. 19; see also in general MacCulloch, 283 f.). In the Pomotl islands the first race of men are held to have been made into dogs (*Miss. Cath.* 1874, 243).

Especially in N. America the dog (coyote) figures in Creation myths (Bancroft, *p. a.*), and occasionally in Deluge myths (see ‘Deluge’). The Pottawatomies believe that in the moon is an old woman making a basket; the earth will be destroyed when it is finished; but a great dog ruins her work at intervals and then results an eclipse (Am. *Prop. Foi*, xi. 490). Among the Mongols, Mbowobis (Int. *Arch.* 1894, 147), Chiquitos (Tylor, i. 328), Chinese (Am. *Prop. Foi*, xxii. 335), etc., a similar association of the dog with eclipses is found. In Khrushchaks the dogs are attributed to Toulan dog, Kozel (Kracheninikov, i. 94). Classical mythology tells us of Cerberus (g. v.), who guards the entrance of the Infernal Regions (see Bloomfield, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades*). In N. Borneo a fiery dog is held to watch at the gate of Paradise, and to lay claim to all virgins (Forster, ii. 239); the Massachusetts also believe that a dog watches the gate (Wood, p. 104); so, too, the Eskimos (Z*, 1872, 238) and the Iroquois the bridge by which souls had to pass (*Bez. des J.* 1836, 104).

York was visited by him so taken out to bring in wandering souls (B. Veda x. 10–12; Atharva Veda, vii. 1, 9); and these dogs, described as four-eyed (i.e. with two spots above the eyes), recur in the Ayestan dogs that guard the Chin Na Bridge, which descends from this world to the future life (*Vendidad*, ii. 9; *Sah. Dig.* xxxi. 5; cf. Scherman, *Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionarliteratur*, pp. 127–130, and the references there given).

The Aztecs sacrified a red dog to carry the soul of the king across a deep stream (Bancroft, ii. 608), or announce his arrival (ib. iii. 538; cf. Ober, p. 320); in Louisiana they killed their sick and sent dogs on to make the announcement (Stoddart, P. 491).

The Tlaxcalans hold that a wer-man appears as a dog (Dav. *A. vii.* 122). In Béarn a great white wer-dog was believed to sit at cross roads (Wahlen, i. 330).

The Baschilange (Mitt. *A. Ges.* iv. 255) and Tonkinese (*Z. allg. Erdk.* i. 108) believe that human souls take up their abode in dogs.

Actual dog-worship is uncommon. The No-siris and others used a dog (W. R. Smith, p. 291). According to Raffles (i. 365), the Kalangans worship a red dog, and each family keeps one in the house; another authority says they have images of wood in the shape of dogs, which are worshipped, and burnt 100 days after the death of the owner. In the Kamchats two or four dogs are said to be worshipped at the festival called Khicha Puja (Wright, 39 ff.; other Indian cases see Crooke, ii. 218 ff.). The Yorubas have a demi-god, Aroni, god of the forest, with a dog’s head (Miss. *Cath.* 1884, 221). Among the Magi, Bactrians, Hrcanesians, and others the Harranians dogs were sacred, and held to be the brothers of the mystae (W. R. Smith, p. 291).

In ancient Egypt, dogs were commonly respected and mumified, in particular at Cynopolis (Strabo, 812). In ancient Persia the dog was held in the highest esteem, and most rare dogs were exacted for killing it (*Vendidad*, xii. 19–81; *Denkort*, viii. 23). It was employed, moreover, in the sogagd, ‘dog’s gaze’ of the Parsi funeral ceremony, in which a ‘brown four-eyed’ dog or a ‘white fox’ was led to the corpse three times, and was also led three times back over the road traversed by the corpse (Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 264–265; *Karaka, History of the Parsis*, i. 197; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 389 f., 391 f.). The Bahhars say the dog is under the protection of Bak Gahri, god of thunder (*Miss. Cath.* 1894, 133). Sometimes only the use of dog’s flesh is prohibited. The dog is found as a totem in Alaska (Lisiansky, 196) and in West Africa (Ellis, *Tahi-sp.* p. 268); a dog-kin is found in Madagascar (V. Gennep, p. 254). In German New Guinea an offering of food is made to the spirit of a dog (*Nachr. K. W. land*, 1897, 88). Among the Ot Danums the bodies of dogs are buried near the houses, rice and salt are given them in the grave, and rice is strewn on the grave to induce the gods to send the souls to the dogheaven (Schwaner, 78). The Woguls lay the bodies of specially useful dogs in a small hut (Idea, p. 7).

In Egypt a family shaved clean when the dog died (Herod. ii. 96); and so, too, the owner among the Iroquois (W. H. Leenhouts, 1857, 442), which shaved themselves when a dog dies (Hispal, *Papras*, p. 6). The Tunguses take an oath by the dog, drinking its blood (Ideas, 45). The exposure of the dead dogs may spring from a similar idea; it is found among the Magi, Bactrians, Hrcanesians, and others (Spiegel, iii. 703), in Tibet (*J Trioz*, S.B. lxi. 212), Java (*Verh. Bat. Gen.* xxxix. 40), and Kamchatka (Kracheninikov, p. 139). Omens are frequently drawn from dogs (Crooke, ii. 222 f.; *Austral*, 1891, 91; 1894, 74; *Z. Ver. Kolok.*, iii. 134, etc.). The Kalangs drew a bridge at the floor, and if a dog’s footmarks are seen, judge that the ancestors are favourable to a marriage (*Tijd. T.L. V*. xxiv. 424).

Connected with the sanctity of the dog is its use in art; in Borneo it is a frequent tattoo pattern (*JAI* xxxv. 116). As might be expected, the dog is frequently sacrificed. The best known case is that of the Iroquois, who kill a white dog in January as a scapegoat; it is then burnt, and the ashes sprinkled at the door of every house; but there is some doubt as to the antiquity of the practice (Golden Bough, ii. 72, 109). Other authorities vary the details (Ontario Arch. Rep. 1898, 91; Sanborn, *Legends*, p. 7; *Miss. Her. xxv. 91*, etc.). Other dog-sacrifices are found among the Sacs and Foxes (*Miss. Her.* xxxi. 86), the Ottowas (Porro, *Mars*, 19), the Mayans at New Year (Bancroft, *p.* 249).
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703), and in the cacao plantations in May (ib. 692), in Honduras before war (ib. i. 723), etc. (see Bankcroft, passim). The Fugians offer dogs (Voice from S. Appalach., xiii. 211). In Asia, dog-sacrifice is found in China (Ann. Prop. Foi, xxxvii. 217), Aracan (Mitt. Cath. 1881, 69), Java (Med. Ned. Zend. xvi. 307), etc. Not the least of the perks done of a bitch are drowned (Globus, lxxxvi. 180). In Africa a dog is sacrificed by the Baghirmis (Barth, iii. 571; see also Int. Arch. i. 144, xvii. 135, for further references). In Greece the dog was regarded as unclean, but was used for ceremonies of purification in Boeotia; he is probably as the animal of Hecate, to whom the Argives offered a dog. The Spartan ephedi offered a young hound to the war-god (Farnell, Cults, ii. 507 n.). The Romans connected dogs with the Lares (Forrer, Röm. Fest. 101). They were sacrificed on April 25 (ib. p. 90), and in the Lupercalia (ib. pp. 313–314).

The dog is frequently used in magic. In Dahomey a dead dog is hung up as a protection against sorcery (Robertson, Notes on A. 321; Ellipt., Eve, 93). In Greece its flesh was used as medicine (Paus. iii. 250); so, too, among the Chukcheis (Sauer, Reise, 236). Among the Kimbundas its flesh is reserved for warriors (Magyar, Reisen, 309). The dog, more than any other animal, is thought to symbolize evil, and is sacrificed in the more uncertain import. In China a big dog is dressed like a man and carried round in a palanquin in times of drought (Ann. Prop. Foi, xxii. 355). The orang-dongus whip a black dog round the kampung in the hope of new moon. The rice season (Journ. Ind. Arch. ii. 692). The resemblance of the custom to the dog-whipping of the Carnaval, handed down as a popular custom here and there in England (Nicholson, Folklore, p. 22), suggests the origin of the serpent in Chinese (cf. Waling Dijkstra, p. 318). For Jewish beliefs concerning the dog see Kohler, JE iv. 631 f.

Dragons.—Although the dragon is usually associated with the peoples of East Asia, it is by no means unknown in Europe. Not only is the story of St. George and the dragon told (Hartland, Legend of Perseus, pass.), but we find in the Mahabharata the same legend of the fighting dragons as occurs in the Malay Peninsula (cf. Sket, Malay Magic, p. 304). In European folklore the dragon is found as the evil spirit in processions (Grande Encyclopédie, s.v. 'Dragon'), and there are many local dragon legends. Part of Anglesey is said to have been ravaged by a dragon; at last a champion tackled it, but his victory brought him no reward, for he killed it on the Sunday. In the Alps a dragon inhabits a tarn; if a stone is thrown in, rain will follow, however good the weather may be; for if it hits the dragon, its movements throw up so much spray that a mist appears from which the rain condenses (Jecklin, Vollst. i. 44). On Norse horses the dragon sometimes figures as a weather-vane or gable decoration. Germanic mythology abounds in stories of dragons, which inhabit air, water, and earth, bringing evil, more often in the form of animals spitting forth fire and venom, and guarding treasures (Meyer, Germanische Mythologie, 95–100). There is, moreover, an entire cycle of tales, exemplified in the story of Perseus and Andromeda, in which human sacrifices must be made, the dragon, who is usually slayed by the hero (MacCulloch, 381–400).

The association of the dragon with water is by no means confined to the West; in China the waterspout is regarded as a dragon, which is never seen completely, for its head or its tail is always invisible. The dragon and the tiger are at enmity, and if a tiger's bones are thrown into a 'dragon's well,' rain will follow within three days, for the animals fight, and when the dragon moves, rain falls (Doolittle, Social Life, ii. 264, i. 275). The great dragon lives in the sky, and the emperor is the earthly dragon (Gould, Mythical Monsters, p. 215; see pp. 215–257, 377–404). In Japan the dragon is associated not only with water but also with a variety of other things. The dragon produces nine young at a birth, each with different qualities; hence dragons are carved on bells, musical instruments, drinking vessels, weapons, books, chairs, and tables, according to the particular tastes of the different kinds of dragon. As a kind of omen of dangerous places, consequently it is put upon the gables of houses (Natur, 1878, p. 549). India, too, has its dragons; one used to lie in wait for boats or ships, hiding itself on a neighbouring mountain; a criminal obtained his life on condition of riding the country of the rest; he had human figures made, and the bodies filled with hooks, etc.; the dragon devoured them, and perished (Lettres éditées, xviii. 409; cf. Crooke, ii. 129–131). In the same way in the last century a dragon on the borders of Wales was said to have been induced to meet his fate by putting red flannel round a post on which sharp spikes were fixed. Tiamat is the cosmogonic dragon of Babylon (see BAB.-ASSYR. RELIGION).

Eagle.—The eagle is frequently respected, but, except in Australia, the respect does not seem to have risen to an actual cult. In many parts of Australia the eagle-hawk is one of the names of the phratry into which many tribes are divided; in Japan eagles are considered to be a devil; eagles, or birds of prey, are held in high esteem in the game laws of most countries; the eagle is the symbol of the United States; the eagle is also considered to be a symbol of the army (cf. Massignon, Les mitoyen de la croix, 19); the chieftain of the Itincui of Dalmatia is the eagle; the first sacrificial victim of the priests of the old Roman religion was an eagle; the Emperor Augustus sent a live eagle to his friend, Tiberius, as a token of his success; and Augustus, in his will, gave an eagle to the people of Rome as a symbol of the empire (Ann., 17, 44). The Apache think there are spirits of Divine origin in the eagle and other birds (Bancroft, iii. 132). The Ostiaks regard a tree as holy on which an eagle has nested (Latham, Russian Empire, p. 110). In the island of Taui, off New Guinea, a certain kind of eagle is taboo, but there are no totemic ideas connected with it (Zeit. Ethn. ii. xiv. 386, and pass.); the Osages would turn back from an expedition if an eagle were killed (Nuttall, Travels, p. 87). The Samoyeds account it a crime to kill an eagle, and if one is caught in a snare and drowned, they bury it in his deed and on Sunday. The Bosmans regard it as unlucky to kill an eagle (Wiss. Mitt. iv. 442). Some of the aboriginal Peruvians asserted their descent from eagles (Frazer, Tot. p. 5). The Buriats hold that the good spirits sent an eagle as shaman, to counteract the evil deeds of the bad spirits; the first human shaman was the son of the eagle and a Buriat woman (JAI xxiv. 64). The Zuñis, Dakotas, and others keep eagles for the sake of their feathers. The eagle is the totem of the Mokis (after the eagle has flown over them and asked for one of their young), and its feathers are used for ritual purposes; the body is buried in a cemetery, and it is believed that the soul of the eagle goes to the other eagles and returns again as an eagle (Globus, lxxvi. 172). The Hopi hunter purifies himself before going after eagles and makes an offering; one bird has a prayer-stick tied to its foot and is set free (Am. Anth., new ser., iii. 701). The Blackfoot hunter practises many tabus when he is on the hunt for eagles (Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Notes, 177). The Pimas connected the eagle with the Deluge; a bird warned one of their chief prophets, but the warning was disregarded, and only one man was saved (Smiths. Rep. 1871, p. 408). In Jabim, New Guinea, a blighting
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Influence on bananas is attributed to the eagle, and no one plants them when an osprey is in sight (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thir. xii. 95). Among the Ojib was the sailing of an eagle to and fro a good omen (Autob. of Kahgegabough, p. 48; for the egg see also de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 195-197). The eagle is likewise important in Indo-Iranian mythology. It is associated with voda (especially cur. iv. 27) the eagle brings the sacred sōma (which see) to mankind (cf. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, 111 f. and the references there given); while in the Avesta an eagle dwells on the ‘tree hight All’-Hua (Dina-i Yasht, xii. 172). In the midst of Kaua, the god Vouru-kasha (the Caspian), aided by his fellow (Dīnā-i Mainā-y Khraṭ, lxxii. 37-41). From the Avesta the eagle passes into Persian literature as the simūrgh, whence is developed the roc of the Arabian Nights. The feathers of the simūrgh, which dwells on Mount Kaf or Mount Albarz, form talismans for the heroes Tahmurf and Zal (Casartelli, in Compte rendu du congrès scientifique international des Catholiques, 1891, sec. vi. 79-87).

In classical mythology the eagle occupied an important place; it was to feed on monstrous birds, and Roman legions took up their winter quarters where there was an eagle's nest. The eagle is associated with Zeus and the lightning; its right wing was buried in fields and vineyards as a protection against hail. The eagle stone (devera) and parts of the eagle deal (Aegypt. Or. ii. 63). Among the Imerinas with fish-god, a figure probably was Vouru-icasha the Night. (Dina-i Yasht, vii. 103). The elephant was regarded as a sacred animal and a symbol of strength and wisdom (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thir. vii. 252). The hair on the end of the tail is hung at the entrance to the cattle-fold; the end of the ear and the trunk are cut off and buried, the tusks are taken out, and no use is made of the remainder (Kay, Travels, p. 138). According to another authority, excesses are made and the elephant is appealed to during the chase not to crush his pursuers (Lichtenstein, Travels, i. 264), and the tusks are sent to the king (ib. p. 270). The Hottentot hunter must sacrifice a sheep or some other small animal, and none but he may partake of its flesh; any one, on the other hand, may eat of the slain elephant (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thir. vi. 42). The Wanyamwezi seek to propitiate the dead elephant by burying his legs, and the Amazoxas inter with the end of the trunk a few of the articles worn by women and the latter might not look on them (Miss. Cath. 1874, 336). In N. Queensland a connexion between elks and a flood seems to exist (Lumboltz, Among Cannibals, p. 265); although the passage may also be interpreted to mean that those who eat elks have the gift of prophecy. This is regarded as a soul-animal; the Betelaeos believe that the lower classes pass into elks; when the body is thrown into the sacred lake, the first elk that takes a bite becomes the domicile of the soul (ib.). The elk is also a soul-animal among the Dogges (Wilken, Hut Animismi, p. 72) as well as in Caram (ib.), and in Europe (Wolf, Deutsche, i. 232, No. 594). Sacred elks were also known to the Greeks (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Aal"); and the elk is a totem of the Mundari Kola of Bengal and of the Oraons (Crooke, ii. 255). Neither the son nor the descendant of a man is allowed to hunt c. (Dussaud, Histoire et religion des Nosaéria, p. 93). Elephant.—In Siam it is believed that a white elephant may contain the soul of a dead person, perhaps a Buddha; when one is taken, the captor is regarded, and the animal brought to the king to be kept ever afterwards, for he is sold. It is baptized and feted, and when it dies it is mourned for like a human being (Young, Kingdom of the Yellow Rave, p. 390 ff.). In Cambodia a white elephant is held to bring luck to the kingdom, and its capture is attended with numerous ceremonies (Mours, Cambodge, i. 101). In some parts of Indo-

China the reason given for the respect paid to it is that it has suffered much injury after its death; the whole village therefore fêtes it (Mouthot, Travels, i. 252; see also Bock, Temples and Elephants, p. 19 ff.). The cult of the white elephant is found also at Enares, south of Abyssinia; but in view of the frequent respect shown to this animal it is impossible to say in any proof of Indo-Chinese influence. They are regarded as the protectors of mankind, and any one who killed a white or light-coloured elephant would pay the penalty with his life (Int. Arch. xvii. 252). Among the Eskimo it is believed to be the abode of the souls of their ancestors (ib.). The elephant is regarded as a tutelary spirit in Sumatra (Tijdtschr. T. L. V. xxvi. 456). The name is sometimes tabu (Golden Bougl., i. 407). The hunting of the elephant is attended with numerous ceremonial observances. The Wakamis of East Africa prepare for the chase by passing a night with their wives on a kind of anti-hill, of which they believe that the female elephant makes its appearance. On the next day a dance is held, and they make certain marks on their forearms. The hunter buries the trunk and cuts off the end of the tail; the latter he rolls up in palm leaves and puts in his bag; until he next goes to the chase this bag must remain in his wife's care; she also has a right to purchase something with the proceeds of the sale of the ivory; if the hunter quarrelled with her, his next hunt would be unlucky (Miss. Cath. 1874, 44). The Amazoxas offer a sacrifice after killing an elephant (Shaw, Story of my Mission, p. 452); the hair on the end of the tail is hung at the entrance to the cattle-fold; the end of the ear and the trunk are cut off and buried, the tusks are taken out, and no use is made of the remainder (Kay, Travels, p. 138). According to another authority, excesses are made and the elephant is appealed to during the chase not to crush his pursuers (Lichtenstein, Travels, i. 264), and the tusks are sent to the king (ib. p. 270). The Hottentot hunter must sacrifice a sheep or some other small animal, and none but he may partake of its flesh; any one, on the other hand, may eat of the slain elephant (Zts. Geog. Ges. Thir. vi. 42). The Wanyamwezi seek to propitiate the dead elephant by burying his legs, and the Amazoxas inter with the end of the trunk a few of the articles worn by women and the latter might not look on them (Miss. Cath. 1874, 336). In N. Queensland a connexion between elks and a flood seems to exist (Lumboltz, Among Cannibals, p. 265); although the passage may also be interpreted to mean that those who eat elks have the gift of prophecy. This is regarded as a soul-animal; the Betelaeos believe that the lower classes pass into elks; when the body is thrown into the sacred lake, the first elk that takes a bite becomes the domicile of the soul (ib.). The elk is also a soul-animal among the Dogges (Wilken, Hut Animismi, p. 72) as well as in Caram (ib.), and in Europe (Wolf, Deutsche, i. 232, No. 594). Sacred elks were also known to the Greeks (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Aal"); and the elk is a totem of the Mundari Kola of Bengal and of the Oraons (Crooke, ii. 255). Neither the son nor the descendant of a man is allowed to hunt c. (Dussaud, Histoire et religion des Nosaéria, p. 93). Elephant.—In Siam it is believed that a white elephant may contain the soul of a dead person, perhaps a Buddha; when one is taken, the captor is regarded, and the animal brought to the king to be kept ever afterwards, for he is sold. It is baptized and feted, and when it dies it is mourned for like a human being (Young, Kingdom of the Yellow Rave, p. 390 ff.). In Cambodia a white elephant is held to bring luck to the kingdom, and its capture is attended with numerous ceremonies (Mours, Cambodge, i. 101). In some parts of Indo-
intended for, at any rate regarded as, Artemis

Eurynome was depicted with a fish's tail (de Visser, Götter, p. 187; cf. Farnell, Cults, ii. 522), and there were sacred fish in the temples of Apollo and Aphrodite at Myra and Hierapolis, which raises a presumption of a fish cult (de Visser, pp. 177-178; cf. p. 439). Artemis is said to have had sacred fish in a pool at Askelon, which were fed daily and never eaten; according to another account, they were the food of the priests. From Xenophon (Anab. i. iv. 9) we learn that the fish of Chalus were regarded as gods; and Hyginus tells us that the Syrians looked on fish as holy, and abstained from eating them (EBI, x. v. 'Fish'); for fish tabus see W. R. Smith, p. 292 f.). In modern days fish are sometimes sacred in India, where they also play a considerable part in folklore, often serving as life-indexes. They likewise form the favourite food of bhûts (ghosts). Varuna rides on a fish, and Vishnu had a fish-avatâra (Crooke, i. 243, ii. 156, 253 f.). The 'Small People' of Cornwall hate the small of fish (Hunt, Popular Romances of the West, p. 109).

According to the Talmud, fish eaten in the month of Nisan are conducive to leprosy (Pessaḥim, 112b).

Iranian mythology likewise has the kara fish which guards the white höm (Yavšt, xiv. 29, xvi. 198, xxvii, xviii) as well as the 'ox-fish,' which is found in all seas, and whose cry makes 'all fish become pregnant, and all noxious water-creatures cast their young' (Bändakhsân, xix. 7).

Fish are kept in parts of Wales to guard orchards. Most of them will neither eat nor touch fish, giving as their reason that fish are snakes (Fritsch, Drei Jahre, p. 338).

Other fish tabus are found in various parts of Africa (Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie, xxii. 329; Fritsch, Drei Jahre, p. 338). Some tabus are said to be eat fish (Badger, The Nestorians and their Ritual, p. 117). In North Arakan fish may not be eaten at harvest time (JAI ii. 240), and pregnant women are forbidden in Servia (Globus, xxxii. 349), thus reversing the teaching of the Talmud, which especially recommends them to women in this condition (Kethabîm, 61a).

The economic importance of fish makes it natural that they should be protected by tabus.

In Peru sardines are said to have been worshipped in some region, skate in another, dogfish, in another. And so on, according to the species that was most plentiful (Golden Bough, ii. 410). Many tribes do not burn the bones of fish because they did the fish could not reach the dead (ib. Th. Inst. Ethnogr., p. 267). The Hawaiians make a special respect to the first salmon which they take, and many other tabus are observed (ib. p. 411 f.; for treatment of the first fish see also Sélîbîot, Folklore des Pêcheurs, pp. 131, 294, 296). In the Egyptian, sacrifices are still made to the melanurus (Walpole, Memoirs, p. 256; cf. Pliny, XXII. ii.). In other cases magical ceremonies are resorted to in order to secure a good catch. In the Queen Charlotte Islands the fish are strung on a rope with the heads of the chum and king, and are used as fish bait. In one tribe the fisherman is anointed with fish oil and a cloud of smoke is sent over the fire. The fisherman may not be mentioned, no noise may be made in the village, and women and children must remain at a distance from the fishers (Zts. Geogr. Ges. Thür. xii. 35).

In New Caledonia for one kind of fish appeal is directed to ancestral spirits in the sacred wood; offerings are made there, and when the men go into the water, the women extinguish all fires but one; then they perform a dance, and follow. For the sarine a stone wrapped in dried twigs is taken to the cemetery and put at the foot of a post and two sorcerers perform ceremonies (Misz. Cath. 1888, 239). In some countries a fish is sacrificed for success in fishing (Sélîbîot, op. cit. p. 116; Krussolf, Peuple Ziriane, p. 101).

The Ottawas held that the souls of the dead passed into fish (Loti in Jts. 1967, p. 12; cf. soul-animals, p. 493). In Japan the earthquake is explained as the result of the movements of a great fish in the sea or under the land (Natur, 1878, p. 561). In the Middle Ages the same explanation was advanced in Europe (More, Anzeiger, viii. 614). Fish are found as totems in South Africa (Fritsch, Eingeborenen, p. 153), Alaska (Trimmer, Yukon Terr. p. 109), and among the American Indians (Frazer, Tot. p. 4, etc.). Myths of fish descent are also found (ib. p. 6). For fish navas see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 331-355; for the crab, ib. pp. 354-359.

Fowl.—In Greek mythology both Zeus and Apollo had names connecting them with birds, but it is doubtful whether either of them can properly be termed a fly-god; for the appeal to the god was that he would keep flies from interfering with a sacrifice (Farnell, Cults, i. 45). It is equally uncertain whether Beezleebub, whose name is 'Blind Man's fly,' is a god in the connexion with them. In Africa, however, there seems to be a real fly-god. Flies are kept in a temple (Beecham, Ashante, p. 177). The Kal-
moks regard the fly as a soul-animal and never kill it (JAI i. 401). In the North Ghun it is said to be unlucky to kill the last flies, and any one who keeps one alive through the winter will receive a sum of money (Bartsch, Sagen, ii. 185).

In Greece the 'branzen fly' was one of the names of the Blind Man's fly who is the lowest of the totems and it is known as the 'Blind Fly' in Italy (Folklore, xi. 261) and North India (Panyâb NQ, iv. 199).

In the latter country it is a lucky omen for a fly to fall into the ink-well (Crooke, ii. 257). According to the Avesta (Vendidad, vii. 2, viii. 71), the demon of death assumes the shape of a fly. For Jewish legends concerning flies, see Krauss, JE v. 421 f.

Fowl.—The cock is one of the most important sacrificial victims (for Africa see Int. Arch. xvii. 145-148; and in Egypt, the sacred gazelle and vulture are valuable animals in many cases. In many of the Bantu tribes the men abstain from eating domestic fowls (JAI xix. 279). The Araucanian do not eat the domestic fowl, because they regard it as a transformed man (Bol. Inst. Geog. Argent. xv. 740).

In the same way the inhabitants of north Brazil eat turkeys (Globus, xxxiii. 78). A refusal to eat eggs is more widely found, but does not necessarily point to a taboo of the fowl; abstinence from milk in the same way does not imply a taboo of cattle.

The cock figures in spring ceremonies in Europe; in Schiermonnikoog a green branch is fastened at the top of the May-pole, and on it is hung a basket containing a live cock (NQ, 8th ser. x. 194). In the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top and carry it on the last day of May in the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top and carry it on the last day of May in the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top and carry it on the last day of May in the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top and carry it on the last day of May in the same way at Defynog boys put the figure of a cock at the top and carry it on the last day of May (Montgom. Coll. xvii. 298). The cock is one of the forms in which the corn-spirit is supposed to appear (Golden Bough, ii. 296). The cock is sometimes used in the excommunication of evil (ib. ii. 108). Modern Jews sacrifice a white cock on the eve of the Day of Atonement (ib. p. 109; cf. p. 25). We may probably interpret in the same sense the numerous European customs in which a cock or hen is hunted or beaten (Folklore, xi. 250, 251; BET xxxvii. 341); connected with these customs is the name of the 'blind hen' used in parts of Europe for 'Blind Man's Buff.' These customs frequently re-appear in wedding ceremonies, perhaps with the same meaning. The eating of a cock (Tradition, iv. 364; Anthropologie,
iii. 552; Bavaria, i. 390; Russische Revue, xii. 289, etc.) may be a fertility charm; and in like manner a cock and hen were brought before a bridal couple on their wedding day among the Jews of the Talmudic period (Gittin, 51a; for other Jewish beliefs concerning fowls see JE iv. 193, vi. 544). Occasionally a dance is performed in which fowls are frequently kept (cf. Rahlfs, p. 173; Delbrueck, Amtsber., p. 8, etc.). In many of the games with fowls the successful player is termed the 'king.'

Sometimes witches are believed to take the form of cocks, and, according to the Talmud, the demons have the form of fowls (Shulhan Arukh, i. 385). In Holland a cock, put in a vessel over the fire is burnt to ashes to overcome the devil (Globus, xxvii. 195). The cock scares demons and ghosts (cf. Hamlet, i. 1. 149–155), and witches are obliged to return from their Sabbath when the cock crows (cf. art. SATANISM).

It is universally held to be a bad omen for a hen to crow like a cock; the remedy is to kill it; sometimes it is also thrown over the house top. The crowing of a red cock is held in Germany to betoken that a fire will break out in the building on which it is heard; it is considered in China (Mactignon, Superstition, p. 43). The cock is used in various magical ceremonies in China. When a boy is named at the beginning of his sixth year, two priests push a cock backwards and forward with a wad of cotton (Zool. Garten, 1900, 70). On the coffin of a Chinaman whose body is being brought home is a white cock in a basket. One of the three souls is buried with the corpse, but has to be caught; it can find no rest till the grave is covered with earth; the cock is to show the soul the way back to the body (pp. 71). For folk-tales and myths of fowls see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 278–291.

Frog.—Dionysus had the surname of Besarassae, not, probably, because his worship coalesced with that of an earlier fox-deity, but because as lord of the vine he protects the vineyards against the little foxes (CLR x. 21). A fox-god was also known in America (Müller, Ureligion, p. 320). Among the Chiriguana Indians it seems to be a soul-animal (Lettres suivies i. 235). In Europe it is one of the forms of corn in which the corn-spirit appears (Golden Bough, ii. 253); it was also burnt in some of the annual fires. A fox tabu is found at Inishkea (Proc. R. Irish Acad. iii. 431).

The Ceravusia at Rome foxes were set on fire and hunted about the circus, but it seems probable that they were originally driven over the fields (Fowler, Rom. Fest. ii. 771); Liebrecht draws attention to the similarity between this custom and the incident in the Samson story (Zur Volksk. i. 261 ff.; Frazer, Paus. iv. 178). In Finnic mythology the aurora is known as the light of the fox (Grimm, Reinhart Fuch’s, p. xxxi). In China and among the Eskimos the fox is a wer-animal who appears in the shape of a beautiful woman and is worshiped (cf. Thoms.; Bollaert, Eskimosiche Sagen, Nos. 16, 18). The same belief exists in Japan, where some families are noted for their ownership of foxes (see „Possession,' above), and others refuse to intermarry with them on the ground of their supposed magical influence (Chamberlain, Things Jap., s.v. „Fox.’ The fox is the hero of a number of Japanese tales (Globus, xxi. 332).

In Schleswig-Holstein a procession with a fox in a basket takes place in summer, and presents and are collected (Schütte, Idiotikon, iii. 185). To the fox is sometimes ascribed the production of Easter eggs (Globus, xxxiv. 59). The name of the fox is sometimes tabu (Golden Bough ii. 454). As an ominous animal the Lithuanians regard it as insidious (Tettau und Tenme, Volksk. 329); but in Masurien and Siebenbiergen the opposite view is taken (Töppen, p. 77; Haltrich, viii. 4). For folk-tales and myths of the fox see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 121–142.

Frog, toad.—In more than one European country the frog and the toad are hardly, if at all, distinguished; they may therefore be treated together. That this confusion is found in the New World seems clear from the association of the toad with rain, which is often associated with water in Europe. In Ceylon the frog was held to be the undermost of the supporters of the earth; on its back was a turtle, then a serpent, then a giant; and he upheals the world (Miss. Her. 234). In Mexico the Chichas gave the frog a place among their divinities, and had an annual ceremony in connexion with the calendar, in which the frog figured (Bollaert, Researches, p. 49; Dorman, Prim. Sup. p. 256). Among the Araucanians of Chile the „land toad” was called the lord of the waters (ib.). In the mythology of the Iroquois it is told how all the water was originally collected in the body of a huge frog, by piercing which Loskehae formed rivers and lakes (Rel. des Jér. 1656, p. 102). A similar story is told by the American Indians in California, who tell that the Australian blacks have Deluge legends in which the Flood is caused by the bursting of a water-swallowing frog (Brough Smyth, i. 429, 477). Among the Wends the frog is believed to bring newborn children; with this the Sea Dayak belief that the goddess Salampandi takes the form of a frog; if a frog comes into a house, sacrifice is offered to it and it is released; Salampandi is held to make the children, and a frog is seen near a house when a child is born (BCAS, S.B. vii. 140; Schubnburg, Wend. Volkstum, i. 94).

In Boehmis, children are believed to hop about the meadows in the form of frogs (Pless, Kind, i. 12); with this may be connected the Brandenburg belief that a woman who digs up a toad will soon bear a child (Zts. Ver. Volksk. i. 189). A Shan tribe, the Wa, believes itself to be descended from tadpoles (Asiatique Rev., 3rd ser. i. 140). The Bahnars of Indo-China respect the frog, holding that one of their ancestors took that form (Miss. Cath. 1893, 140, 143), and in this shape he is believed to guard their fields. The Karens of Burma explain eclipses by saying that a frog is devouring the moon (ib. 877, 455).

We have seen that the frog is associated with water. Like the Araucanians, the Orinoco Indians held the frog to be the lord of the waters, and feared to kill it even when ordered to do so; they kept it under a pot and beat it in time of drought (Golden Bough ii. 103; Bianco, Conversion del Pirina, p. 63). The Newars of Nepal worship the frog, which is associated with the demi-god Nagas at the control of rain. A sacrifice of rice, ghi, and other objects is made to it in October (Golden Bough ii. 104; cf. Latham, i. 83, who says August). A woman is also said to have a frog in India, or a frog is hung with open mouth on a bamboo, to bring rain (Cooke, i. 73, ii. 256).

In Queensland, British Columbia, and Europe, frogs are also associated with the procuring of rain (GB, loc. cit.), and among the BHils (Bombay Gaz. ix. 1. 855, etc.) in the Malay Peninsula the swinging of a frog is said to have caused heavy rain and the destruction of a kampong (J.R.S., S.B. iii. 88). The toad is sometimes regarded as a tutelary deity in Europe (de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 380), and in Bengal the Colubroidea are said to have no gods, but say, „The toad hears me” (Maclean, Twenty-five Years, p. 265). The Caribbs are recorded to have had idols in the form of toads (Sprague, Auswald, i. 43). In some parts of Germany the toad is regarded as a household genius (Zts. Ver. Volksk. i. 189; MS notes). With
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this compare the belief of the Roumanians that killing a frog or toad is an omen that the killer will murder his mother (Zts. Oest. Volksk. iii. 573). In accordance with this belief, the frog and toad are spared (Folklore, xi. 240, 241; Brandenburgia, viii. 410; Wiedemann, Elaten, 454; Ruszwurm, § 558, etc.). If his other hand, they are regarded as witches (FLJ v. 198; Haltrich, Zur Volksk. vii. 4; Müllenhof, Sagen, i. 212; Holzmaier, Oslolana, p. 37). Accordingly they are often killed (Zts. Ver. Volksk. i. 132; Rolland, Faune pop. iii. 491; cf. Der Wald, the belief of the Chocawas, who assigned to the king of the frogs and other aquatic animals the function of initiating the rain-makers (Miss. Reg. 1820, 408). We may put down to the same idea the belief of the Guaranis that if a frog enters a boat on the Amazon it will sink (As You Like It, ii. 131 f.); a similar belief is found in Germany (Germanica, vii. 435). For myths and folk-tales of the frog and toad, see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 371-379, 379-384.

Goat.—In Greek mythology the goat was associated at Argos with the cult of Hera; youths threw spears at a she-goat, and he who struck her got her as a prize (Farrn., Cults, i. 189), exactly as in modern Europe many animals are shot at, struck at, or otherwise chased by the sport (Folklore, viii. 25). The custom was explained by a myth that Hera had once fled to the woods and the animal revealed her hiding-place. The goat was usually a prohibited animal in the cult of Athena, but was once sacrificed to the deity. The head of the goat is mentioned by Shakespeare (As You Like It, ii. 131 f.) as a sacred animal. In Germany (Germanica, vii. 435) a similar belief is found in connection with the names of holy places (Faune pop. iii. 491); it is said to be the name of the goat in which the corn-spirit is supposed to appear (Golden Bough, ii. 211, 291). In the 17th cent. the Circassian Tatars offered a goat on St. Elias day, a date on which the breast is also offered in some parts. After proving the victim to be worthy, they drew its skin over its ears and hung it up for a time; the flesh was then cooked, and consumed by men and women together, and the skin laid to the skin, and the women left them to their brandy and devotions (Strauss, Reise, p. 116). In Africa the Bijagos are said to have the goat as their principal divinity; on the Massa River the goat is kept as a tetrarch by the divinity. It is still a taboo in Scotland and Bury (Golden Bough, ii. 407; Bastian, FBI). Sometimes, it is said, the goat is offered to the ‘god of the law’ which Soayx saw near Old Calabar (Afr. of West-Africa, i. 106).

The name of the goat is tabu in the Sunda Islands (Golden Bough, ii. 462). The animal itself is similarly hedged round in South Africa (Addison, Travels, 84), Madagascar (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 238), and in West Africa (Int. Arch., loc. cit.). The goat is taboo to some of the Bechuana (Mackenzie, Daydream, 65 n.). ‘Bushmen’ in the text Bechuana divide the animals into two classes, that to look upon it would render them impure, as well as cause them undefined uneasiness; it does not, however, appear to be a totem. If a goat climbs on the roof of a house, it is feared at once, on account of the belief connected with the position of the ‘god of the law’ which Soayx saw near Old Calabar (Afr. of West-Africa, i. 106). The antipathy, therefore, depends on its association with wizards. The goat is an important sacrificial animal, especially in Africa (Int. Arch. xvii. 136). In Athens it was excluded from the Acropolis, but once a year it was driven in for a sacrifice (Golden Bough, ii. 314). Frazer conjectures that the goat was originally a representative of Athene.

From the Jewish custom of sending a goat into the wilderness laden with the sins of the people and art. (Ex. x. 10, 20) has been derived the name for the whole class of animated beings so employed in the expulsion of evils (Golden Bough, iii. 110 ff.). The goat itself is the animal employed by the Loos (Vial, Las Loos, p. 12) in West Africa (Burk, Niger, p. 182) and in Uganda (Ashe, Two Kings, 320). In Tibet a human scapegoat is dressed in a goat’s skin; he is kicked and cursed, and sent away after the people have confessed their sins (South Am. Miss. Mag. xiv. 112).

The Karens of Burma attribute eclipses to the fact that wild goats are eating the luminaries; they make a noise to drive them away (Miss. Cath. 1877, 455).

In Europe the goat appears in processions and...
other functions at Christmas, the Carnival, etc. (Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- u. Feldkulte*, 184 ff., 197). In Bohemia it is thrown from the church in September (Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.* 183 n.), but this apparent association with the harvest may be late; for in Wendish parts the date was July 25th (Kosche, *Charakter*, iv. 461). In Transylvania a sacrificed sow performed its mangled, prolactival, or fertility charm (Mannhardt, *Myth. Forsch.* 198).

For the same reason, perhaps, the goat is given to the parents of the bride in Bulgaria, where, as in the Upper Palatinate, it forms the recognized dish (Arch. vi. 129, Schönherr, 198). Among the Matabele of South Africa the husband gives the bridesmaids a goat to eat (*JAI* xxiii. 84). In the Voësies the younger sister who marries first must give her elder sister a white goat (*Melusine*, i. 454).

The goat is one of the names by which the 'blind man' in Blind Man's Buff is known (*Folklore*, i. 281). For myths and folk-tales of the goat see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* i. 401-428.

Goose.—The goose was one of the animals which were thrown into the well of the milk-hare (Klotz, *Kulturgeschichte*, iv. 324). The Norsemen also refused to eat it (*Life of Bede*, ch. xxxvii.). At Great Crosby it is still regarded as tabu (*Arch. Rev.* iii. 233). But, on the other hand, it is not infrequently eaten with more or less ceremony. The Michaelmas goose is certainly a custom in ancient agriculture, and is hunted and killed in various parts of Europe (*Folklore*, xi. 253; for ceremonial eating see p. 259). In China two red geese are given to the newly married; the explanation offered is that they are faithful to each other, as human beings should be (*Zool. Garten*, 1900, p. 76). The goose is also a gift to the newly married at Moscow (*Anthrop.* iv. 324); it has (see below) in some cases taken the place of the swan (see below). The Mandans and Minnetarees made their goose medicine; the dance was to remind the wild geese, which then prepared to migrate, that they had plenty of good food all the summer, and to entreat them to return to eat in the spring (*Bolier, Indians*, p. 143). There were sacred geese in the Capitou Melid in Greek temples (de Visser, *Gotter*, p. 175). In medieval times (see above), was associated with witches who frequently used these birds as vehicles to carry them to the Sabbat. For myths and folk-tales of the goose, swan, and duck, see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* iii. 207-211.

Hare.—Although the hare is one of the most important animals in the belief and practice of the uncivilized, it cannot be said that it is anywhere regarded as divine, unless it is among the Kal-maks, who call it Salykumuni (the Buddha), and say that on earth the hare allowed himself to be eaten by a starving man, and was in reward raised to the moon, where they profess to see him (Crooke, ii. 50). The connexion of the hare with the moon is also in the Capitou Melid in Greek temples (de Visser, *Gotter*, p. 175). In medieval times (see above), was associated with witches who frequently used these birds as vehicles to carry them to the Sabbat. For myths and folk-tales of the hare, see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* iii. 207-211.

*Other animals.* In a New England Flood legend the survivors took a hare with them to the mountain on which they found refuge, and learnt of the assaying of the waters by its non-return (*Josselyn, Account*, p. 134).

The name of the hare is frequently tabu (*Russwurm, Bibelvolk, § 358*; Holzmaier, *Ostslowa*, p. 105; *FLJ* v. 190; *Brit. Ass. Ethnog. Survey Rep.* [Toronto Meeting], 355; Grimm, *Deuts. Myth.* xxiv. 421; *Folklore*, xi. 240) or eat its flesh (*Lyde, Asian Mystery*., p. 191; Dussaud, *Hist. des Nostrais*, p. 93; *Globus*, xxxiii. 349; *Austral*, lviii, 58, etc.). There is a wide-spread belief that hare-lip is caused if a pregnant woman puts her foot in a hare's form.

Like many other animals, the hare is hunted annually at many places (*Folklore*, iii. 442, xi. 250; *Mem. Soc. Ant. France*, iv. 109; *Melusine*, i. 143; *Ons Volksleven*, viii. 25, and sometimes eaten ritually (*Folklore*, xi. 259). Sometimes the hare is offered to the parish priest (*Ann. Soc. Em. Flandre*, 5th ser. i. 436; *Folklore*, iii. 441 f.). The hare is more especially associated with Easter (*Folklore*, iii. 442), and is said on the Continent to be the Easter egg (Klotz, *Bello Cultiv.*). Although Easter eggs are not, however, of Scandinavian origin, they are a part of the customs of the peoples of Germany, and are mentioned in the *Arch. Volksh.* (i. 118). It is one of the animals in whose form cakes are made at Christmas (Bartsch, *Sagen*, ii. 227; Kolbe, *Hessische Volkskarten*, p. 7; Curtze, *Volkskultur*, p. 441). Among the Slavs hare-catching is a similar game to Blind Man's Buff (*Folklore*, iii. 442). It is said that children come from the hare's nest (Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, p. 410). The hare is said to change its sex every year (Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 362).

The hare is almost universally regarded as an unlucky animal; when a Kalmuk sees one, he utters a cry and strikes a blow in the air (*JAI* i. 401). The Hottentots kill it, though they do not eat it (*Zts. Geog. Geol. Thür.*, iv. 42). Its appearance in a village is thought to betoken fire, both in England and Germany (MS notes; Grommann, *Abegg*, 376; *Am Urquell*, iii. 107; *Zts. Ver. f. Volksh.*, x. 209). In Oesel it is sometimes of good omen (Holzmaier, p. 43). Probably the association of hares with witches is in part responsible for the hare's evil augury. In Gotland the so-called 'hale hare' is a bundle of rag and chips of wood; it is believed to cause cows to give bloody milk (*Globus*, xxxii. 47). On the other hand, hares' heads are found on the gables in the Tyrol, probably as a protection against witchcraft (*Hyle*, p. 156); a hare's foot is used against witchcraft (*Hone, Tablebook*, iii. 674). Among the American negroes, in like manner, a most lucky charm is the left hind foot of a rabbit caught jumping over a grave in the dark of the moon by a red-haired, cross-eyed negro. It is also to be noted that the rabbit is one of the chief figures in the folk-tales of the negroes of the southern United States, where he outwits 'Brer Wolf' and all other animals (*Harris, Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings; Nights with Uncle Remus*, etc.). The hare is also believed to be assumed by the corn-spirit (*Golden Bough*, ii. 369). For myths and folk-tales of the hare see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* ii. 78-82.

*Hawk.—According to the Gallinomeros of California, the hawk flew in the coyote's face in the primeval darkness; apologies ensued, and the pair together made the sun, put it in its place, and set it on fire (*Bancroft*, iii. 85). According to the Yocuts, the hawk, crow, and duck were alone in the world, whirrington, *Mythos*, p. 193). In one aspect he is a culture hero, who teaches to the Indians the medicine dance and the arts of life; in another aspect he is a buffoon, who tries his magic art on various animals and falls ludicrously. In a New England Flood legend the survivors took a hare with them to the mountain.
aspect, by prefixing 'Balli' to its name; they always observe its movements with keen interest, and formally consult it before leaving home for distant parts. The rites are very elaborate, and, if successful, secure that the hawks which gave the omens serve as tutelary deities during absence. After a war expedition, pieces of the flesh of slain enemies are set out as a thank-offering to Balli Flaki for his guidance and protection. The hawk's aid is sought before agricultural operations are entered upon, and a wooden image of a hawk with its wings extended is put up before a new house. During the formal consultation of the hawk, women may not be present; but they keep in their sleeping-places wooden images with a few hawk's feathers in them, which serve magical purposes during illness. In this tribe the hawk seems to be regarded as a messenger of the Supreme God, Balli Penyalong; but the thanks seem to be offered to the birds exclusively. The Kaysans have gone some distance in anthropomorphizing the hawk, though they still retain the idea that it is the servant of the Supreme God; they appeal to it for help, but if they get no reply, they transfer their prayer to Laki Tenangan. The hawk-god, Laki Nho, is described as living in a hawk's nest, and the individual hawk is still of importance. Among the Sea Dayaks the hawk-god, Singalang Burong, has become completely anthropomorphized. He is the god of war, but they say that he never leaves his hawk-sacramentally, though most of his omens, they do not regard the hawk as his messenger. He is the god of omens, clearly developed from a divine hawk species, and, as such, is the ruler of the omen birds; a trace of his hawk-body is also found in India (Crooke, ii. 204), and the cult is not unknown at the present day (ib. p. 208). Koda Pen, the horse-god of the Gonds, is a shapeless stone, like the tiger-god of the Warakis (Halop, Papers, p. 54 n.). For the horse-god, whose name is derived from the word epos, 'horse'; there are also traces of a horse-god, Radiobus (Rev. Celt. xxi. 294). Of less specialized forms of horse-worship traces are to be found in Persia, where white horses were regarded as holy (Herod, i. 50), and Teutonic regions, where their use was restricted to kings, and they were kept in holy enclosures (Tacitus, Germ. 9, 10; Grimm, Dent. Myth., i. 653; Weinhold, Alts. Leben, p. 47). For the horse-god, a derivation from the word Prun, 'horse,' is suggested by the name of the river-god, Penyalong (Teutonia, ii.; de Geburtaniis, Zool. Myth. i. 290-296, 330-355). For superstitious see Pauli-Wissowa, s.v. 'Abergläube,' p. 70.

The horse or mare is one of the forms of the corn-spirit in Europe (Golden Bought, ii. 281), and the sacrifice of the October horse at Rome is usually connected with this idea (but cf. Fowler, Rom. Fest. pp. 248-249; see also Gruppe, Griechische Culte, p. 839 n.). A horse race was held, and the right-hand horse of the victorious Mars. Its head was cut off and adorned with a string of loaves, for which the inhabitants of two districts contended; its blood was caught and used to fumigate the flocks in the spring (Fowler, Rom. Fest. p. 241 f.; Goldschmidt, De Mars, p. 182). The head was fixed to the palace or the Mamilius tower. The custom of fixing horses' heads to buildings is still common, though it does not follow that we can explain the old custom on the same line; the modern explanation is usually that the skulls are intended to keep away evil influences (Trede, Heidenthum, iii. 210). A similar custom exists in Germany and other parts of Europe of carving animals' common horses, heads at the end of the gables (Petersen, Die Pferdewagen, Folklore, xi. 392, 437). The horse is regularly sacrificed in the Old World (Teutonia, ii. 90-148), especially in burial rites (ib. pp. 148-162). It is also offered in South America (S. Amer. Miss. Mag. xxviii. 38).

Processions in which a horse figures take place, commonly at Christmas, in Germany, France, and England (Teutonia, loc. cit.; Nore, Coutumes, pp. 70, 72, 70, 203, 205; RHR xxxviii. 3. 34). The interpretation of these customs is uncertain; the horse was often called a Men's spirit in ancient Persia; the term was brought into connexion with the Wodan in popular belief; a connexion with the corn-spirit has also been suggested; possibly they may be associated with a mid-winter festival of the expulsion of evils, of which other traces can be found (Pfanzer, Beitrag, i. 115 f.).
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At Whitsuntide it was the custom to hold a horse race (Mannhardt, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, pass.), to which we find a Roman parallel in the October race; they may probably be brought into connexion with the cult of vegetation.

The horse is important as an ominous animal (Teutonia, ii. 15), and in modern folklore often serves as a particular from which horses suffer (Pless, Kind, i. 74). Some part of the magical importance of the horse-shoe is perhaps derived from the horse itself. In Wales and Ireland are found stories of the Midas ty fashionable in England (ib. 234).

Hyena.—One of the chief centres of the hyena-cult is the Wanika tribe of East Africa. One of the highest ranks of their secret society is that of the Fisi or hyenas, so called from the power of administering to suspects personating a cobra the deadly bite, before the practice of burial was introduced, devoured the bodies of the dead. It is held that a false oath by the hyena will cause the death of the perjurer. The Fisi also protect the fields from thieves by scaring them to the hyenas, which they do by making certain marks near the boundaries (Report on E. African Protectorate, 1897, p. 10 ff.). The Wanikas look upon the hyena as one of their ancestors, or as in some way connected with their origin and destiny. The death of one is an occasion of universal mourning, and a wake is held over it by the whole people, not by one clan only. It is a great crime to kill one, and even imitation of its voice entails payment of a fine (New, Life Wanderings, p. 188). Hyenas are tabu in Abyssinia and others having transformed themselves in the sight of other people (Tylor, Prim. Culture, i. 310); gold rings are said to be found in the ears of dead hyenas similar to those worn by the budas, who are workers in death and iron. Among the Mvula people in the Bambiana, and the Ewe to the west, a hyena's skin, or what is regarded as at the death of his wife (Mitt. d. Schutzg. v. 156). Among the Fjords the king has a right to the body of the leopard; people loot each other's towns when one is killed; and the killer has the right to appropriate any article outside a house or near a leopard. In the son of any dead leopard to the king (Dennett, Seven Years, p. 180). In Loango a common negro who kills a leopard, which is regarded as a prince, is, and must excuse himself by saying the leopard was a stranger; a prince's cap is put on the leopard's head, and dances are held in its honour. In olden times the capture of a leopard was often the occasion on which the king could leave his chibita (Bastian, Loango-Kuste, p. 243 ff; Int. Arch. xvii. 98). When a leopard is killed in Okowa, it is always respected and brought to the hunter's village. Representatives of neighbouring villages attend, and the gall-bladder is burnt coram populo; each person whips his hands down his arms to disavow guilt (Kingsley, Travels, p. 94). In Jabel Nuba, a hunter, on killing his first leopard, may not dress himself for several weeks; the skin belongs to the chief; the hunter's tabu is broken when the last novice to kill a lion has given him a slice of meat and received from him his shoes and the animal's skin or girdle, or if he loses his head during his training is over, has to put on the skin of a hyena, as a sign that the Amudhollozi have endowed him with the necessary powers (ib.). In ancient Arabia it was believed that, if a hyena trod on a man's shadow, it deprived him of the power of speech and motion; and that, if a dog, standing on a roof in the moonlight, cast a shadow on the ground and a hyena trod on it, the dog would be dragged from the roof as if a rope had been made fast to it (Golden Bough, ii. 287). In Talmudic belief (Babba Kamma, 16a), the male hyena goes through the stages of a bat, 'arapd, nettle, thistle, and demon, each lasting several years.

Leopard.—The cult of the leopard is widely distributed in West Africa. In Dahomey it is especially sacred to the royal family; it is also an Ewe totem. A man who kills a leopard is liable to be put to death; but usually he pays a fine and performs a propitiatory deed in North India it is a lucky omen for a horse and his rider to enter a field of sugar-cane while it is being sown (Crooke, ii. 207). The horse, like the bull, is a fertility animal (ib.). If a boy is put on a horse immediately after his birth, Mecklenburgers think that he has the power of curing various maladies from which horses suffer (Pless, Kind, i. 74).

The Bakwiris regard the leopard as possessed by evil spirits (Beitr. zur Kolonialpol. iii. 194). On the Gold Coast it is regarded as the abode of the spirits of the dead (Müller, Pets, p. 9; Dusia, SPIRITS [Mitt. Geogr. Ges. Thür., 18], which may endanger the life of the hunter or make him fire at a man in mistake for an animal. The hunter, when successful, announces his triumph to those who have killed a leopard previously; then a battle of grasshoppers on his mouth, and that he may not speak; his comrades tell the leopard why it was killed—because it had killed sheep; a drum gives the signal for an assembly; and the leopard is fastened to a post, its face to the sky, and carried round the town, its slayer behind it on the shoulders of another man; on their return the leopard is fastened to a tree, and the hunter is smeared with coloured earth, so as to look like a leopard. Thereupon they imitate a leopard's movements and voice; for nine days after the death of the leopard they have the right to kill all the hens they can catch. In the afternoon the body is cut up, and portions are sent to the chief of the village and others; the hunter retains the teeth, head, and claws (ib.). In Agome the hunter observes the same rites in anticipation as at the death of his wife (Mitt. d. Schutzg. v. 156). Among the Fjords the king has a right to the body of the leopard; people loot each other's towns when one is killed; and the killer has the right to appropriate any article outside a house or near a leopard to the king (Dennett, Seven Years, p. 180). In Loango a common negro who kills a leopard, which is regarded as a prince, is, and must excuse himself by saying the leopard was a stranger; a prince's cap is put on the leopard's head, and dances are held in its honour. In olden times the capture of a leopard was often the occasion on which the king could leave his chibita (Bastian, Loango-Kuste, p. 243 ff; Int. Arch. xvii. 98). When a leopard is killed in Okowa, it is always respected and brought to the hunter's village. Representatives of neighbouring villages attend, and the gall-bladder is burnt coram populo; each person whips his hands down his arms to disavow guilt (Kingsley, Travels, p. 94). In Jabel Nuba, a hunter, on killing his first leopard, may not dress himself for several weeks; the skin belongs to the chief; the hunter's tabu is broken when the last novice to kill a lion has given him a slice of meat and received from him his shoes and the animal's skin or girdle, or if he loses his head during his training is over, has to put on the skin of a hyena, as a sign that the Amudhollozi have endowed him with the necessary powers (ib.). In ancient Arabia it was believed that, if a hyena trod on a man's shadow, it deprived him of the power of speech and motion; and that, if a dog, standing on
Among the Yaos, leopards are among the animals whose figures are drawn on the ground at the initiation of girls (Macdonald, *Africana*, i. 131). The leopard is one of the forms assumed by wizards in West Africa (Wilson, *West Africa*, p. 398), among the Madis and Latuwas (Stuhlmann, *Mit Einen Taube*, p. 901), and the Drazu (Petit, *Arch. xvii.*). The Nubas believe that the spirit of a panther passes into the kudjur (‘priest’) when he gives an oracle; he sits upon a stool covered with panther skin and imitates the panther’s cry (von Hellwald, *Naturgeschicht. ii.*). In Calabar, on the other hand, the leopard is one of the animals whose images are placed in the streets at the Ndog, or purification festival, for evil spirits to pass into (Bastian, *Fetich*, p. 21 ff.). In South Africa the heart of the leopard was sometimes eaten to gain courage, and portions of the animal were scattered over the warriors by magicians (JAI xix. 282). Among the Fins a leopard-skin girdle was held to render them invisible (Du Chaillu, *Voy. et Av. p. 502*). Zulu warriors ate leopard flesh to make them brave, and a Zulu would sometimes give his children a leopard’s blood to drink, or its heart to eat, in order that they might become strong and courageous (Golden Bough, ii. 354). The gall of a leopard was worn as a charm, and in West Africa its whiskers are believed to have magical properties (Kingsley, *op. cit.* p. 543).

Lion. — In Egyptian mythology the tunnel through which the sun passed was supposed to have a dead lion or eagle placed at the doors of palaces and tombs to ward off evil spirits. There was a lion-god at Baalbek, and songs were sung when it devoured a calf. It was associated with Ra and Horus, and possibly with the dead lion that was intended as an abode for Ra (Budge, *Gods*, i. 390; Damascius, *Vit. Isid.* p. 203). There was a lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, and the Arabs had a lion-god Yaghuth (EBI iii. 2804). In modern Africa we find a lion-idol among the Balondas. It is made of grass covered with clay, and resembles a crocodile more than anything else; it is placed in the forest, and, in cases of sickness, prayers are offered and drums beaten before it (Livingstone, *South Africa*, pp. 292, 304). With its traditional position as king of the beasts, the lion occupies, however, an undistinguished place among the animals in savage belief and custom. It is regarded as the abode of the souls of the dead on the Congo and the Zam- bezi, and is associated with the lion-god between the Tsang and Mashonas (Bastian, *Loango-Kuste*, i. 224; Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 159; Baumann, *Massai-land*, p. 187; Brown, *On the S. A. Frontier*, p. 217; cf. Speke, *Journ. pp. 221, 222*). As a rule, it is the chief who is thus transformed; but among the Angonis there is a universal desire to be transformed into a lion after death (ZE xxxii. 199). The name-tabu is not by any means uncommon; the Arabs call the lion *Abu-I-Abbas*; the negroes of Angola call it *Nyaka*; both Benga and Mbuti avoid using its proper name (Golden Bough, ii. 456); the Hottentots avoid using its name on a hunting expedition, and call it *gei gab* (‘great brother’). In South Africa the same ceremonies are gone through by the slayer of a lion as of a leopard or a monkey (see below). Another account says that the hunter is secluded for four days, purified, brought back, and feasted (Lichtenstein, *Travels*, i. 231). In East Africa the dead lion is brought before the king, who does homage to it, prostrating himself on the ground and rubbing his face on its muzzle (Becker, *Vie en Afrique*, ii. 298, 305). Among the Fulahs the killer of a lioness is made prisoner, and women come out to meet the party; the lioness is carried on a bier covered with white cloth. The hunter must be released by the chiefs of the village when he pleads, in reply to the charge that he has killed a sovereign, that it was an enemy (Gray and Dockard, *Travels*, p. 143). The lion is one of the animals whose shape is said to be assumed by wizards; this belief is found on the Zambesi (Livingstone, *Zambesi*, p. 169), where a certain drink is said to have the power of transforming them; among the Tumbukas, men and women wander about smeared with white clay, and are held to have the power of assuming the shape of lions (Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, p. 74); the Bushmen say that the lion can change itself into a man (Lloyd, *Short Account*, p. 20). In Greek cult a lioness was led in a procession at Syracuse in honour of Artemis (Farnell, *Cults*, ii. 432). The lion is used in magic to give courage (Golden Bough, ii. 354, 356; JAI xix. 282). It figures in Masai fables, where it is outwitted by the mongoose (Hollis, *Masai*, p. 198), and among the Bushmen (Lloyd, loc. cit.). In Hottentot stories it is outwitted by the jackal (Blek, *Reynard*, p. 5); in another story the lion thinks itself wiser than its mother, and is killed by a man (ib. p. 67). In like manner, in an Indian tale, first found in the Syrian Bible (Benley, *Panchatantra*, i. 179 ff.), and widely borrowed, appearing even in Tibet (O’Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, pp. 51-55), the lion is outwitted by the hare. For lion myths see de Gubernatis, *Cost. Myths of Greece*, i. 153.

Lizard. —Of lizard myths unconnected with any cult or tabu there are but few, the best known and most widely distributed being the Bantu account of the origin of death; according to this, the chameleon was the only living creature that he was to live, the lizard some time after with a contrary message; the chameleon dwaddled on its way, and as a result man is subject to death (Kid, *Essential Kafir*, p. 76). In the Sandwich Islands lizards are believed to form part of the food of the soul which goes with the body after death (Miss. Cath. 1880, p. 626), while in Zoroastranism the lizard forms part of the food of the damned (*Bundahishn*, xxvii. 48). In the Malay Peninsula the Oran small flying lizard is the emissary of the great flying serpent which guards each man’s life-stone; they cause the souls of the newborn to enter their bodies. They can change at will into crocodiles, and cause the death of any one whose life-stone is buried (ZE xcviii. 57). It is believed by the people with the same myth about Moko (Gill, *Myths*, p. 239). The Maoris tell a story according to which the first of their race was drawn out of the water at the Creation by a lizard (Gerland, *Sidus*, p. 257). In South Australia the lizard is believed to have divided the sexes; it is a so-called sex-totem, the men destroying the female and the women the male lizards (Frazer, *Tot.* p. 52). Stories of lizard births are told in Indonesia and New Guinea (Wilken, *Het en Beeld*, i. 187; *Zendelingsoer*, 1891, p. 20). In New Zealand, Yap, and the Banks Islands, the lizard is regarded as the residence of the souls of the dead (Shortland, p. 93; cf. JAI x. 298, 297, xix. 120; Hermens, *Siducerumin*, p. 92; Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 180; cf. *Future Life*, above).

The main areas of lizard-cult are Polynesia (Wilken in *Bijdragen T.L.V.* 6th ser. vol. v. p. 498 ff.) and West Africa (*Int. Arch.* xvii. 112). The evidence in the latter case is, however, unsatisfactory; Dalheim is mentioned as one of the habits of the cult, but Ellis (*Ewe-speaking Peoples*) does not notice it. In Bonney, however, there appears to have been a practice of rescuing lizards which were in danger (Bastian, *Bilder*, p. 160); and Crowther
is said to have abolished the worship of the lizard-god (*Globus*, x. 285, xii. 256). An old writer describes a custom of bringing food to a lizard-god; it seems to have been the sacred animal of a secret society (Pruneau de Pommegre in Cuhn's *Sammlungen*). On the other side of Africa the tribal god of the Shilluks is said to appear in the form of a lizard (Katze, p. 426). In Polynesia respect for the lizard was widespread. In New Zealand, according to one account (but cf. Shortland, p. 93), it was regarded as an incarnation of Tangaloa, the heaven-god; a green lizard was more especially associated with him, and its habits of coming out and basking in the sun (Dieffenbach, *Travels*, ii. 116; Wilken, *loc. cit.*); so, too, in Samoa (*Globus*, lxxiv. 256 ff.). In the Hervey Islands, Tongaiti or Matarau (the night-heaven) was likewise identified with a spotted lizard, which comes out at night (Gill, *Myths*, p. 10). In Samoa not only family gods but general deities assumed lizard form, among them Le Sa, Pili, and Samaui (Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 44, 40, 72). An idol in lizard form, or rather a house-god, is reported from Easter Island. In the society of older wolves, and *Ass.* ii. 49. Moko, the king of the lizards, is recognized all over Polynesia (Gill, *Myths*, p. 229). In Micronesia lizard-worship was found in the shape of a cult of the dead. Lizards were kept in special enclosures, and the lids of their cages were fastened with a bunch of heath and laurel to the top of a high tree in honour of the magpie (*Mem. Soc. Antiqu.* viii. 451). For myths and folk-tales of the magpie see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* ii. 385-387.

Magpie.—It is held to be unlucky to kill the magpie (*Folklore*, xi. 241), but in Sweden it is the custom to rob its nest on May day and carry the eggs or young round the village (Lloyd, *Peasant Life*, p. 237). Its habits are not very satisfactory evidence could be quoted with regard to them (Int. *Arch.* xvii. 131) until the publication of Mr. Stow's collection (Native Races of South Africa, pp. 531, 533), from which it seems abundantly clear that Cag was sometimes conceived of in the form of a child, sometimes under the form of the caterpillar, *nogo* (see 'Cult' above). It seems clear that the Hottentots regarded the insect as auspicious (Merckens, *Beitrage*, p. 86), and worshipped it on that account; the whites call it the 'Hottentot god'; they abstain from injuring it (Schön, *Deutsch. Sp. Africa*, p. 101). Among the Tambukas, certain insects, among which is the mantis, are supposed to give residence to ancestral souls (Elmslie, *Wild Nyomi*, p. 71). In the Bismarck Archipelago there are two exogamous tribes of which one is named after the mantis (*JAL* xx. 38).

Monkey.—Even if it was not a common savage truth to believe in the descent of man from one of the lower animals, the resemblance between human beings and monkeys would be sufficiently strong to suggest such a tale. Consequently we find not only that man is regarded as an evolved monkey, but also that the monkey is explained as a degraded man (Taylor, *Prim. Cult.*, i. 370 ff.; *Mes. Cath.* 581, 97; *Spix*, i. 229; *Deutsche Geogr.* iii. 290). The lizard is omenous, also as the familiar of the wizard. The lizard is especially ominous in India (Pandian, *Indian Village Folk*, p. 130; *Asiatic Researches*, 1857); and the lizard of *Betjeman* (Pachara) sacrifice a lizard (*Culcutta Rev.* lxxviii. 296). The lizard is frequently employed in magic, sometimes as a love-charm (*Austral*, li. 912), or curtural charm (Jones and Kroph, *Folktales*, xli.), or for luck (Rolland, *Folktales*, li. 129). A lizard buried alive under a threshold is a protection against a whirlwind, whilst its tail is a *Gousse* (*Culcutta*, viii. 22; Müllenhof, *Sagen*, i. 212), but elsewhere it is regarded as maleficient in this position (Roehholt, *Deutscher Glaube*, ii. 167). In Made- gascar the lizard is buried to cure fever (v. Gennep, *Tabou*, p. 271). In Tripoli the sight of a lizard is held to cause women to bear speckled children (*Globus*, xxxiv. 27). Connected doubtless with its magical qualities is the widespread use of the lizard as an art motif (*Publ. Kgl. Mus. Dresden*, vii. 14; *Bastian Festschrift*, p. 167). In classical antiquity the lizard was used in medicine (Pauli-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aberglaube'). For myths and folk-tales of the lizard see de Gubernatis, *Zool. Myth.* ii. 385-387.
Togo, Africa, where the inhabitants of a village daily put meals for their benefit. The Kunamas and Bareas are also said to worship them (Int. Arch. xvii. 93). At Porto Novo, where twins are not killed, they are believed to have as tutelary spirits a kind which animates small monkeys; such children may not eat monkey meat (J. Arch. Cact. 1884, 266). Among the Hottentots the name of the monkey is tabu at the hunter (Zts. Geog. Geol. Thir. vi. 41). The Nkomis do not eat gorilla meat, and give three reasons: first, that their fathers did not; second, that the gorilla has no tail; and third, that it drinks the blood of the dead (Miss. Cact. 1894, 601). There is an ape tabu among the Bataas (Tijdshr. T. L. V. xxi. 209). Among the Maxurunas a young mother may eat no ape meat (Spix, iii. 1188); and this tabu is extended to all the women on the island of Nias (Tijdshr. xxvi. 282). In many cases the respect for the monkey is based on the belief that it is the abode of a human soul (Int. Arch. xvii. 93; Home and For. Miss. Rec. 1889, 302; v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 221); sometimes it is believed that a man who kills a monkey is turned into one after death (Hutchinson, Impressions, p. 163); the sacrosanct monkey is affirmed to be so only to certain families (Bastian, Bilder, pp. 145, 160). In Madagascar the babankotto is hunted out of the bush, and in some parts the natives will not kill it or trap it (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 214); the Betiomarakas bury dead monkeys, and call the babankotto their grandfather, holding it to be the abode of the souls of the dead (ib. p. 221). A similar belief is held among the Bastus of the Asmat district (Casalis, Tijdschr. Nieuw Oost. 1913). In many cases a myth is told to account for the respect shown by the Malagasy (ib. pp. 217-220). Among the Basutos the monkey is a totem (Casalis, The Basutos, p. 221); Arbousset and Daumas, p. 92; Folklore, xv. 112). Among the Betiomarakas Eakimos is a baboon who has to sacrifice a sheep or goat and hang the lowest vertebra round his neck, or he will suffer from bum-bago (Zts. Geog. Geol. Thir. vi. 42). The Tucuacas of Brazil wear a monkey mask in some of their ceremonies (Spix and Martius, iii. 1188). In China a monkey is regarded as lucky in a stable—to keep away sickness (Zool. Garten, which includes an offering to the king of the monkeys is performed to cure stomach ailments (Zool. Garten. Est. Geol. xxi. 9). For myths, etc., of the monkey see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth., ii. 97-119.

Mouse. — The mouse was especially associated with Apollo Smintheus; in his temple at Hamaxitus a golden statue of this god, and mice were actually kept in the temple (de Visser, Götter, pp. 158, 178, 181). Various stories were told to account for this association of the animal with the god, none of which is necessarily true. We need not assume that there was originally a mouse-cult at Hamaxitus; the association of Apollo and the mouse may be late. If the god was appealed to, as god of day, to drive away the mice, which come in the night, his statue might well symbolize his conquest of them by putting the figure of a mouse beneath his plume, and raising the belief that he was the god of mice; then the custom of keeping mice in the temple. It does not seem necessary to regard Apollo as an anthropomorphized mouse, any more than Dionysus as a transformed fox, because he was known as Bacchus. (For a discussion of the question, and of myths of mice gnawing bow-strings, etc., see C. B. vi. 14, etc.; Grohmann, Apollo Smintheus.) The Dakotan explanation of the waning of the mouse is caught out of captivity (Riggs, D. Grammar, p. 165). The Chipewiyans attribute a flood to the mouse having taken some of the bag in which the heat was stored, in order to mend his shoes, thus causing the snow to melt (Petitot, Traditions, p. 376). According to a Hucul myth, the mouse gnawed a hole in Noah's ark, and is unclean (Kaindl, p. 95). According to the Haidas, the mouse contains the soul of a dead man; in every one's stomach are numbers of mice, the souls of his deceased relatives (JAI xxi. 21). In Germanic belief, in like fashion, the soul assumes the form of a mouse, and in this form may come forth from a sleeper's mouth (Meyer, German. Myth. p. 64). In Celebes the fanonan soul is believed to turn into a mouse and eat the rice; the soul of a suicide is especially dangerous; if the rice is not eaten, they take away its soul (Med. Ned. Zend. xliii. 221, 223). The name of the mouse is tabu in parts of Europe (Golden Bough, i. 455). The Huculas hold that it is unlucky for a girl to kill a mouse (Kaindl, p. 73); and in India it is a sin to kill rats, which, if troublesome, must be induced to cease molestations by promises of sweetmeats (Campbell, Spirit Base of Belief and Custom, p. 267). In Bohemia a white mouse should not be killed; it should be taken out of the house and fed, otherwise luck will desert the house and other mice increase in numbers (Grohmann, Abergl, No. 405). Sometimes spells are used to keep down the number of mice (Golden Bough, ii. 424); sometimes the same result is aimed at by casting out the mouse, or burning it (Ibid. xxvi. 240). Elsewhere one or two mice are caught and worshipped, while the others are burnt; or four pairs of mice are married and set adrift, in the idea that this will cause the other mice to go away (Abergl). In Babylonia, a mouse must be thrust alive into a tree trunk, to prevent them from paralyzing the sheep or ravaging the lands (Hone, Tablebook, iv. 468). The belief that a shrew dies when it reaches a path is found among the Huculas (Golden Bough, ii. 427). Another custom is found in Greece (Paula-Wissowa, s. v. Aberglaube, p. 80). The ‘blind mouse’ is a common name for 'Blind Man's Biff.' A mouse mask is used in an Austrian ceremony (Folklore, xi. 261, 263). Mice are an omen of death; they leave the house at the death of the master (Rochholz, D. Glauben, i. 173, i. 157). Near Flensburg a white mouse is a death omen; in Wendish districts it is a good omen (M S. notes). (For a discussion of the Mouse as a figure of Bingen von Malstatt, Zur Völkskunde, p. 1 f.). Mice figure in the mythology of the Kamchatchans, and are represented as playing many tricks on the stupid deity Kutka (Steller, Kamtsch. p. 255). The mouse is an evil animal in Zoroastrianism, and the killing of one mouse is equal in merit to slain thousands (Visser, Dar, xiii. 9; cf. Plutarch, de Invitio et Oidio). In Jewish folk-belief eating anything gnawed by a mouse causes loss of memory; whence cats, which eat mice, do not remember their masters (Horayoth, 1b). For mouse myths and folk-tales see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth., ii. 65-72.

Owl. — Although the owl is ominous in many parts of the world, it does not seem to figure largely in mythology. The Kalmucks have a saga connected to the owl's head, which is believed to resemble the story of Bruce's escape. From time they are said to wear a plume of owl's feathers on their heads, and reverence the white owl. Whenever they celebrate any great festival, according to another account, they wear coloured owls' feathers. The Woguls are said to have had a wooden owl to which they fastened the legs of a natural one (Strahlenberg, Het. Geo. Desc. p. 434). The owl was respected in Lithuania (Glóbus, liii. 66) and amongst the Monacites (Vogel, xi. 214), and is not killed by the Maccus of British Guiana, as being the familiar of the evil spirit (Waterton, Wanderings, p. 223). Some of the S. E. Bantsus will not even touch it, probably on account of its association with sorcerers (Fleming, Southern Africa, p. 265).
Among the Bechuanas it is regarded as a great calamity if an owl rests on a house, and the witch-doctor is sent for at once; he scrambles up to the place where it has perched, and purifies it with his charms (Mackenzie, Ten Years, p. 392). In the same way the appearance of an owl in the Capitol demanded that this jackal—purified with white and sulphur (Hopf, Orakelalter, p. 101). According to the Talmud, it is unlucky to dream of an owl (JE ix. 452); while in Germanic folk-lore witches and cruel stepmothers appear in the form of this bird (Meyer, German. Myth. p. 112). The owl is importantly associated with the thirteenth month, and its cry may not be imitated, because it can bewitch (Batchelor, p. 409); the eagle-owl is regarded as a mediator, and is worshipped on the chase; its head and beak are worn at feasts (ib. p. 413); these owls are kept in cages, like the bear, and killed (ib. p. 414); they are regarded as unlucky, and the barn-owl may not be eaten (ib. pp. 424, 428). Many American tribes associated the owl with the dead; the bridge over which the dead had to pass in the Ojibwa belief was known as the ‘owl bridge’ (Bell, P. of Am. ii. p. 296). The barn-owl is a so-called sex-totem (Golden Bough, iii. 415). The Chinese offer owl’s flesh roasted in oil when they dig up the phytopallace actinaeum, whose properties are believed to be those of the mandrake. The Chinese hogs are associated with the method of purifying its soul (T’oung Pao, vi. 342). The Burias keep an owl, or hang up the skin of one, to protect children against evil spirits (Globus, ii. 252). It is one of the animals hunted in Europe (Folklore, xi. 250). Owls are frequently associated with magicians; the Zulus believe that they are sent by wizards (JAI xx. 115); among the Yorubas the owl is the messenger of sorcerers, who gather at the foot of a tree and send owls out to kill people; if one gets into a house, the inmates try to catch it and break its claws and wings, believing that this injures the sorcerer (Miss. Cath. 1884, 240). The Ojibwas believe that within three days after the burial of a man the evil spirit comes in the form of an owl, shooting out fire from his beak, and takes out the heart of the dead man; they endeavour to drive it away before it effects its purpose (Manitoulin, p. 49). Among the Pawnees, on the other hand, the owl is the chief of the night, when it gives both aid and protection (2 RBEW ii. 108). The Greeks professed the owl as the badge of their profession (Brinton, Myth., p. 128), and in Brazil the appearance of an owl is accounted a proof of its connexion with supernatural beings (Martius, Zur Ethn. p. 78). In the Malay peninsula the owl is one of the messengers of the pontianak (Degbie, Malay Pen., p. 484). In Madagascar the Anterimases give the name lolo (‘owl’) to the souls of sorcerers (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 262). Slightly different is the Californian belief that the great white owl is an evil spirit, on which account the student in its frequent form of a black, to appease it (Cont. Am. Éta., i. 143), or, more probably, as a counterpart, just as in Garenganze the use of a whistle made of the windpipe of the horned night-bird is held to avert the ill-luck it brings (Armit, Garenganze, p. 238). On the same principle, possibly, the owl is frequently seen nailed to the barn or stable door.

The owl is sometimes used in magic. If its heart and right foot are laid on a sleeping person, it is said that he confesses all he has done. If an owl’s liver is hung on a tree, all the birds collect under it (Wolf, Beiträge, i. 252). Sometimes, in spite of its character as a bird of ill omen, it is regarded as bringing good fortune. If it flies into a grove of hickory (W. H. Log., loc. cit.), its cry frees from fever, and its feathers bring peaceful slumber (Globus, iii. 271). Its appearance near a house where a pregnant woman is expected a easy delivery, among the Wenda (Haupt, Volksleider, ii. 258); or the birth of a boy, or other good fortune, in Dalmatia (Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien, vi. 593). In Athens, as the bird of Athenes, it was auspicious (Paus. Wissowa, s. v. ‘Aberglaube,’ p. 70). In India the owl’s death is an apotropaic sign, that is, it is supposed to have a preventive and curative value. Among the Hindoos a recent case loses cause of memory. On the other hand, eating the eyeballs of an owl gives the power of seeing in the dark, while, if an owl is fed with meat all night by a naked man, the latter acquires magic powers. Nevertheless the owl is a bird of bad omen among the Aztecs (I. 277). However, it is not so in the mythology of the owl see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 244-250.

Peacock.—Peacock-worship has often been attributed to the Yezidis. The latest account is that given by J. W. Crowfoot (Man, 1901, No. 129), who got his information from an Armenian. It appears that the Malik Tā’ūs (‘King Peacock’) is shaped like a bird; it has a hole in the middle of its back with a lid to it. It is brought by the head of the village, wrapped in linen, and filled with water. The priest kisses it, and by its means the whole flock is tricked into following the bird. When the peacock comes to the beak, the others following his example. Five bronze images are sent round continually, and every Yezidi must visit the figure three times a year. An equation, Tā’ūs=Tammuz, has been proposed, while the other name, giving the figure of the plant, is an equation, Tammuz worship, the peacock coming in through a piece of folk etymology, though the Yezidis themselves hold that ‘Malik Tā’ūs revealed himself in the form of a handsome youth with a peacock’s tail when he appeared in a vision before Sheikh Aa’di, the prophet of the faith’ (Jackson, Persia, Past and Present, p. 12). Elsewhere in Asia Minor the peacock is regarded as the embodiment of evil (Man, loc. cit.; JAI xx. 270). According to a Javanese (Muhammadan) myth, the peacock was guardian at the gate of Paradise and ate the devil, thus conveying him within the gate (Med. Ned. Zend. xxxii. 237 ff.). On the other hand, in Kutch the peacock may neither be caught nor annoyed (Ais. Geogr. Ges. Thür. xv. 58). In Europe, peacocks’ feathers are considered unlucky; their use is prohibited in church by a canon of the Lateran, which is somewhat remarkable since the peacock is associated with the Virgin Mary, and is the emblem of the Virgin Mary in Eastern and Western churches. In Greek religion the bird was associated with Hera and was kept in her temple (de Visser, Gött., p. 175). In India the peacock is the totem of the Jats and Khandhas, and in the Panjáb snake-demons. In Egypt they were stuffed as peacocks’ feathers in a pipe. The feathers of the bird are also thought to have cured the sick to scare disease-demons, and are tied on the ankles to cure wounds (Crooke, ii. 45, 150, 233, 250). For the mythology of the peacock see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 329-329.

Pig.—The pig is the most important sacrifice animal of Oceanica, and is also a frequent victim in Africa (Int. Arch. xvii. 145). Its flesh is taboo to Muhammadans and Jews generally, to the males of S. African Bantu (JAI xix. 279). It is a sacred animal in Egypt (Golden Bough, ii. 285; RHR xxxviii. 530). There are good grounds for supposing that the cult of Demeter was in part developed from that of a porciform corn-spirit (GB, p. 290). It is possible to explain features of the myths and cult of Atis and Adonis in a similar way (ib. p. 304), and Frazer has maintained the same of Osiris (ib. p. 310). Pigs were taboo in Egypt, and swine-herds might not enter a temple; but once a year pigs were sacrificed to Aries (ib. p. 305). The Harranians abstained from pork (Dussaud, Hist. des Nègres, i. 350). This may once a year (Chwolson, Die Sbstab., ii. 42). The Jews ate it secretly as a religious rite (Is 65 6o). Pigs were worshipped in Crete (de Visser, Gött., p. 101). (For Greek facts see JHS xiv. 152-154). There is some reason for connecting the Celtic Ceridwen with the pig; in modern Welsh folklore
the pig figures as a bugbear for children, and is believed to appear at Allhallows (RHR, loc. cit.). In European folklore we find the pig hunted at certain times (Folklore, xi. 232), there is a story of a pig ancestor in Wales (ib. 234), and the grunting of pigs is imitated during an eclipse of the moon (Panzer, Beitr. ii. 313). The pig is regarded as lucky in the towns of Germany, but its original aura was unsuspectingly. In Gaul, on the other hand, it has long been regarded as of good omen (Holznajer, Oslaniana, p. 43). In Germanic mythology the pig is associated especially with storms, and, as a fertility animal, with the harvest-time (Meyer, Germ. Myth. pp. 102 f., 286 f.). In Celebes the pig supports the earth, and causes an earthquake when he rests against a tree (Journ. Ind. Arch. ii. 837). The pig is sacrificed in India to propitiate the chowra-goddess and other disease-demons, as well as to certain sainted dead, and to ghosts to prevent them from molesting the living (Crooke, i. 126, 137, 197, 200, 206 ii. 58). In Zoroastrism the form of the boar is one of those assumed by Verethragna, the god of victory (Yasti, xiv. 15). For the cosmogonic boar see Erman, p. 357.

Pigeon.—Various species of pigeons are tabu in Madagascar (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 266), India (Crooke, ii. 246), and Europe (Folklore, xl. 341; Ausland, i. 1016, etc.). They are sometimes kept in houses for supposed purifying purposes (ib. 357), but are elsewhere considered unlucky (Rev. des Trad. pop. v. 601; Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien, 1891). In Albania a pigeon is said to be blessed annually by the descent of two doves (Hobhouse, Folklore, p. 290). At Befou, in the South of Germany, putridable materials is run along a line in the Cathedral at Easter (Folklore, xvi. 182; cf. Trede, Heidenthum, iii. 211; de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. p. 671; Dürenfeld, Cal. Belg. p. 351). In Sambia it is carried in procession (Vander Beirog, iv. 90). In Hohenzollern-Hechingen a nest with a living pigeon in it is put on a post at Carnival; a mock contest takes place, and the bird is finally carried off amid the lamentations of the people that ‘the bird’ is stolen and thrown into the water, and the bird is solemnly set at liberty (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. p. 134). Among the Brāhmās of Bombay two pigeons are brought to the bride and bridgroom on the second of the wedding day, and these are in no way harmed, but are smoothed with feathers (Bolmey, Gas. x. 16). Pigeons are also given or eaten in European marriage customs (Baumgarten, Die komischen Mysterien, p. 312; Anthropologie, ii. 423, n. 1; Schönwerth, Aus der Oberpfalz, i. 125; Vaugesius, Hist. de l’Aigle, p. 583, n. 110). The pigeon is of good omen in Königsberg (Am Uerquell, i. 123) and Russia (Erman, Archiv, p. 629), but forebodes fire in Styria (Zts. Oest. Volksk. iii. 12), and are very frequently a death (Kehrein, Volkspr. p. 289; Gregor, Pfarrj. p. 372, etc.). Dead doves are sometimes held to take the form of doves (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 683; cf. the use of the dove in modern funeral-pieces). In Greece the dove was associated with the cult of Aphrodite, and doves were kept in her temples (de Visser, p. 173). Similarly pigeons are attached to the shrines of Sakhi Sarwar in the Panjâb (Crooke, i. 299) and of Shâkîr Pashâ in Khotan (Stein, Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan, pp. 179–180; For the mythology of the dove see Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 297–306). There is no proof that the priestesses of Zens at Dodona were ever called ‘doves’ in the historical period; nor were dove-ores known. Possibly Sophocles refers to some vague tradition when he speaks of the two doves through which the oak spoke to Heracles (Farnell, Cults, i. 38 n., 39 n.).

Quail.—The quail is one of the birds in Germany which it is unlucky to kill (Wuttke, D. Aberg. p. 163; Strackerjan, Aberg. p. 45). In the Louden it is held to protect the house against lightning (ib.). It is also tabu in Madagascar (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 267). In Hungary it is an accursed bird (Jones and Kroop, Folktales, p. 1). It is one of the forms assigned to the corn-spirit in Silesia (Peter, Volekstam. ii. 268), and is eaten by a newly married couple in Lithuania (Riiger, Sen. xii. 268). In France the hearts of two quails are held to ensure the happiness of a married couple, if the husband carries that of the male, the wife that of the female (Rolland, Faune, ii. 543). Among the Greeks the quail was used in a game in which the players struck it at blindfold, exactly as the cock and other birds and mammals are used in Europe at the present day (Pollux, Onomastikon, iv. 190). The quail was sacrificed by the Phœnicians at its return in the spring, and they explained the festival as a commemoration of the resurrection of Heracles (Athen. ix. 47); possibly the first quail was killed—a practice to which there are many European analogues. In Greek mythology Artemis seems to have been very familiar with the quail (Farnell, Cults, ii. 433; she was called Ortygia, which is also a place name). For the quail in mythology see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 276–279.

Seal.—Among the Eskimos, women stop work when a seal is taken, until it is cut up; when a ground seal is killed, they stop work for three days (5th Ann. Rep. Bum. Ethn. p. 595). The heads of seals and other marine animals are kept (ib. 8th Rep. p. 434). A pig of comestible seal is sometimes killed for fish magic before they go seal fishing. A large stone is rolled into the court to represent the sea; small stones do duty for the waves, and little packets of herbs for the seals. A kind of boat of birch bark is made and drawn along the sand; the object of the ceremony is to invite the seals to let themselves be taken (Sébiliot, Folklore, p. 125). In the west of Ireland and the islands of north-western Scotland there are certain people who believe themselves to be the abode of seals; they do not refuse to injure them (Folklore, xi. 232; Orkney and Shetland Folklore, pp. 170–189). The same belief is found in the Faroes (Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1892, p. 191). A local legend records that the branch of the Phænix’s army, which was lost in the Red Sea (Annales, Faroese, xvi. 14). In the island of Rügen it is believed that the seal is descended from drowned human beings (Folklore, xi. 235). Among the Kwakilutu the chief group of dancer societies is that of the seal (Report of United States National Museum, 1895, p. 419).

Serpent.—(For serpent-worship proper see separate article). The serpent is respected among many peoples who do not worship it in the sense of offering prayer or sacrifice to the deity. It is in South Africa and Madagascar the Malagasy regard serpents as objects of pity rather than of veneration (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 278), holding them to be the abode of dead men’s souls. But the Antimerinas had a serpent idol, which worshippers carried serpents (ib. p. 276); in the case of the Betsileo it is difficult to say whether we have to do with serpent-worship or not; they regard the fanany as the re-incarnation of a deified ancestor, making it offerings of blood, and even tend it in an enclosure (ib. p. 277). If these attentions are offered it without arrius esse a and solely because it is one of the kin, we are hardly entitled to regard them as worship, which rather implies that an offering is not strictly disinterested.
Among the Zulus the souls of the dead are said to take up their abode in serpents, termed idhlozi (pl. amadhlozi). Various forms of the belief are recorded; according to one, the serpent form is assumed only by an ancestor who wishes to approach a kraal; another version, but slightly different, says that only the serpents which from time to time are found in the many kraals are amadhlozi; a third authority says that the soul is not bound, as in some of the Malagasy beliefs, to the single soul-animal, but is incarnate in all the species, like the animal-gods of Samoa; a fourth account, probably the oldest, makes the soul take the form of the animal of the living (living. Arch. xxvi. 121; Man, 1904, No. 115; Golden Bough, iii. 409, etc.). As in Madagascar, different species of snakes are the abodes of different classes of men, one for chiefs, another for the common people, another for women (Arch., loc. cit.). Among the Masai, on the other hand, the difference of species marks a difference in the family of the deceased (Hollis, The Masai, p. 307). In Europe, the form of the serpent, like that of the mouse (see above) is assumed by no race but the Jews (Meyer, Germ. Myth, p. 637 f.). The serpent is respected over a large part of East Africa, sometimes as an ancestor of the tribe, sometimes as the soul-animal of deceased ancestors (Arch., loc. cit.). Many of the tribes in New Caledonia make serpents their sacred reason in giving for this (Patouillet, Trois Anes, p. 113). In North America they were respected (Brinton, Myths, p. 129). In South America the Airicos believe themselves to be descended from serpents (Tirado, Estudos, p. 31; for other stories of descent see J. M'Lenan, Studies, 2nd series, p. 628). Serpents are respected over a large part of Europe, especially those which live in or near human dwellings—probably as a survival of ancestor-worship. In like manner, harmless snakes are tutelary household divinities in the Panjāb hills (Crooke, ii. 141 f.). The name of the serpent is also frequently tabu (Bödeer-Kreutzwalt, p. 120; Lloyd, Peasant Life, p. 230; Tradition, 149; Asiat. Observer, 1821, p. 12, etc.). It is only rarely that ceremonies of purification are prescribed for the killer of a serpent; the Aməxoa custom prescribed that the killer of a boa had to lie in running water for weeks together; during this time no animal could be slaughtered; fishes and snakes of the salt or fresh water should not be eaten, and the cattle-fold (Kay, Travels, p. 341). On the other hand, certain precautions are to be taken in Japan; if the head of the snake is not crushed when it is killed, more will come to take its place (Matt, d. Ges. Natur u. Volkerk. Ostas, xv. 282). In Bombay it is believed that barrenness is the penalty for killing a snake (Crooke, i. 226), while in Germanic mythology such an act causes the child of the house to waste away (Meyer, loc. cit.).

The snake is commonly associated with water (see above), and said to reside in water-holes, rivers, etc. (Salvado, Memoirs, p. 260; Merensky, Beiträge, p. 126; Philip, Researches, ii. 117; Church Mss. Rec. xiv. 30; Strahlenberg, Das N. v. Thl, p. 420; Brinton, Myths, p. 130, etc.). For many the snake is a guardian of water (see above). Snakes are likewise guardians of treasure in folklore generally (Crooke, i. 143-146). Mythical serpent-monsters are also found as earth-carriers (see 'Earth-Carrier'), or destroyers of the human race (Matt. d. Schutzgeb. xiii. 45); or Creator (see 'Creator'). In Chile one of the Deluge myths (Medina, Aborigines, p. 28 ff.), and the Micmacs place two on the road followed by the souls of the dead (Rand, Legends, p. 233); the Hurons made a monster-serpent the source of all maladies (Rel. des. Am., 1675, p. 75), and for the natives of Victoria the serpent Mindi is the cause of death (Parker, Aborigines, p. 25); for the Aruntas the Magellanic clouds are the teeth of a gigantic serpent, and silence is to be preserved when they are visible (R.G.S.A., S. Aust. Br. ii. 36). In America, according to Brinton, the serpent is often associated with the lightning (Myths, p. 135). Mention should also be made of the 'snake-dances' of the Hopis, which are probably expressions of clan totemism, not of ophiotrophia (ib. BBEW 963 ff.). In South America, serpents are held to be the chief food of the dead (Spix and Martius, ii. 69 ff.). A good deal of local lore has gathered round the serpent in Europe. A king is their ruler (Awatla, liii. 1031; Globus, iv. 333, etc.), and wears a crown which is coveted for its magical properties; the king is often white, and the skeleton of the white snake makes its possessor the owner of a familiar spirit (ib. xxvi. 208). There is a stone in the snake's nest which draws poisons out of a man's body (Jecklin, Volkstum, i. 163; cf. Crooke, i. 141 f.). In Hindu belief serpents have their heads jewelled of marvellous properties (see Crooke, i. 141). The snake understands the language of birds (Russwurm, Eibowolk, § 357), or of the raven (ib. § 400). If a snake is hung up head downwards, it will rain (FLJ v. 91; Wuttko, Volksbegrift, § 153). Snakes were regarded as benefactors in Europe; even Irish cattle have the gift of killing the snakes in the meadows where they are (Northumb. Folkl. F. L. S. p. 8). The snakes know a root by which they bring themselves to be killed (Lepechin, Reise, ii. 105). The belief in the snake as the king of serpents is also found among the American Indians (Brinton, Myths, p. 137). Folklore likewise knows of many cases of the union of serpents with human beings (MacCulloch, 255-256, 264-267). In the ancient world the serpent was associated with leechcraft (see DISEASE and SERPENT). In the same idea is found in Madagascar (Arch. xvii. 124), and also among the American Indians, perhaps because the snake is in America so often associated with the magician, who is also the leech (Brinton, Myths, pp. 133, 129). The snake is sometimes held to be unlucky (Globus, lix. 72), but is more often welcomed as the 'Hausgeist.' A snake shot out of a gun is a charm against witchcraft (Liebrecht, Zur Volksk. p. 332; Müllenhoff, Sagen, p. 229); and a Huáculan hunter carries a piece of snake to attract game (ib. § 400). If a first snake should be killed for luck (FLR i. 8). In Bulgaria and France the killing of a snake is a good work, probably because the snake is regarded as the incarnation of a witch (Stranze, Die Bulgaren, p. 34; Rolland, Pays, iii. 36). Snakes are burnt in the midsummer fire (Athenaeum, 1869, July 24; Jones and Kropf, Fokktales, p. lix). In North America the Aissouans and other sects of fanatics eat serpents annually or at intervals during the wet season (ib. p. 356; Denon, Travels, i. 300; Pliny, HN vii. 22, xxv., xxv. x., xxvii. iii.); Pauanas, IV. iv. etc.; cf. Bancroft, i. 429.

The serpent is commonly associated with good omens; so among the South African Bantu (Miss. Cath. 1896, 371; Merensky, Beiträge, p. 130), in Arabia (Nolde, Inneraрабien, p. 96), and in medievial Europe (Panzer, Beitrag, ii. 259). In Albania it is unlucky before sunrise and after sunset (Rodd, Customs, p. 158). In Silesia it is held to be lucky, but its appearance is a warning of misfortune (ib.); and in Peter, Volkstum, i. 33). In Suffolk it is a death omen (Suffolk Folklore, F. L. S. p. 32). On the other hand, there is an elaborate table of omens drawn by the Zoroastrians from the appearance of a snake on each of the thirty days of the month (Al-Biruni, Chronology of Ancient Nations,
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tr. Sachau, p. 218) ; so, too, in Norway, when it crawls across the road (Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, p. 326). In Zoroastrianism the serpent is a most evil creature, and to be killed (Vendidad, xiv. 5 ; Herodotus, i. 140) ; it was formed by Ahriman (Bündahishh, iii. 15). A similar horror of the serpent exists in Armenia (Alegian, Armenischer Volksbrauch, p. 30). For the serpent, see, further, de Gubernatis, Zool. Mythol. pp. 339-419, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Aberglaube, p. 77, and JE xi. 203.

Shark.—In New Calabar the shark is regarded as a god (Gbellion, xii. 283). Sharks are sometimes regarded as enchanted men (Wilson, Western Africa, p. 161). The shark was formerly protected by a death penalty inflicted on the killer of one, but this was subsequently abolished by a religious revolution (Batian, Bilder, p. 160). Shark-worship is said to have existed in Hushine (Montgomery, Journal, i. 245). In the Solomon Islands the shark is addressed as 'grandfather' (Zts. Ges. Ges. Thür. x. 34). Sharks were worshipped in the Sandwich Islands ; and if a man who adored them happened to have a child still-born, he endeavoured to lodge its soul in the body of a shark. In order to do this he flung the body into the sea, performing various ceremonies at the same time. There were also a number of priest-sharks rubbed their bodies night and morning with salt and water to give them a scaly appearance (Golden Bought, ii. 432). In New Georgia the shark is 'sacred', because it eats men. It may not be touched in Rabiana, but the edge of it may be killed but not eaten (JAJ xxvi. 386). Sharks are very often the form in which dying people announce their intention of re-appearing ; offerings are made to them. In Siaa small coconut trees are reserved for the sharks, into which sharks may also use the trees. Other men will join them sometimes and ask for coconuts with the voice of a shark-ghost (Golden Bought, ii. 434-435).

Sheep.—In Greek cult the ram was connected with Zeus ; at Eleusis and elsewhere its fleece was used in rites of purification (Farnell, Cults, i. 65 ; Smith, Rel. Sem. 474). As a substitute for the eldest son of the Athamantids, a ram was offered (Farnell, i. 94). A prayer for rain was offered to Zeus over the Pelian byrds with ram skins (ib. p. 95). Zeus Ammon is derived from Egypt (ib.). In the cult of Artemis the sheep was sometimes tabeaud (ib. ii. 431). In a sheep-offering to Aphrodite in Cyprus the worshippers wore the skin (W. R. Smith, p. 414). Aphrodite is represented on the ram (From the ram, p. 484). Although the sheep is one of the most important sacrificial animals (Int. Arch. xvii. 139, for Africa), it is only in Egypt that we find a sheep-god proper. Amon was the god of Thebes ; his worshippers held rams to be sacred, and would not sacrifice them. At the annual festival of the god a ram was, however, slain, and the image of the god was clothed in the skin ; they mourned over the body and buried it in a sacred tomb. Amon is represented as a ram. The object is, Golden Bought, i. 261. It may be remarked that the Nilotic tribes the Madis practise an annual sacrifice of a lamb, possibly as a means of expelling the evils which have accumulated. They are sad before the ceremony, and show great joy when it is over. They assemble by a stone circle, and the lamb is led four times round the people, who pluck off bits of its fleece as it passes and put them in their hair; the lamb is then killed on the stones and its blood sprinkled four times over the people. It is then applied to each person individually. As each rises to go away, he or she places a leaf on the circle of stones. The ceremony is observed on a small scale at other times, particularly when trouble comes upon a family ; it is also practised on joyful occasions, such as the return of a son after a long absence (Proc. R. S. Edin. xii. 336). The picaresque sacrifice of a ram is occasionally found in European folklore ; near Maubeuge a ram is killed by one of the squires of the neighbourhood, and is believed to be laden with the sins of the people (Rolland, Faune, v. 206). But more commonly the sacrifice is performed without any specific reason being given for the ceremony. It is a common practice in Bohemia, Hungary, and other districts for a ram to be thrown from the church tower in the autumn in order to procure a good harvest in the following year (Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch. 139 n.). In Finland a lamb which has not been born since the spring is killed in the autumn ; it must be slaughtered without using a knife, and no bones must be broken. When it is served up, water, which probably has taken the place of blood, is sprinkled over the threshold, and a portion of the meal offered to the house-spirits and the trees which will serve as May-poles in the following year (Boëler-Kreutzwald, Der Ehrenberg, Geb. p. 87). In East and Central Europe a lamb is commonly sacrificed at Easter or rather later, the day chosen being usually April 24th (Globus, xxvi. 155, xxx. 93, xii. 71, etc. ; cf. Golden Bought, ii. 438). In West Europe there are traces of a similar custom ; at the time of the shamans, real and of wood, were on sale without the gate on the Friday before Whitsun tide ; children received them as presents, and they were eventually consumed by the family (Schildt, Schleswig-Holst. Ind. Alterth., iii. 7) ; they were brought as presents to the schoolmasters (Jahrb. f. Sch.-Holst. x. 29). In Virgen, a lamb is taken in procession on the Friday after Easter to a mountain-chapel and subsequently sold (Zts. Ver. Volksk. v. 235). The sheep and ram figures at Becot, which are sometimes identified as the souls of the dead, may also serve as a symbol of the sacred animals, as certain tribes, on certain occasions, sacrificed a lamb or sheep as 'Morgengabe' (Anthropologie, ii. 357 ; Holderness, New Russia,
The Gallas take an oath by the sheep (Pinkerton, Africa, i. 8). Spider—In the Creation myth of the Sias there was only one being in the lower world, the spider Susstintannako; he caused men, animals, etc., to come into existence, and divided them into clans (Jbth Ann. Rep. Brit. Ethi, 1889-1890, p. 20 f.). By killing them with fire he represents the 'medicine' power of the earth (Zts. RBEW p. 11). According to the Tetons, Ikto, the spider, was the first being in this world who attained maturity. He was the first to use human speech, and is more cunning. All the men are born kindred, and he commands them. In their myths the spider is deceived by the rabbit (Dorsey, Siouan Cults, p. 472). The Tetons pray to grey spiders. When they are going on a journey, they kill a spider if they see one, and pray; it is unlucky to let it pass or to kill it in silence. They tell it that the Thunder-beings killed it (16th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. p. 479). In the mythology of the Akwapim, Anansi, the spider, is a sort of demi-god; he races the cat for the privilege of marrying the desired; hence that the spider and the cat are enemies (Petersmann Mit., 1856, 466; Frobinius, Weltanschauung, p. 294). Many of these myths are now found in the West Indies (P. C. Smith, Anansi Stories from Jamaica). The Adjahdurrahe believe the islands to which they have given an name, 'swan-maiden stories' (see 'Myths' above), but perhaps the most famous are those found by Wuttke, Occ. Ethn. (10th vi. 229). In a Kayowe myth, 'Old Spider' escapes the flood and is concerned with the early history of the human race (Ausland, 1890, 901). For the Flatheads the residence of their grandparents, the spiders, was in the clouds. Both in Australia (Howitt, Native Races, p. 338) and in America the spider's web is a means of getting to the sky (Trs. Ethn. Soc. iv. 306). The Cherokee told how the spider brought fire on its web, but was captured before it reached the earth (Foster, Sequoyah, p. 241). It is held in several parts of the world to kill the spider (Folklore, 1911). In Tuscany it is the custom to kill a spider seen in the morning (Andreu, Ethn. Par. p. 8). It is also killed in Poland (Trad. iv. 355). The Southern Slavs use it in magic; a girl takes a spider and shuts it up, calling on it to show her the destined lover, and promising to set it free if it does so, and if not, to kill it (Krauss, Sittte, p. 173).

There is a curious diversity in the omens given by spiders; in Ditsmarschen a black spider is a sign of good fortune (Oedr., i. 7). A spider in the evening is lucky, in the morning unlucky (ib. p. 64). In Stettin the reverse is the case (Balt. Studien, xxxii. 189). In Jewish folklore the spider is hated (JE vi. 607). For other spider omens see John of Salisbury, i. 13; Wolf, Beitr. ii. 457; Meier, Sagen, p. 221; Birlinger, 119, etc. For the spider in folk-tales see de Gebhardt, Zool. Myth. ii. 161-164.

Stork—The stork was sacred in ancient Egypt. The killer of one was punished as though he were a murderer (de Vries, Götter, p. 157). It enjoys the same respect wherever it is found in Europe. It is also respected in Egypt (Globus, lix. 257) and in Morocco (Clarke, Travels, iii. 34 n.) where it is said to be a hospital for sick storks and a fund for burying dead ones. The stork is commonly said to bring the children. Its presence brings luck to the house; in particular, it is a safeguard against the danger of fire; its efficacy is discounted by the stork's supposed practice of removing its nest from a house that is shortly to be burned down. Occasionally the stork, however, is thought to bring bad luck (Wiedemann, Ehren, p. 545), for one is not to touch one of the family who is a head of cattle dies. So, too, in Bohemia, a stork settling on the roof, or twelve storks circling over a house, means fire (Grohmann, Abergel. Nos. 438, 439; cf. Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 110). For other omens and beliefs see Globus, xxxiv. The stork is one of the migrants which must be greeted when they appear in the spring; the house-stork must learn all that has happened in his absence. In other countries he is a man (Zts. deutsche Phil. i. 345). In spite of the sacrosanctity of the stork, it is used in magic (ib.; Grohmann, Abergel. No. 434), and its gall cures a scorpion's bite in Jewish folk-belief (JE xi. 559). For the stork in folk-tales see de Gebhardt, Zool. Myth. ii. 261-262.

Swallow—There seems to have existed a custom in ancient Greece of carrying a swallow round from house to house, singing a song (Atheneus viii. pp. 359, 360). Swallow songs sung at the appearance of the bird in spring are very common in Europe. The Kuhn and Seno legend has given it an name, 'Interview of the swan', and it has been found the swallow carried round in modern Greece, a wooden bird in a cylinder, and a song is sung (Rodd, Custom and Lore, p. 136; cf. p. 271). In Macedonia the wooden swallow is encircled with leaves. Eggs are collected and riddles are asked, the answer to which is 'swallow' (Bent, Cycloides, p. 434). The same practice prevails in Bulgaria and Little Russia, and the songs refer to the advent of spring (Miladinov, Bulgarski narodno pesni, p. 622).

The swallow is everywhere regarded as a sacred bird, it is unlucky to kill it (Kaindl, Husulen, p. 104; Stracke, Jochmann, Abergel. p. 45; Globus, xil. 325; Brit. Antiq. Ethnog. Surv. Scot. Nos. 379-383; Alvarez, Folklore, i. 224, etc.); it may not be touched in modern times (ib. 494 f.; FLR i. 8). In the West of Scotland, however, it is feared as having a drop of the bird's blood in its veins (Napier, Folklore, p. 112). Its presence is still regarded as lucky (KEW xi. 209; Roeholz, D. Glaube, i. 107). In spite of its sacred character, it is used in magic; in Bohemia the blood of the first swallow drives away freckles (Wuttke, D. Abergel. 1599, p. 159). The first swallow is important in other respects: it has long been the custom to draw omens from it (Pliny, HN xxx. 25; Hoffmann's Fundgrube f. Ges. d. Spr. u. Lit. i. 325, and many modern instances; Bartsch, Sagen, ii. 172; Germania, xix. 319). As a rule it is a sign of good omen; the bird is called 'hunting' by the Georgians, it means a death in the family if a young swallow is thrown outside at the nest (Zts. Ver. Volksk. x. 209). A swallow in a room is a death omen (Erman, Archiv, p. 628). For other omens see Grohmann, Abergel. Nos. 496, 504, etc. Swallows are sold in Paris and elsewhere and set free by the purchasers (Rolland, France, lii. 321; Rev. des Trad. Pop. iv. 229). A similar custom exists in Japan, and is especially practised at funerals (MS note). For the swallow see also Pauly-Wissowa, a. v. 'Aberglaube', p. 79.

Swan—In the opinion of the Old Testament, the goose has supplanted the swan in mythology to some extent; but the opposite view seems nearer the truth. Perhaps the same applies to the duck. In European folklore the swan is most prominent in a class of Marchen, to which it has given a name, — swan-maiden stories (see 'Myths' above), — but
in Picardy we find the duck taking the place of the swan (Romania, viii. 256). It may be noted that the subjects of transformation are not necessarily female (ib. ; cf. Mannhardt, Germ. Mythen, pp. 378–379).

The swan is important in the religion of N. Africa (cf. Cochran’s Pod. Journey, i. 163.; Ger. Reiseberichten, p. 282). Among the Tatras a man who catches a swan passes it on to his next neighbour and receives in return his best horse; its new possessor passes it on, and so on, until it is no longer presentable, when it is let loose (Castrén, Vorüberungen, p. 290). The oath by the swan was well known in the Middle Ages. In Moscow a swan is sometimes given to the newly married, who alone, in the opinion of the common people, have a right to eat it (Rev. des Trad. Pop. iv. 324). In Germanic folklore the swan is associated with the Norns, who sometimes assume its form (Meyer, Germ. Myth. p. 168). Its cry foretells a thaw, and it is pre-eminently a bird of prophecy, often of coming ill (ib. p. 112).

Thunderbird.—Wide-spread over the American continent is the belief in a great bird as the cause of thunder, which also figures in the Creation myths of some tribes, notably the Chipewyans, as the being which brought the world from beneath the waters (ib., Voyage, p. 256; Dick, op. cit., Oregon, p. 102). The Hare-skin Indians describe it as a gigantic bird which dwells in winter in the land of the dead in the West-South-West, together with migratory birds and animals. When the warm weather comes, it returns with the ghosts in its train. When it shakes its tailfeathers, it makes the thunder, and the flash of its eyes is the lightning. It causes death; it is an evil deity (Féroud, Traditions, p. 350). The Iroquois believed that Orendichaio controlled rain, wind, and thunder. The thunder they conceived as a man in the form of a turkey (?); the heaven was his palace, and he retired there in good weather; when it thundered he was cornering snakes and other ‘oki’ objects; he caused lightning by opening his wings (Ibid. des Jés. 1636, p. 114; for other references see Bancroft, vol. iii. passim ; Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, etc.). In Vancouver Island the Absts call the thunderbird Tootooch; his wings may be seen, his form felt, the world is disturbed. Once there were four such birds, but Quaahtel, their great deity, drowned the rest in the sea (Sproat, Scenes, pp. 177, 213). The Dakotah say that the old bird begins the thunder, but the young bird, on seeing and dozing, changes it to wise and good, and kills no one (Tylor, Prim. Cult. 3. i. 383).

In Central America we find the bird Voc associated with Hurakan, the god of the tempest (Brasseur de Bourbourg, Popol Vuh, p. 71). In South America the idea is found among the Brazilians (Müller, Am. Urrel, pp. 222, 271; but see also Ehrenreich, Myth. und Legend. d. südamer. Urvölker, p. 15). The same conception is found in West Africa among the Ewe-speaking peoples. K. Kromhout, however, forms the tiger as a flying god, who paralyses the nature of a bird; his name means bird ‘that throws out fire.’ He casts the lightning from the midst of the black cloud; the thunder is caused by the flapping of his wings. Various ideas of the same order are found among the Basutos. The Zuuls think a brown bird is found at the spot where the lightning strikes; the Amapondos say that the bird causes the lightning by spitting out fire; according to the Bom-vanas, the bird sets its own fat on fire and causes the thunder. The Tsetse flies its wings; the female bird causes loud, cracking thunder, the male distant, rumbling sounds. In Natal they hold that a white bird is the cause of the lightning (Kidd, Essential Kafr, p. 120 f.; cf. Mofat, South Africa, p. 338; Cassalis, Barots, p. 266; Callaway, Religion of Amasuli, p. 119).

The conception of the thunderbird is also found in the Hervey Islands (Ellis, Researches, ii. 417; Williams, Enterprises, p. 93), and the Marshall Islands (Mitt. d. Schutzgeb. i. 66), and the Karens have a similar idea (ib. p. 212).

Thunder.—A myth of descent from a tiger ancestor is found among the Blulis and Rajputs (Crooke, ii. 211). It is associated with Siva and Durgā, but tiger-worship proper is confined to wilder tribes; in Nepal the tiger festival is known as Bagh Jatra, and the worshippers dance disguised as tigers (ib. p. 212). The tiger is likewise worshipped by the Santals (ib. p. 213), while in Mirzapur, Bagheswar, the tiger-god, is located in a bira tree, and is said to take human form at night and call people by name; those who answer fall sick (ib. i. 256 f., ii. 78).

The Waralis worship Waghia (‘lord of tigers’), a shapeless stone smeared with red lead and ghī, which is held to protect them from tigers (Home and For. Miss. Rec. 1853, 303; Ch. of Free Ch. vii. 259).

In Hanoi a tiger-god is worshipped; a shrine contains an image of a tiger (XI. Cong. Orient. ii. 294); and a tiger-god is also found in Manchuria (Miss. Cath. 1885, 239).

The tiger is represented in Sumatra as one of the souls of the dead (Marsden, p. 292; Junghuhn, Battländer, p. 308), and a name-tau is practised. A like custom is found in Sunda (Tijdachr. T. L. V. vi. 50) and parts of India, where the souls of those who have devours sit on his head (Crooke, ii. 211). For other cases of name-tau see Frazer, Golden Bough, ii. 457.

The hunting of the tiger is naturally attended with much ceremony. The Sumatrans attack tigers only when necessity compels, wounded, or in self-defence. The Menangkabauers try to catch them alive in order to beg their forgiveness before killing them; they show them other marks of respect; no one will use a path that has been antrodden for more than a year; at night they will not walk one behind another or knock the sparks off a firebrand (Golden Bough, ii. 303 f.).

The people of Mandeling have a tiger clan which honours the tracks of a tiger, and claims to be spared by it; when a tiger has been killed, the words ‘be not burned’ are written on it. When the Battas have killed a tiger they bring its corpse to the village with great ceremony; people of the tiger clan make offerings to it; a priest then explains why it has been killed, and begs the spirit of the tiger to show them the correct use of the tiger, so that it may not be angry and do harm; after this a dance is held, and most of the body is buried, only those parts being saved which are useful in medicine; in particular, the whiskers are burnt off at an early stage, so that they may not be used as poison (Golden Bough, ii. 304; Tijdachr. xxxiv. 172). Connected with the atonement for the death of a tiger is the Indian belief that a garden where a tiger has been killed loses its fertility (Crooke, ii. 213). Not once the tiger is known to be dangerous to kill a tiger, but being killed by one also has its peril; the ‘tiger ghost’ is worshipped (Crooke, p. 213).

Among the Garrows a man who has been killed by a tiger is believed to appear in a dream and tell his relatives to change their names (Mission Life, N. S. x. 290). In the South Aracan the ceremony of ‘ya,’ or tabu, is strictly enforced when any one has been killed by a tiger (JAI ii. 240). Connectet with tiger-worship is the practice of taking an oath by it. The Juangs, Hos, and Sants are all sworn to a tiger (Miss. Cath. 1897, 369; Crooke, loc. cit.). Among the Gonds, two men, believed to be possessed by Bāgheswar, appear at marriage ceremonies and fall upon a kid with their teeth (Crooke, ii. 218).
Besides being the abode of the soul of a dead man, a tiger may be the temporary or permanent form of a living human being. In India a root is said to effect the transformation, and another root is the antidote (Crooke, ii. 216). In Central Java the power of transformation is hereditary, but the wer-tiger is held to be friendly, especially if his friend, in human form, carries with him the root of the wili plant. The variant of this belief which makes the tiger the soul of a dead, not a living man, see Tijdsehr. xii. 568. The belief in the wer-tiger is also found in the Malay peninsula (Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 109). It derives from the practice of burying the dead with the tiger's mane (see Crooke, op. cit.).

Closely connected with the wer-tiger is the familiar of the wizard in tiger form. A connecting link is found in the Thana belief that mediums are possessed by a tiger spirit (Bombay Gaz. xiii. i. 188). The Binas of Johore believe that every pawang has a tiger subject to him, which is immortal (Journ. Ind. Arch. i. 276, 277). The Malays believe that the soul of the dead wizard enters the body of a tiger; the corpse is put in the forest and supplied with rice and water for seven days, after which the body is burned, and the result of an ancient compact made by the pawang's ancestors, is effected. If the son of the pawang wishes to succeed his father, he must perform a ceremony to secure his soul (Newbold, ii. 294). The tiger is too large to be taken to the grave: in North India and Korea it is eaten in order to gain courage (Golden Bought, ii. 366). In India the fangs, claws, and whisks are used in love charms and as propylactics against possession, especially in the case of young children (Crooke, ii. 214 f.). The whiskers are regarded as poisonous (Sumatra (Tijdsehr. loc. cit.) and in India (Crooke, loc. cit.). Tiger's flesh is burnt to keep blight from the crops (ib.). Some Dayaks keep a tiger's skull in the head-house; to move it is said to cause heavy rain, and to touch it is punished by death by lightning, while its complete removal would cause the death of all the Dayaks (JRAS, S.B. No. 5, p. 199).

Corresponding to lycanthropy in Europe, there is in India a pathological condition in which the sufferer believes that he has turned into a tiger (Sprengel, Auswahld, iii. 27). The Garrows say that the mania is connected with a certain drug, which is laid on the forehead. The wer-tiger bares his teeth, tears out the ear-rings of his ears, and then wanders about, avoiding all human society. In about fourteen days the mania begins to subside. Although fits of this kind are not attributed to witches in India, the patients are said to be seen with 'their eyes glaring red, their hair dishevelled and bristled, while their heads are often turned round in a strange convulsive manner.' On the nights of such fits they are believed to go abroad and ride on tigers (Malcolm, Memoir of Central India, ii. 212). It seems, therefore, not improbable that the fit in question is of the same nature.

Tortoise, turtle.—Both in Asia (Miss. Herald, xviii. 385; cf. Bastian, Bilder, p. 356; Crooke, i. 255) and in America the turtle is one of the mythical animals which the world rests on. In the Iroquois myth the world was at first covered with water, and when Aataensic fell from heaven, the animals held a conference to decide how she was to be received, and the turtle caught her on his back, and then stood on the earth, and was raised up by water-fowl; so the earth was formed (21st Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn. p. 180, etc.). The turtle is an important Iroquois totem, and the clan traces its descent from a turtle that threw off its shell (Tot. p. 3). In like manner the totem is a tortoise of the Mandari Kols, and is also worshipped and sacrificed elsewhere in India (Crooke, loc. cit.). In Zoroastrianism, on the other hand, the tortoise was an evil creature, and consequently was to be killed (Vendidad, xiv. 5). A turtle tabu exists in Madagascar (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 289), Java (Tijdsehr. T.V.L. E. iii. 573), and Pomotu (Bowings in the Pacific, p. 243); and the Kwasas were not allowed to lift a small wattled tortoise by its forelegs, as there should be a flood (Journ. Am. Folklore, viii. 130). The turtle was sacrificed in Pomotu (Miss. Cath. 1874, 378). The Zunis have the turtle as one of their totems. Sometimes they send to fetch turtles with great ceremony, and apparently each family receives one; the day after the turtle is killed, its flesh and bones deposited in the little river, and its shell made into a dance rattle. The object of the ceremony is obscure; Frazer suggests that the dead are fetched in the form of turtles and sent back to spirit-land; it seems very probable that the turtle is killed in order that it may be a messenger; but it does not seem that the ceremony is performed only by the turtle clan; how, therefore, the kinship terms applied to it are merely complimentary it is impossible to say (Golden Bought, ii. 271 f.). It seems, therefore, that the tabu is in no sense a taboo, and that it was not in magic, but in the idea of the turtle being the soul of a dead man, that the ceremony was performed; for it was not believed that the turtle lived again, but it was agreed that the turtle was the soul of a dead man, and that its flesh was thrown into the river in order to return him to his soul. If these tabus are not observed, the turtles leave the shore (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 287). In the islands of Torres Straits many magical ceremonies were performed to prepare a canoe for turtle-fishing. There were many tabus connected with this affair, chiefly on the character of the fisherman; turtle dances were also performed to ensure success in the fishing (Camb. Univ. Exp. Reports, vol. v. pp. 196, 207, 271, 330-336). For the myths and folk-tales of the tortoise see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 93-95, 360-370.

Whale.—The Tongans regard the whale as the abode of certain deities, and never kill it; when they chance to come near one, they offer it scented oil or kava (Prim. Cult. i. 232). Among the Haidas the fin-backed whale is tabu, on the following ground that a dead man's soul sometimes enters it (JAJ xxi. 20). As a rule, however, the whale, like other large mammals, is feared but not exactly worshipped. In Madagascar they have a certain veneration for it, and have a special ritual for the whale-fishery; before any whale is killed the captain and wife submit to a certain number of tabus, of which chastity is one: the man remains in his hut and fasts regularly; in his absence his wife does the same. After various magical ceremonies, the boat is covered with branches by the magicians, the fishers sing supplications to the old whales, which they do not pursue, to give them their young ones. After bringing the whale to land, the canoe backs away from the shore and then returns at full speed, the haupeens in the bow; they harpoon the animal again, and are then seduced and carried to their huts, where, as a part of the ceremonies, their continence at once comes to an end; the whale is then cut up, and preparations for a feast are made; the carcass is decorated with necklaces, and one of the fishers makes a long prayer or address. Thereupon the whale is divided, and each hut receives a portion (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 254 f.).

In preparation for the whale fishing the Aleutians celebrate a festival; after killing a number of whales they carry a wooden image of a whale into a hut with loud shouts, and cover it up so that no light can get in; then they bring it out again and shout together, 'The whale has fed into the sea' (Krack-eninnikov, ii. 215). The Kaniguitews consider whales to be in communication with evil spirits,
and fear them. They seem to have expiated the death of the whale as the Ainus do that of the bear. Whalers were initiated and lived in a special village; dead whales were buried in caves, and were regarded as tutelary divinities; they were placed in positions resembling those which they took during the chase of the whale; offerings were made to them; it was believed that if a man put a piece of slate at the entrance to the cave the dead whale would prepare a spearhead (Bouv. d'Anth. ii. 679–80). On the island of Thack whales were tabu during the fishing season; before it began, they searched for eagles' feathers, bears' hair, etc., as talismans; when the season was over, they hid their fishing implements in the mountain caves with the dead bodies; they stole the bodies of successful fishermen, some said as talismans, others in order to prepare poison from them (Lisiansky, Voyage, pp. 174, 209). In Vancouver Island whale-fishers are carefully selected; for months before the fishery they abstain from their usual food, practise continence, wash three times a day, reden their bodies, etc. Any accident during the fishery is put down to a violation of these tabus, and punishment is inflicted (Sproat, Savage Life, p. 227). The whole of the village shares in the proceeds of the whale, and in some cases an additional portion is paid to the slaughterman. A whale dance is performed at Cape Flattery (Swan, Indians, p. 70). In Nootka Sound a feast is held after the whale fishery, and the chief, before distributing the portions to the guests, performs a sort of communion, during which he imitates the blowing of a whale (de Saussure, New Voyages, ix.; Rogudefueil, p. 34). The great chiefs are buried in a special hut, which contains eight images of whales made of wood and placed in a line; after the bodies have been buried, they dig their way up, take off the heads, and place them on the backs of these images; the reason given is that it is done in memory of their skill in throwing the harpoon; but it has more probably a magical intention.

When a whale is caught, the chief goes to the hut to offer some of its blubber to his ancestors and return thanks to the sun (?); after the festival mentioned above, the chief carves a wooden whale and puts it before the shed (16, p. 102). The Eskimos of Greenland put this during their winter fishery, because the whale cannot endure dirtiness; if they were dirty clothes or some one took part in the chase who had touched a dead body, the whale would escape (Laharbe, xvi. 206; Egede, p. 18). The whale also in Norse folklore occurs during its winter fishery, because it is sacred, and is even associated with the dragon of Midgard (Meyer, German. Myth, p. 112 f.). Among the Yagans the initiants are bound to abstain from certain parts of the whale (South Am. Miss. Mag. iii. 117). In South Africa the Xosa make images of whales on the ground, at the initiation of young men (Macdonald, Africana, i. 131). The Anti-merina believe that earthquakes are due to whales (v. Gennep, Tabou, p. 257). The belief survives probably in the superstition that the whale supports the world.

The Russians attribute a deluge to the death of one of the four whales (Berl. Leseskabinett, 1844, p. 210). On the Gold Coast the stranding of a whale is regarded as a presage of great misfortunes (Reclus, xii. 438). A story resembling that of Jonah and the whale is a fairly wide-spread myth (Tylor, Prim. Cult., i. 359). For the Dog-Rib Indians the swallowing of a man, and his escape through being drawn out by his skin's side-lace, form the Introduction to a Deluge myth; the whale in his wrath raised great waves and inundated the earth (Petitot, Traditions, p. 319). The same incident of the swallowing is found among the Haidas and other tribes of the North-West Coast (Am. Ant. xi. 298, p. 370; Swan, N. W. Coast, p. 68). One of the incidents of Maniboosh's career is the victory over a monster who has swallowed him (Schoolcraft, Algic Researches, i. 138). At Eromanga a story is told of a man who fell into the water and was swallowed by a whale, but escaped because his ear-rings pricked the inside of the monster (Murray, Missions, p. 180; Turner, Nineteen Years, p. 496). The same incident is found in the Paumotu archipelago (Misz. Cath. 1884, 343). The Bechuana attribute the destruction of all save one woman to a monster whom they call Titan, which swallows them (Casalla, Langue Sechuana, p. 97). Among the Warangis of East Africa it is a snake which comes out of the sea (Mitt. d. Schutzgeb. xiii. 45).

Wolf.—Outside Europe, where the wer-wolf figures prominently in the popular belief of many countries, the wolf is, from a mythological point of view, comparatively unimportant. The Thilinkets have a god, Kahanukh, whose name means 'wolf'; he is the head of the wolf phraternity (Bancroft, iii. 115). It has, nevertheless, been denied that Kahanukh the god has anything to do with the wolf (JAF xxviii. p. 144). These tribes are, however, stated to have a kind of image which they preserve with great care, as a talisman (608). A wolf's head is sometimes exchanged for a piece of a wolf's head (Miss. Herald, 1829, p. 306). This may, on the other hand, refer to the individual's tutelary deity; for it is a common practice to carry an image of the manitou (Frazier, Tot. p. 54).

In Europe the wolf was especially associated by the Greeks with Apollo, who was called Ainos (Frazier, Pasus. i. xix. 3). Probably the wolf was originally worshipped or received offerings, as was the case among the Letts (Golden Bough, ii. 429); the cult was probably aided by that of Apollo, and it was supposed that he received his title from having exterminated wolves (ib.). Many stories connected Apollo with the wolf, some possibly due to a misunderstanding of his epithet aureipontis (Uliad, iv. 101, 119), probably meaning 'twilight-born' (Meyer, Handb. der griech. Etymologie, iv. 519), but interpreted by popular etymology as 'wolf-born.' In Delphi was a bronze image of a wolf; this was explained as the emblem of a holy robe of clothes for the wolf fishery, because Apollo protected the sacred wolf (Casalis, Langue Sechuana, p. 97). The wolf is said to have been sired by Aries, and is said to have been killed by a canibalistic feast, in which it was believed to result in transformation into wolves; according to a later legend, one portion of the human flesh was served up among the other sacrificial dishes, and the eater was believed to become a wer-wolf (Lang, Myth, etc., ii. 263). At Rome the wolf was associated with Mars, and the Lupercalia is sometimes interpreted as a wolf-festival; if the Luperci were wolf-priests, it is probable due to the connexion of the wolf with Mars and the wolf cave (Fowler, Rom. Fest. pp. 310–321).

The Kamtchatkans celebrated a wolf festival and related an aetiological myth (Krachennikow, p. 129). When the Koriaks have killed a wolf, they dress one of their number in its skin and dance round him, as they do round the bear, saying that it was a Russian who killed him (Golden Bough, ii. 997); the Tunguses kill a wolf with fear (Erman, Archiv, xi. 26). When the Kwakwinl Indians of British Columbia see a wolf, they lay it on a blanket and wait over the body; each person must eat four morsels of its heart. They bury it and give away the weapon with which it was killed. They believe that killing
a wolf causes scarcity of game (Golden Bough, ii. 396). In the same way in ancient Athens any one who killed a wolf had to bury it by subscription (ib.). Possibly the Cree custom of painting the faces of young wolves with vermilion or red ochre is a propitiatory ceremony (Heare, Northern Ocean, p. 363), for there is a prohibition of killing wolves in Norway, where, according to the author, the women and men of the tribe, in the course of the ceremony, repeatedly observed (ib. p. 243). A neighbouring tribe, the Chipewyans, forbade women to touch a wolf skin (Dunn, Oregon, p. 106). It is very common to use another name for the wolf than the ordinary German story of the Wolf (Rolf, p. 333; Rollin, Fauves, ii. 185, ii. 118; FLJ vii. 55, etc.). The Romans regarded the wolf as unclean, and purified the city with water and sulphur if a wolf got into the Capitol or the temple of Jupiter (de Gubernatis, p. 229).

The wolf is frequently found among the tutelary animals of the dancing or secret societies of North America. The Nootkas relate that wolves once took away a chief's son and tried to kill him; failing to do so, they became his friends, and ordered him on his return home to initiate the other members into the rites of the society, which they taught him. In the ceremony a pack of wolves, i.e. men with wolf masks, appears and carries off the novice; next day they bring him back apparently dead, and the society has to revive him (Golden Bough, iii. 434 ff.). Similar associations are recorded in the U.S. National Museum, 1895, 477-479), and among the Dakotas, by whom parts of the animal are used in magic, though they may not kill it (except, probably, at initiation), or eat it, or even step over or on it (Frazier, Tot, p. 60; cf. Schurz, Altertumsklassen, p. 164; and for these societies in general, pp. 150, 390 ff.). In connexion with these societies may be mentioned a curious confraternity that existed in Normandy till late in the last century. A prominent part in the midsummer ceremonies was taken by the Brotherhood of the Lupine Wolf and its chief; they ran round the fire hand in hand, and had to capture (while belaboured by the man selected for the headship, to which was attached the right of dressing the Wolf, in the following year (Golden Bough, iii. 289).

The corn-spirit is believed to take the form of a wolf (Golden Bough, ii. 264 ff.), and the binder of the last sheaf is sometimes called ‘the wolf.’ The wolf also appears at Christmas in Poland (ib. 266), and in Christmas in Nurk, along the Wolf- und Feldkulte, p. 323). In Norse mythology witches and giantesses ride on wolves yoked with serpents (Meyer, Germ. Myth, p. 142), while the demonic Fenrir-wolf is too well known to require more than passing mention here. In Zoroastrianism wolves rank as most evil animals (Yasna, ix. 18), and should be killed (Vendidad, xvii. 65). A wolf must be seen by a man before it spits him, or evil results will follow (Yasna, ix. 21)—a belief which has parallels in classical lore and in modern Europe (Darmesteter, Etudes iraniennes, ii. 244).

In Armenia, in like manner, wolves are even more evil than serpents, and numerous charms are used against them (Abeghian, Armen. Volksgaende, 114-118).

As the last dangerous animal to survive in many parts of Europe, the wolf has given its name to the group of beliefs based on the idea of the temporary or permanent transformation of living men into wolves or other animals (see Lycanthropy). The people of the Caucasus say, after a wolf has been killed, and the meat put on joints thereupon they acquire wolfish tendencies, and devour children. At times she puts off the wolf skin, and if any one can burn it the woman vanishes in smoke (Haxthansen, Transkaukasien, i. 329). For wolves in general see Tylor, Prim. Cult. ii. 312; Hertz, Der Werwolf; Baring-Gould, Book of Werewolves. A very similar belief is found in Armenia (Abeghian, op. cit. 116-118). As an ominous animal the wolf is commonly auspicious. For myths and folk-tales of the wolf see de Gubernatis, Zool. Myth. ii. 142-143. For the wolf see also Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. ‘Abergläube,’ p. 81.

Wren.—All over Europe the wren is called the ‘king of the birds’ (Golden Bough, ii. 442), and a German story of the Wolf (Folklore, xi. 290; NRF xxxviii. 230; NQ, 8th ser. x. 492, xi. 177, 297; Croker, Researches in the S. of Ireland, p. 233) at Christmas or somewhat later. In the Isle of Man the bird was killed on the night of Dec. 24, and fastened, with its wings extended, to a long pole. The following day it was then carried to the churchyard and finally taken in procession to the churchyard and buried. The feathers were distributed, and certain lines sung which seem to indicate that the wren was formerly boiled and eaten. In Ireland and Wales the bird was sometimes carried round alive. In France the successful hunter received the title of ‘King (Golden Bough, ii. 445). In Limousin the roi de la Triere was named, whereupon he had to strip naked and throw himself into the water. He then took a wren upon his wrist and proceeded into the town, where he stripped the bird of its feathers and scattered them in the air; finally, the wren was handed over to the representative of a squire (Tradition, iv. 106). Thereupon a wooden wren was attached to a high post and shot at; if it was not hit, a fine had to be paid. In Berry the newly married took a wren on a perch to the squire; it was put on a waggon drawn by oxen (ib. p. 364; Rolland, Faune, ii. 297). At Entraignes the wren had to be set free (ib.). It is probable that these ceremonies are connected with a former annual expulsions of evil; in Kamatohka a similar ceremony is performed in connexion with an annual festival (Krachenminikow, p. 147); a small bird is captured in the forest, roasted, and tasted, and the remainder is burnt, and the ashes are scattered as incense.

The wren is considered of good omen in Japan (Chamberlain, Kojiki, p. 241 n.), and among the Ainus (Batchelor, p. 439); in the Isle of Man fishermen take one to sea (Rolland, Faune, ii. 295), and it is used in the Tyrol folk-medicine (Ieyl, p. 139). Among the Karas the wren is believed to be able to cause rain (Miss. Cath. 1888, 261). In Australia the emu wren is a ‘sex totem’ (Golden Bough, iii. 416); near Tanganyika it seems to be a totem (Miss. Cath. 1885, 361). Both in Europe (Ann. Phil. Chrét. iii. 148) and in the Philippines (ib., p. 53) the wren is said to have brought fire from heaven or elsewhere. The wrens of one brood are said to be re-united on Christmas night (Ann. Phil. Chrét. i. 1). A song of the wren figures in the Pawnee Hako-ceremony (Bill RB EW ii. 191).
ANIIMISM. — Definition and Scope. — In the language of philosophy, Animism is the doctrine which places the source of mental and even physical life in an external fact, in some external power, of the body. From the point of view of the history of religious, the term is taken, in a wider sense, to denote the belief in the existence of spiritual beings, some attached to bodies of which they constitute the real personality (soul), others without necessary connexion with a determinate body (spirit). For convenience in treating the subject, it will be of advantage to study Animism separately under the following three forms: — (i.) Worship of the sun, the stars, the moon, etc., festing itself above all as worship of the dead (Neo-Necrolatry); (ii.) worship of spiritual beings who are not associated in a permanent way with certain bodies or objects (Spiritism); (iii.) worship of spiritual beings who direct the permanent or periodic, more or less periodically recurring phenomena of nature (Naturalism).

Animism in the sense just stated represents an attempt to explain in a rational way all the facts of the Universe. It is the religion and the philosophy of all non-civilized peoples. The "Ashtus or Zuīlis," writes Mr. Frank Cushings, "suppose the sun, moon, stars, and sea, in all their phenomena and elements, and all inanimate objects as well as plants, animals, and men, to belong to one great system of all-connected, and of degrees of relationship which seem to be determined largely, if not wholly, by the doctrine of Karma, which is generally held by the Zulus of West Africa. So that, if a man killed a man, a dog, a sheep, or a bird, he would not repay, save by the same way your Table of contents

**ANIMISM**

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**vUle de l'Aigle, L'Algle, 1841 ; P. Vial, Let Lolos, Shanghai,**

1841-66, etc.; F. H. vom Schub, Die Volksgeist, etc.,

1877, etc.; J. N. W. de Visser, Die... alike composed of a

soul and a

body, and differing only in the extent ol their


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visible garb, any more than the personality of a man was conceived of apart from his body. But it cannot have been long before a new inference made its presence felt. The experience of dreams led men to the conclusion that their ego was different from their body, that it could separate itself from the latter—temporarily during sleep, finally at death—and yet remain, as one of the possible native abilities of human beings, being asked by a traveller whether he believed that his yambo could quit his body, replied: 'It must be so; for, when I sleep, I go to distant places, I see distant people, I even speak and act as if I were dead.' (Howitt, 'On some Australian Beliefs' in JAF, vol. xiii. [1884] p. 189.)

i. Necrolatry.—It will of course be understood that, in employing the terms 'soul,' 'spirit,' 'personality,' we do not mean to attribute to savages any notion of immortal entities, such as is arrived at by making abstraction successively of all the properties of matter except force. The soul is to them simply a being of a more subtle essence, generally invisible but not always intangible, subject, perhaps, to various wishes to measure to all the limitations of human beings, but endowed at the same time with mysterious faculties.

Hitherto no people has been met with which does not believe in the existence and survival of a soul, or which does not admit the possibility of their intervention in the affairs of the living, and which does not seek to enter into relations with them by processes which are everywhere closely analogous—either by offering to them anything of which they were fond during their lifetime, or by applying to them the methods resorted to by sorcery in order to avert or to control superhuman powers. The assertions of some authors to the contrary effect are due to incomplete observation, hasty generalization, or misunderstanding of the sense of the terms employed.

The souls of living beings are generally believed to be the pale and vague image of the body itself. It is the double, as it appears in dreams. Sometimes the soul is assimilated to the shadow cast by the body (the shades of poetical language), or to its reflection in water. At other times we find it confounded with the breath (Lat. anima, Gr. ἀρνίος, Skr. pātra, Heb. רוח = 'breath,' 'wind'), or with the beats of the heart and lungs. Thus it may have a special name or be attributed to it, borrowed from living beings or what are viewed as such: birds, serpents, insects, ignes fatui, meteors, wreaths of vapour, etc. There are peoples who imagine that man possesses a plurality of souls, each with its distinct rôle.

Souls, it is supposed, may feel the counter-stroke of wounds inflicted upon the body or of diseases which attack it. Again, the same body may become successively the seat of a number of souls, the same soul may inhabit in turn various bodies. Hence the magical processes, not uncommon among non-civilized peoples, whereby it is sought to replace the original soul by a superior one; and the custom, observed among some savage races, of divining at the moment of death, the moment he shows the first signs of mental or physical decay, the personage—sorcerer, chief, or king—who it concerns the tribe to preserve in the full possession of his faculties. This soul is thought to pass yet unimpaired into the body of his successor.

What becomes of the double after death? In general it is supposed to continue to haunt the corpse as long as any part of it remains, or to frequent the vicinity of the tomb. At times the notion of survival is limited to the more or less vivid recollection retained of the deceased.

'Ask the negro,' writes Du Chaillu (TTE, p. 308), 'there is the spirit of his great-grandfather, he says he does not know; it is done. Ask him about the spirits of his father or brother who died yesterday, this year, or last year, and you get the same answer. Thus the theory of retribution finds room by the side of the theory of continuation, and probably succeeds to it.'

At the end of a certain period, or as the result of certain rites, the soul, as is sometimes held, reincarnates itself; or, more frequently, it is believed to take its departure to another world—successively, in forests and meadows; at the summit of a mountain, above the vault of heaven, in the stars, etc. There it leads a vague, colourless, miserable existence (this is the peculiar quality of subterranean abodes, Sheol or Hades); or, it may be, an existence moulded more or less closely upon the earthly life, each shade retaining his rank and his circumstances.

But, even upon this hypothesis of another abode, the soul is still supposed to intervene in the affairs of the living, especially when the deceased turns turn legislator or lawgiver to take vengeance upon his enemies. Hence the importance assumed by Ancestor-worship, a practice which has played so large a part, as has been shown by Herbert Spencer, in the consolidation of families and the origin of races, in the fear of ghosts, in filial affection, and in the desire to preserve for the family the benefits of paternal protection. Once it is admitted that death does not interrupt the relations between men, it is logical to suppose that a father after his decease will retain a prejudice in favour of his descendants, and will seek to add to their welfare and to protect them against dangers at home or abroad. The children, for their part, in order to preserve his favour, will have to continue to show him the consideration he demanded in his lifetime: they must also maintain the organization of the family and assure the permanence of the home, so that this cult may never be interrupted.

By the side of ancestors, and at times above them, a place comes to be taken by the nanes of illustrious personages who have profoudly impressed the popular imagination—chiefs, sorcerers, conquerors, heroes, legislators, and reputed founders of the tribe or the city.

The worship of ancestors sometimes includes the belief that all the members of a tribe are descended from some individual who is held to have possessed the form of an animal or, more rarely, of a plant. This involves certain relations of consanguinity with all the representatives of this species. See Totemism.

The notion that the lot of souls in the future life is regulated by their conduct in the present life belongs to a more advanced stage in the evolution of religious ideas. Its appearance and development can be traced in the majority of historical religions. The first stage is to accept the principle that souls have awarded to them a better or worse existence according as they have or have not, during their sojourn on earth, deserved the favour of the superhuman powers. The last stage is reached when it is supposed that, upon the analogy of what happens in well ordered societies, the lot of the soul is made the subject of a formally conducted process of judgment, where good and evil actions are weighed in the balance, and the happiness or suffering of the deceased is decided. This favourite titles to future rendering to the gods, pious actions, sacrifices: afterwards they are services rendered to the community which it is the aim of the gods to protect. Thus the theory of retribution finds room by the side of the theory of continuation, and probably succeeds to it. But
even this method of regulating the destiny of souls after death does not exclude such an eventuality as their temporary return to earth and entrance into relations with the living.

ii. Spiritism.—Once a start has been made by attributing to all living beings, and even to a great many inanimate objects, a mental equipment which differs from a man's own merely in the degree of activity and power, it is a logical inference that souls may, in their turn, separate themselves temporarily from their bodies, and, if the latter be dissolved, may survive them. These souls assume, in rule, the physiognomy of a double, or a form appropriate to their function, but always chosen so as to imply movement and life. Moreover, at this stage of intellectual development, man will cherish a belief in the existence, as independent agents, of a multitude of analogous souls proceeding from beings and objects which he has not known. These souls, from the very circumstance that they have lost their connexion with particular bodies, acquire a fitness for assuming all aspects and performing all offices.

Such is the origin of spirits, to whose agency are finally attributed all phenomena which men can neither explain by natural causes nor set down to the account of some supernatural being with functions exactly defined. The most benighted savages, even when they have no idea of the distinction between natural and supernatural, perceive quite clearly that certain events are due to causes whose connexion with life is bewitched. They do not need to wait till a Newton came to reveal the law of gravitation, in order to convince themselves that, if an apple detached from a tree falls to the ground, there is nothing in this phenomenon but what is natural and capable of being foreseen. But everything that strikes them as unusual and unexpected—and this category includes the great majority of phenomena—seems to them due to the action of invisible powers acting through mysterious processes. These powers bear, amongst all non-civilized peoples, a generic name which corresponds in their respective languages to our term 'spirits.'

The disembodied spirits may introduce themselves into the body of a man, thus to invade the body of a man, they take the place of his personality, or at least introduce disorders; to them are attributed the phenomena of possession, inspiration, second sight, intoxication, disease. All these things are explanations assigned diseases either to the entrance of a spirit into the body, or to wounds inflicted by a spirit from outside, or to the removal of the soul by a malevolent spirit. When spirits penetrate into a material object, they make it the vehicle or the organ of their own personality, and thus transform it into a fetish. The fetish differs from the amulet (or the talisman) in that the latter owes its efficacy to a property transmitted from without, whereas the fetish itself always owes its value to the presence of its spirit.

When one begins to introduce something like order amongst the superhuman powers, spirits are grouped in classes according to the sphere which they inhabit or the function which they discharge. Thus we have spirits of the air, of the under world, of the waters, of fire, of plants, of flocks, etc. The physical form attributed to them is generally one borrowed from living animate beings, but enriched with fantastic features.

The souls of natural objects endowed with the character of permanence or of periodicity (such as the sky, the earth, the heavenly bodies, the elements, vegetation, etc.) often tend to assume a special importance. They are, none the less, regarded as distinct from their visible garb, and likewise have a proper physical form assigned to them, which is ordinarily the human form or that of one of the higher animals. The genius so conceived of may temporarily leave their domain and even intervene in a number of affairs that have no connexion with their original function. They are thus led to employ the spirits of men, of ancestors and upon that of ordinary spirits. When we look at them from another side, we note that, while the majority of spirits are regarded as malevolent, and are dreaded and treated accordingly, the genius of Nature sometimes ill-natured and at other times propitious, like the phenomena over which they preside; and hence they tend to awake in their worshippers a mingled sentiment of fear and of affection, corresponding to this double aspect of their nature. We frequently note a disposition to exaggerate their benevolent side, and, above all, their power by the use of flatteries, unconscious or deliberate, which in the end are brought forward as the expression of the truth. Certain genius tend thus to outstrip the other human powers, and to become man's allies in his conflict with the hostile forces of Nature.

To the above differentiation in the conception of souls there corresponds a certain variety in the forms of cult. Being of foreign origin—homage—predominate in the relations with the higher rank of the Divine Powers; on the other hand, it is acts of conjuration—evocation, incantation, exorcism—that are employed by preference with the spirits of the earth. This explains why magic is the ordinary companion of Spiritism. Where the evolution of religion has developed neither veneration for the forces of Nature nor the worship of Ancestors, the cult consists almost exclusively—in the case of the aborigines, the Australians, the natives of Siberia and South America, etc.—of processes intended to avert or to subjugate the superhuman powers. Among these peoples the conception of the world as a domain abandoned to the caprices of arbitrary and malevolent wills makes of religion a reign of terror, weighing constantly upon the life of the savage, and barring all progress. On the other hand, where Animism develops into polytheism, it may be viewed as a mechanism leading to making the Divine Power the supreme agent who seeks order in nature and the good of humanity.

The subject will be more fully dealt with under Soul and Spirit.


Godet d'Avileva.

ANNAM (Popular Religion).—A characteristic of the Annamese is the multiplicity and variety of their cults. Ignorance of the sciences, of the arts, of philosophy, by conviction, they are only indifferently versed in the three great religions of foreign origin that prevail in their country—Chinese Buddhism (Phât gido), which is celebrated in the pagoda (chúa); Confucianism (Nhô gido), in the temples of the educated (ôn miêu, ôn chi); and Taoism (Thô' tinh, thô' c'ac bo), in the palace (phu' dên). These are official cults, practised especially by the upper classes and the learned.

So also the cult of the Sky and the Earth, which allows no other celebrant than the sovereign, and the cult of the ruling Emperor receive from the Annamese only subordinate veneration. We shall not describe these cults, which are all of Chinese importation, but refer the reader to art. CHINA.
The masses retain their preference for ancestor-worship (thọ ếng bđ lòng), which the head of the family offers in a reserved part of the house (nhà tô); for the Genii and Spirits of all kinds, which are invoked in the chapels (miệt); and for the numerous magical performances (phế thudát), which have come from China, from India, and from the island and such of the Inland Provinces as are simply autochthonous. No one has yet succeeded in finally deciding what belongs to each of these various influences. They all co-operate in perpetuating the old animistic beliefs, which have remained very deep-rooted in Annam as elsewhere.

1. Animism.—To the inhabitant of Annam life is a universal phenomenon; it is the common possession not only of men and animals, but also of things—stones, plants, stars, and of the elements—earth, fire, water, wind, etc.

To all he gives a sex and a rank. The sun is male; the moon, his wife, is female; the stars send good fortune and bad from on high. Then some animals have been anthropomorphized or even given a human shape; and all at the same time reverence for them; e.g. in Annam they always speak of 'Sir Tiger' (Ong Cọp). Hence that worship, which is so strange, of the whale, the dolphin, and the tiger, Annamites not only admit that life is common to all existing things, but conceive of that life as not isolated, but as collective; they see it in groups, not in individuals. This difficulty in conceiving individualism is one which is not confined to the Annamites. It exists in almost all primitive races, and still continues among those of slow-development, as in China, for example, where the idea of collective solidarity, the conception in groups, has legal consequences. When a crime is committed in China, not only is the guilty one punished, but his forefathers, his descendants, his parents, his friends, and even his neighbours. In the collection of taxes, the upper classes in the community are always responsible to the treasury for the general crowd.

In addition to these two ideas of universality and collectivity of life, the Annamites believe in the contingency and permeability of beings who do not form distinct categories, but can pass from one genus or species to another under certain conditions; so effective and time. Hence theriomorphism and totemism.

The elephant was born from the star aó Quang, the rabbit from the moon. A fox at the age of fifty years can change into an old woman; a hundred years into a lovely maiden, very dangerous to her lovers; at a thousand years of age, if he happens to find in a cemetery a human skull which fits his head, may become a spectre, or a being similar to the Hindu pây; Sows can go the length of changing into courtesans.

The fish after a thousand years becomes a dragon, the rat at the end, hundred years a bat, and the bat after another hundred years a swallow. Any one who can catch it at the time of metamorphosis and eat its flesh becomes immortal. Tigers' hairs may give birth to worms. Even plants are capable of similar transformation: the chudl tree (a kind of banana), on reaching a thousand years of age, becomes a goat. The people maintain that a banyan tree (Ficus indica, Linnaeus) which grew within the precincts of a temple near Hanoi, on being cut down, became transformed into a blue buffalo. The ngl-dông (Eleococcus serrulata, Linnaeus) has the power to change itself at night into a ghost with a buffalo's head.

These transformations, possible to plants and animals, are still more so to supernatural beings, as it is even to man. The fetishes (bô tin, nght), for instance, often take the shape of butterflies, the genii of men and monkeys. The mother of an Annamite of the Trán dynasty (1380-1402) appeared in the form of a large cock crowing on the air near Hanoi, and as she passed to her mother was being offered. Some sorcerers have a still more extraordinary gift: certain of them can eat swarms of bees from grains of rice, with which they fill their mouths and which then blow out forcibly into the air: others ride on a simple shovel of water: they can cast their faces into a donkey and then change back into its original state.

In this reciprocal and continuous intermingling of the life of all beings, pairing cannot be determined or limited by species. The legend of the founding of Cố-loa tells of the union of a maiden with a white cock. Dinh-bọ-Lành, at one time a drover in the Ninh-binh mountains, who founded the national Annamite dynasty in the 10th cent., is said to have been the son of a woman and an ox. These totemic legends enable us to understand such names as the Fox clan, the Dragon clan, the clan of the Red Sparrow-hawks, assumed in semi-historical times by the tribes among which Annam was divided. The Annals state that, down to the 14th cent., the kings of Annam tatuéd their bodies with the representations of a dragon, in allusion to their legendary origin.

For a similar reason, but with a more practical object, the inhabitants of fishing villages used to tons themselves with the figure of a crocodile in order to establish their relationship with the numerous crocodiles of their shores, and to be spared by them. Others in the same way used to adorn their bodies with a serpent, in order to avoid being bitten by those formidable reptiles.

Union was possible not only between men and animals, but also between human beings and supernatural beings, genii, or vampires, especially as vampires often assume the appearance of men, to be better able to deceive the women they wish to possess. O-lô, a famous personage at the court of the Hanoi kings, the legends affirm, than the genius of the Ma-la or life of Si-Doang, Annamite ambassador to the court of China.

The phenomenon of conception, in the popular beliefs of the Annamites, not only does not always presuppose the union of species of the two parents, but can even be accomplished without sexual intercourse between them. Nearly all the heroes of the semi-historical period in Annam are sons of miraculous fertilization. The mother of the assassin of king Dinh-Tên-Hoang, who ascended the throne in 968, became pregnant after dreaming that she was swallowing the moon. Another king was born from a fresh egg that his mother had taken from a swallow's nest and eaten. The legends abound with analogous cases in which fertilization is due to spring-water, the touch of a handkerchief, the tail of a star, etc.

Another result of this absence of limits to beings and things is that everything that resembles a certain individual, in however small a degree, may at a given moment be regarded as the individual, and undergo the treatment that was to befall him. Here we come upon the spells often practised by the Annamite sorcerers. The effigy of the person whom they wish to see dead. By analogous reasoning, they burn at the graves paper representations or even merely a list of all the objects (clothing, furniture, jewels, houses, etc.) that the dead man is supposed to take away with him.

Similarly, any particular condition is transmissable by contact, without regard to the person's own will. That is why a person who wants to avoid all misfortune has to keep constantly in the shade. A pregnant woman must be careful not to accept betel-pellets from a woman who has already had a miscarriage, under penalty of abortion. She must not eat double bananas if she does not want to give birth to twins. A person carrying straw that avoid passing a field of rice in blossom; the rice would change to straw. They believe also in the contagion of death, and several parts of the funeral ceremony aim specially at guarding them from it.

Lost in the thicket of those considerations, the one who surrounds him, haunted by the terrible and manifold forms that that life can take to destroy him, the Annamites live constantly on the defensive. If he tries by sacrifices and offerings to gain the favour of the good spirits, he has first to appease the malignant ones, under whatever form they appear, and to foresee, and consequently to
at id, all the misfortunes which may befall him. Hence the cults of the good and evil genii, of certain animals and of souls, the belief in magic and presentiments, and a whole series of prophylactic ceremonies before each important event in life, especially the marriage, and death.

2. Good Spirits.—In the belief of the good spirits is Ngô-ro-u'o (Tonkin), the one-footed spirit, whose worship, the Annamese, asserts, was brought from Nam-quan in China to Tonkin by a Taoist priest. He flourishes chiefly in Nghè-An, but he has worshippers throughout the peninsula of Tonkin. Dóc-Quôc, the other spirit, assumes the form of a warrior of noble bearing, brandishing an axe in his only hand, which is always represented in profile. His body, cut in two lengthwise, rests on a single foot. A prayer taken from the ritual of the spirit praises his merits thus: 'The one-footed Spirit has only one eye and only one foot, but he is swift as lightning and sees all that happens in the world. He sees afar the evil spirits who bring plague, ruin, and misfortune. He calls to his aid the millions of celestial soldiers. He protects and avenges men. Tigers and demons dread him. He sends good or bad weather as he chooses, makes the sun to shine or the rain to fall, and cures all diseases.'

When hunters catch an animal in their nets, they kill it and then pull off a part of its left ear, which they bury in the spot where the animal was caught, as an offering to the Spirit of the soil (Thọ Trân). Then the prey is flayed and dismembered. Its heart, cut up into small pieces, is cooked on burning coals. These pieces are then laid on broad leaves on the ground; and the chief of the hunters, protrasting himself four times, informs Thọ Trân that such and such a band of men from such and such a place has lately undergone the deprivation of depriving of him of such and such an animal. The animal is then divided among all the hunters.

In fields of eatable or market-garden plants (cucumbers, water-melons, etc.), they often erect a miniature chapel of straw to the Lord of the earth (Thọ Chù). In this way the field is placed under the protection of the spirit; and thieves are far more afraid to come near it, for it is Thọ Chù, and not the owner, that they dread having anything to do with.

For the same purpose of protection, travellers, on leaving the river for the sea, make offerings of gill paper at the mouth of the river, in order to secure the favour of the sea-spirits. Those who travel by land throw them at the turnings of the road to avoid accidents, especially the teeth of the tiger.

There are also female spirits (chu' vi), who inhabit forests, springs, thickets, and certain trees. At their head is the five great spirits (ngu roi), among whom are the evil genii (ghi), and other smaller genii, who, according to the Annamese, inhabit all space. They include the whole of the Ma and the Qui, evil spirits or devils, hobgoblins, vampires, and ghosts, which are constantly adding to their number by flying from the millions of the wandering souls of the dead.

Physical and moral pain, epidemics, ruin, and accidents come from them. There is the Spirit of Choilers, of Small-pox, of Bad Luck, etc. It is for this reason that the Annamese seek by every means to appease them, and are far more concerned about them than about the good spirits.

For, whereas the good spirits harm human beings only when they are offended or slandered by them,
the evil spirits are incessantly trying to work mischief. They can be disarmed only by means of sacrifices, or rendered harmless by the protection of the good spirits.

In the first rank we must place the worship rendered to the spirits of the autochthones (chu' ngu), the original possessors of the soil, which wander about in the tombs, or descents, of their dead, and prevent them from being raised from the dead. They are supposed to live on offerings which they demand, and are said to cause misfortunes to the living. Hence, in order to placate them, the Annamese offer sacrifices. The owner of a house will place a little flowered bit of lamb and a fish and a small cake in front of the thresholds of the house, and then, raising his voice, will call on the spirits to accept the offerings with which they are invited to fill the house with prosperity.

The Ma-trot-trot, or souls of behelden persons, are the cause of whirlwinds. The Annamese scare these demons away by calling out ‘Chem! Chem!’ (‘Behold you!’).

The Ma-thän-vong, or souls of those who have hanged themselves, try to entice to another attempt at suicide those who have been saved when attempting to hang themselves. For these the charm is broken by cutting the strings which hold the rope. If this precaution has been omitted, the danger may still be obviated by a ceremony in which a Ma-thän-vong is represented with a rope in his hand. They burn this little figure, and then the rope of the hanged man is cut in pieces.

The Com-tda, or imaginations, are especially fond of tormenting young children, in whom they cause frights, convulsions, head eruptions, etc. Twelve in number, they each rule an hour of the day. An offering of twelve red handkerchiefs, twelve mirrors, and twelve fans, under some large stone, and the child is under a banana leaf, wards off their evil influence. Amulet, such as tigers' claws, vultures' vertebra, or a tiger's skull, hung above the children's cradles, drive away the Com-tda.

The Méc-chön dwell in trees, and continue to live in them even when their dwelling-place has been cut down and used as material for building houses. These demons, lying down on people when asleep, give them nightmares.

It is well to beware also of the Ma-dan, gigantic ghosts of buffaloes and elephants, and especially the Côn-kém, or abandoned souls, who, having died a violent death, return to torment the living. They are appeased by offerings of leaves of imitation gold or silver, or counterfeit bank-notes. The wandering souls which have not had burial take shelter by ‘millions and tens of millions’ in the shade of shrubs and trees. At night they come in crowds to attack people passing on their way, and they send misfortune to those who forget them. So large is their number and so sad their lot, that small temples of wood or bamboo are erected for them, or small stone altars, sometimes formed simply by a stone at the foot of a tree. The individual whose business is in danger tries to gain the favour of these miserable souls by oblations, which almost always consist of paper representations of bars of gold or silver, paper shoes, and rice. The rice is scattered broadcast to the four cardinal points, while the offerer says: ‘This is for the miserable souls who wander among the clouds, at the mercy of the winds, and whose bodies have rotted in the sun, and who have been drowned, and who have been offered water. Let each single grain of rice produce one hundred. Let each hundred produce ten thousand, and let the wandering souls be satisfied.’

The souls then hasten forward under the supervision of two spirits, one of which notices them by ringing a bell, while the other, sword in hand, sees to the just division of the rice among the hungry souls.

4. Animal-worship.—From their ancient animal-cult the Annamese have retained some forms of worship, as well as a veneration born of fear, for a certain number of animals. The animal most dreaded is Ông Cáp, a type of respect equivalent *
to ‘Sir Tiger.’ This awe-inspiring feline is worshipped in many places, and has special priests or sorcerers, the thây-dông. Small stone temples are erected to him, provided with two altars, the one a little back and on the top of the other. On the lower one a huge lamp burns in honour of the spirit who is the real ‘Lord.’ At the foot of this altar, Ong Cop is painted on a screen, seated, with bristling whiskers and sparkling eyes. Sometimes the temple has nothing on its altar except a stone tiger.

The thây-dông, by means of a medium called dông, enter into communication with the spirits, and in their name exorcise, cure, give advice for the success of such and such a matter, etc.

This tiger, although so greatly respected, is nevertheless, in practical life, hunted with great keenness; and the Annamese, while eagerly pursuing it, from fear of being devoured by it, are careful to honour it and to speak of it with the most reverential fear. Among them fear or horror is often expressed by such exclamations as: ‘O cop,’ ‘Tiger’s ghost!’ ‘Cop loi,’ ‘The tiger is coming!’ etc.

To excuse the unreasonable conduct of this, they imagine two kinds of tigers: those which feed on human flesh, and are always on the lookout for slaughter, and which men should kill mercilessly; and the real tigers, creatures which are endowed with supernatural powers, have a horror of human flesh, and live in solitude at the foot of the mountains.

Being devoured by a tiger implies predestination or heredity. Predestination would come from a misdeed committed in a former existence, and which they would call an unreasonableness which was never in view. They are afraid of this, for the length of time of nearly all magical occurrences among the Annamese.

They have a very great regard also for Ong Voi, ‘Sir Elephant,’ who is considered as strong as he is modest, and for Con trâm nu’cô, ‘the water buffalo,’ a fabulous animal which causes the waters to divide before it. If the person who holds a hair of this buffalo can cross a river, he is safe.

The dolphin (Că nui’cô, Că voi) is very much revered, especially by the maritime population. He is believed to save shipwrecked sailors by carrying them on his back. They also give him the title of Ong, ‘Grandfather,’ My Lord, ‘The Venerable.’ They make use of a periphrasis to announce his death, or say that he is dead and has received the official name of ‘Spirit with the jade scales.’

The dead body of a dolphin encountered at sea is a presage of good fortune. It is taken ashore and buried with ceremony. The captain of the vessel that discovers it becomes the ‘son of the dolphin,’ conducts the obsequies, and wears the prescribed mourning. The bones of the dolphin, exhumed after three months and ten days, are laid in a sanctuary, this being a great honour, and the property for the whole village. Every boat, during its voyages, is on the lookout for the death of a dolphin. After the death of a Chine’s tombs may give the idea of their to a less fortunate village. The transference takes place with solemn rites, after the consent of the dolphin has been obtained by ceremony with sacrifices.

Ong Ty, ‘Sir Rat,’ is invoked both by farmers, that he may not devour the rice which is being sown, and by sailors, that he may not gnaw their boat of woven bamboo.

Ong Tôm, ‘Sir Silk-Worm,’ is treated with the greatest deference during its breeding; in order to counteract the great mortality of its species. To Ong Chá, ‘Sir Stag,’ the peasants offer sacrifices, and beg of him not to devastate the fields of rice which they have planted in a newly-cleared corner of a forest, since normally the stag has every right to regard this very place as his home.

Ong Chang, ‘Sir Wild Buffalo,’ is implored in the same way to spare the harvests.

The serpent is the object of a worship equal to the fear which they inspire. They and the tigers are the great animal powers dreaded by the Annamese.

To meet a serpent is a bad omen and the serpent, they must be careful not to cut off its head with a knife, since it would escape and pursue them. So also, when holding a serpent by the tail, they must not let it wriggle itself in the air, for feet would immediately grow on it. Pythons’ fat (con tram) makes a very good depurative.

Certain milli-peds have in their mouths a bright stone, the possession of which renders a person invulnerable to serpents.

The leech is the symbol of immortality, because it is indestructible. When killed it lives again; when cut in pieces it multiplies; if it has been dried, it becomes reanimated whenever it is put into water; if it is burnt, from its moltened substance a crowd of young leeches. There is only one way of getting rid of it, to put it into a box along with some honey; then it disappears. There is reason to beware of the leech; for, if put into a person’s ear, it creeps into the brain, multiplies in it, and devours it.

Pigeons have the gift of reading the future and foreseeing misfortune. When a pigeon is seen by a hunter, the hunt is sure to be unsuccessful.

The little gecko, or calling lizard (Hemidactylus maurusa), which also causes a serious wound that may be cured by drinking the blood which exudes from a black cat’s tail, the end of which has been cut off. When cooked, the skink is an excellent remedy for asthma and guillain (mumps) in pigs.

A mad dog inflicts bites which are fatal, unless one manages to pull the head of the dog out of its wound. After that, the bitten man’s head; then he may recover.

Certain vegetables, material of the sea and even the elements, require reverential treatment, for they may be receptacles of a mysterious power.

When a junk or a house is built, the sorcerer is sent for before it is occupied, and he exorcises the spirits which might still be dwelling in the pieces of wood and might bring misfortune.

Before putting a new junk into the water, the sailors sacrifice to Ong Hô Bô, ‘Lord of the River.’ If, during their voyage, they notice in the middle of the water a tree trunk which might knock against and capsize their vessel, they immediately sacrifice to Ong Gô, ‘Sir Tree-trunk.’ They treat Ong Thọ, ‘Sir Wind,’ which, with equal consideration for the sailor, may be sent, or at least called, to the man’s head; then he may recover.

Aerolites (đen sa), or meteoric stones, are the objects of great reverence. They are supposed to be intimately associated with lightning. They fall at each beginning of a thunder-peak, sink into the ground, and after three months and ten days I come out of it again.

The possession of a dry stick is a guarantee of good luck. Aerolites chase away the evil spirits, which are terrified at their fall, and which at each peak of thunder run to take shelter under the hat or umbrella of the people they meet. According to them, every peal of thunder the Annamese take care to raise their hats or umbrellas a little to guard against their intrusion.

Aerolite powder mixed with water keeps children safe from evil spirits. In smallpox it ensures regular and favourable suppuration.

The skull of a male (more especially of a child or a youth) who has been struck by lightning, which afterwards had formulas recited over it, becomes a useful charm, and even a very good medium.

5. Priest-sorcery.—Beliefs so numerous and so entangled produce very complicated cults. All the various kinds of spirits have different requirements, and in order to secure their favour it is necessary to be fully aware of what they desire and of the offerings which they prefer. The common people are quite at a loss among their numerous charms, magical songs, exorcisms, and sacrifices. Hence arises a body of special priest-sorcerers among the Annamese.

The most numerous class is that of the thây phám thây, the masters of amulets and purificatory

* Needless to say, the virulence of the hemidactyl is a fable, and the skink seldom bites.

† The length of time of nearly all magical occurrences among the Annamese.
waters,' who have no regular temples, and who, when they go home, take their altar and the cult-objects with them. Some of them are the celebra-
tants in temples erected by individuals. They officiate there at certain anniversaries, or when a person is imploiring the intervention of the spirit of these temples.

If they are persons of a higher order, the th'dy-phap or th'dy-dông, practise only in their homes. Having a very numerous clientèle, they are often able to build stone temples in which to officiate, and which are their own property. They are assisted by a dày, or chief priest, and a th'nx, or their foot. On the latter are invoked the spirit and the petitioner; for hypnotism, real or feigned, plays the chief rôle in these ceremonies. All these sorcerers derive their power from certain good or evil spirits, to which they have dedicated themselves, and which, after being raised, remain in direct communication with them, possessing them and speaking through their voices. The sorcerers can not only command the spirits, but are also able to influence the normal order of occurrences in nature. They raise the dead, cast love-spells, and send telepathic suggestions to persons whom they wish to employ against others. They can instantaneously change the nature of beings and substances, transform a savoury dish into fish, or change a dog into a cock; they can send diseases, defects, or pains to whomsoever they choose.

They can also employ their power to do good. It is they who cure illnesses, exorcise people possessed and houses haunted by demons, cause rain to fall or to cease, and find out treasures. They do not require a formal amount of power, when any one is annoyed by the spite of a sorcerer, the only thing to do is to set a more powerful sorcerer against him.

The sorcerers still manufacture love philtres and talismans, for ensuring a return of some one who or parted with a garment belonging to the person by whom they wish to be loved. Some sorcerers are regular spell doctors, who perform their spells in public (nh'mng-nha).

They then make the call th'dy-ngat, and have great skill in killing, causing illness, and inspiring love or hatred. They secretly cultivate the tumbaga trees, or their flowers, or in some isolated place, and then go and choose the one that they need at the appointed hour. While uprooting it, they recite incantations over it, informing it of the cruel design to be accomplished and of the hour at which it is to take place. Then, either directly or by means of a third person, who in most cases knows nothing about the part which they are making him play, they endeavor to bring the least particle of ngat into contact with the enemy whom they wish to harm. The latter is immediately stricken by a disease, and may die unless he happens to get the better of it, or unless the hatred of the avenger does not go the length of death. Only another sorcerer can cure him.

A popular superstition claims that these th'dy-ngat are not the only cause of the sufferings of the people; that there are in existence some families of professional poisoners, who, on various pretenses, slip into their houses and poison their provisions, especially the water. These persons poison from filial piety, because one of their ancestors poisoned somebody. His descendant must imitate him at least once a year, to satisfy his spirit. If they did not succeed, they would have to sacrifice one of their own kin. That is the reason why, when their odious practices have achieved the slightest success, they sacrifice a child at their turn. In order to fulfill their duty, and account for this fear, the Annamese take great care that strangers do not get near the family provisions, especially the Jars where they keep the water.

6. Fortune-telling.—The Annamese have also fortune-tellers (th'dy-bôi), who are nearly always blind, and rather poorly remunerated. They cast nativities by means of copper coins, whose position, heads or tails, determines the prediction.

In the temples the divining logs and rods may be interrogated. The logs are two pieces of lacquered wood, like coteledons, which give an affirmative answer when both fall on the same side, and a negative if the other way.

The rods, about thirty in number, have figures in Chinese characters, which, on being referred to a horoscope, give the reply of destiny. Other oracle books are read by means of these signs.

The Annamese practise chiromancy, physiognomy, and phrenology. Several fortune-tellers, instead of examining the hand of the querist, obtain their prognostications from a cock's or hen's foot. One acts all the lines to the invoked spirit and the petitioner; for hypnotism, real or feigned, plays the chief role in these ceremonies. All these sorcerers derive their power from certain good or evil spirits, to which they have dedicated themselves, and which, after being raised, remain in direct communication with them, possessing them and speaking through their voices. The sorcerers can only commands the spirits, but are also able to influence the normal order of occurrences in nature. They raise the dead, cast love-spells, and send telepathic suggestions to persons whom they wish to employ against others. They can instantaneously change the nature of beings and substances, transform a savoury dish into fish, or change a dog into a cock; they can send diseases, defects, or pains to whomsoever they choose.

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The doctor and the sorcerer attend the invalid in turn, and it is not the former that is most listened to. The people try to prevent misfortune and its visitations by amulets and sacrifices to the spirits. If these precautions fail, they have recourse to the doctor (and they do not pay him unless he succeeds in curing the patient); and in grave cases they nearly always call in the sorcerer instead.

The two most terrible diseases that the Annamese have to do with are cholera and smallpox. Quite spiritual taliations are needed against the demon of cholera, whose wiles and sorceries are held to be insufficient. The frightful rapidity of the disease does not allow of lengthy therapeutics.

Smallpox, which is even more frequent, is perhaps broadest still more. It is never spoken of except in periphrases, and its postulates receive the reverential designation of 'Ong.' Smallpox is attributed to evil spirits, and especially to the souls of persons who have already died of smallpox (Con ma đâu). The latter are responsible for appearing as the people when the mild cases are due to predestination. Whenever a sick person is attacked by smallpox, he is isolated, not from fear of contagion, but from fear of the evil spirits which have taken possession of the invalid. Nevertheless, if the child is a victim, the father and mother never leave him alone, and they surround him with a net to prevent the approach of the Con ma đâu.

When the disease takes a serious turn, many of the physicians abandon their patients, not so much, perhaps, to avoid attempting an impossible task, as to be safe from the anger of the Con ma đâu. In fact, one of their proverbs says: 'If you cure smallpox, it will have its revenge; if you endeavour to the passes of the curer.' It is believed that the children of doctors die from the smallpox from which their father has saved others.

During times of epidemic, if a family has already lost a child from smallpox, they are afraid that he will come and take away his surviving brothers and sisters, and they sacrifice at his grave to prevent him from leaving it. Amulets and witchcraft are the only cures for smallpox.

Of the house of the illness they place under the bed of the smallpox patient a têr, a fish with a smooth green skin, of the sardine genus, which is believed to become impregnated with the smallpox until it stiffs with it.

In order that the erythematous stage may pass quickly into the putulant, and to favour the further formation of crusts, the patient eats shrimps and crabs. On the other hand, when desquamation has set in, he eats fish with scales in order to hasten the process. Yams are prescribed for it, for would change into a multitude of worms in the softened liver and lungs of the patient.

So also, if the smallpox patient wishes to prevent a relapse when convalescent, he must avoid walking barefooted on damp dung.

Lastly, when smallpox (or any other epidemic) is raging, everybody sacrifices to the crowd of malevolent spirits known by the generic name of quan-sơn, the primary cause of all ills. For these sacrifices, at the beginning of the hot season, when the death-rate is highest, they manufacture or buy paper figures representing a demon whom they wish to be saved, and burn them in the village square. The offerings intended to appease the evil spirits are placed in little paper boats, which they send off at the edge of the water.

9. Birth.—The Annamese, who are a very prolific race, are anxious to have numerous posterity. They try above all to avoid miscarriages, still-born children, and infant mortality. In their eyes still-born or prematurely born children are special spirits in short successive incarnations, denoted by the name of Con lơn ('entering life'). The mother of a Con lơn is considered contagious. No young woman would accept a betel-pellet from her. They speak of her as 'the demoness a.'

Successive miscarriages are believed to be re-in-
carnations of the same spirit. In order to get rid of this evil influence, when a woman who has had one or more miscarriages is about to be confined again, a young dog is killed and cut in three pieces, which are buried under the woman's bed; and with the blood of the dog amulets are traced, which are taken to the future mother.

The evil spirit which presides at these premature deaths is called Me con rankh, 'the mother of abor-
tions.' It is represented in the form of a woman in white, sitting in a tree, where she rocks her children.

To drive away this demon from the body of the pregnant woman, they exorcize it. For this purpose they make two small figures representing a mother and child. They place the mother on a bed, and burn them, after the sorcerer has adjured the evil spirit with threats no longer to torment the family which is performing the exorcism.

When a woman is pregnant, there is a very simple way of determining beforehand the sex of the child. Some one calls the woman, and she turns to reply. If she turns to the left, a boy will be born; if she turns to the right, a girl.

At the time of confinement the woman is subjected to a special diet of dried salted food, and a fire (hut bô) is kept burning under the bed—a custom which is common to all the Indo-Chinese. They invoke the twelve goddesses of birth and other deities.

If the parturient woman is in danger, the father prostrates himself and entreats the child to be born. Immediately after the birth the young mother is tranquiled by being led by the natives who have been attending her, and then fumigations and washings take place.

The part of the umbilical cord that is close to the section is preserved. It is, according to the Annamese, a powerful fabri-
cate for the use of children. These authorizes the name of the child from the fact that it prohibits from entering the house women whose confinement have been difficult or followed by accidents, and who might bring bad fortune.

Thirty days after the birth, during which the mother has been isolated, all the things belonging to her are burnt.

Various ceremonies then take place, with offerings of fowls, bananas, rice, etc., to thank the goddesses of birth, and afterwards to give fluent speech to the child. They take special care not to pronounce any words of evil omen, as, e.g., speaking of illnesses, among others of thrush, for fear of giving it to the child. They also avoid frying anything in the house. That would cause blisters on the mother and the newly-born child.

As it is not quite customary to enter the room where the mother and the child are lying, each member of the family, in order that the child may make his acquaintance and not cry on seeing him, dips a part of his coat in a little water, which is given to the child to drink.

Towards the end of the first month after the birth, they sacrifice to the birth-goddesses and give the child a name. As far as possible, this name must never have belonged to any member of the father's or the mother's family. The rice that is offered on this occasion is tinted in five colours: white, black, red, blue, and yellow. Each of the invited guests presents a gift to the child.

The child that sucks the milk of a pregnant woman soon dies (of mesenteric atrophy), because that milk is supposed not to have reached its maturity.

It is supposed that, on awakening in the morning, a person's bite is venomous, though it ceases to be poisonous when the vapours which cause the venom have passed away. In order to avoid such a bite, the Annamese mother does not suckle her infant until it cries.

When a child remains sickly and difficult to bring up, to baffle the evil spirits which are tormenting it, the parents pretend to sell it either to the spirit of the hearth or to the Buddha, and they throw it to the Buddhist bronze. It then receives another name and is resold to its parents, as if it were a strange child.

When the child is one year old, a fresh sacrifice to the birth-goddesses takes place. Then they
spread out playthings and tools before the child. From his choice they infer his future aptitudes.

When a child less than a year old sneezes, they call him ‘Com de’ (rice and fish!). The same cry is raised when he fails to laugh, as if to help in his need. When a child is subject to hiscough, they stick on his forehead the end of a betel-leaf bitten off by the teeth.

When a child is taken away, they make a stroke or a cross on his forehead with a cinder from the hearth, so that the spirit of the hearth may protect him from the evil influence during the journey.

When they cannot take a child under seven years of age away on the journey, they stick a little wax on his head in order that he may not regret his parents.

20. Marriage.—Marriage does not admit of so many magical rites. But when a marriage has been arranged and presents exchanged, the engaged couple consider themselves as married; and if one of them were to die, the other would wear mourning.

Misconduct of the girl before her marriage is strictly forbidden. In case of pregnancy, she is compelled to name her seducer. If he denies his guilt, he is retained until the birth of the child. An official proof by blood then takes place, which is called rich man. They link one of the infant's fingers with one of the suspected person's, make a stroke in each, and catch the blood in a vessel. If the two kinds of blood form two separate clots, the accused is declared innocent; if they mix, he is guilty, and receives punishment.

21. Death.—Funerals are as complicated as they are long and expensive. That is why certain families are not able to celebrate them until five or six months after the death, and are obliged to inter their dead provisionally.

The funeral rites include the putting on of mourning garments and the beginning of the lamentation. At the head of the funeral procession which conducts the dead man to his last resting-place walks the bonze; next come men bearing white streamers, on which are inscribed the virtues and the name of the deceased; next, under the shade of a large umbrella, the hearse of the soul, a small winding-sheet which is supposed to contain the soul, sometimes replaced by the tableau of the deceased; then, in grand funerals, a puppet, dressed in beautiful clothes, representing the dead, and of all the hearse, followed by the family and friends. All along the road they throw gold and silver papers representing money, to attract the attention of the evil spirits and secure an uninterrupted passage. The coffin, after being taken into the grave, is not covered with earth until the sorcerer has ascertained, by means of a compass, the best orientation for it. A lengthy and pompous sacrifice, which only the rich can afford, terminates the ceremony.

Fresh sacrifices take place after seven weeks, then after a hundred days, one year, two years, and twenty-seven months after the death. About three years after the death, the corpse is exhumed in order that its bones may be enclosed in the regular tomb, after which there is an anniversary sacrifice in which they burn a copy of the imperial diploma conferring a posthumous title, and a new ceremony, of Buddhist origin, called the great fast or deliverance of the souls, which will obtain for the deceased the remission of all his sins. The sacrifice concludes with offerings to the wandering and hungry souls.


ANTOINE CARATON.

ANNIHILATION.—It has been a matter of dispute whether anything once brought into existence can ever be utterly annihilated. That possibility being conceded, whether this fate is in store for the souls of the impotent wickeds. Of these questions the first is purely theoretic and academic, appealing only to the interest of the few; the second, like other eschatological problems, has been keenly and widely debated. It is a remarkable example of the divergence in point of view between East and West, that the destiny which in the one hemisphere has been propounded as the final reward of virtue should in the other be regarded as the extremest penalty of wickedness. Where the theory of annihilation has found favour with Christian believers, its acceptance has usually been due rather to a recoil from the thought of the eternal duration of future punishment, than to the influence of philosophical and theological arguments which can be urged on its behalf. Distracted between an equal reluctance to accept the eternity of hell or to admit the universal salvation of all men, some thinkers have found a way out of their difficulty by questioning the truth of the exclusive alternative between eternal blessedness and eternal woe hereafter. Thus they have been led to examine a third possibility, viz. the complete extinction of the wickeds. The discussion of the problem belongs to that region of thought where both philosophy and theology have a claim to be heard. Whether the nature of the soul is such that the cessation of its existence is conceivable, is a question which cannot be argued except upon a basis of philosophical principles; what may be the bearing of the teaching of the Bible and of the commonly received tradition of the Church upon the point can be determined only by exegesis and by study of the history of dogma.

1. The question stated.—Obviously, the controversy concerning annihilation, so understood, arises only among those who are at least agreed as to the fact of survival after death. It is legitimate, therefore, at the outset to dismiss from consideration those theories which represent death as being of necessity the end of individual being. We are not here concerned to rebut the opinions of the materialist, who holds life to be a function of matter, or of the pantheist, for whom death is the moment of the re-absorption of the individual life into the common fund of existence. Still less do we accept the agreement as to survival after death, whether in a partaking of the ways, according as men accept or reject the view that the life so prolonged is destined to continue for ever. That it must so continue is the opinion of believers in the natural immortality of the soul. Nor must those who hold this view be accused of making an extravagant claim on behalf of human nature, as though they maintained the soul's independent and absolute immortality. Admitting that the life of the soul, though prolonged to infinity, must ultimately reach its end, the prominent power of God, they contend that this relation of dependence is outside the bounds of time, and everlasting. By the annihilationist, on the other hand, the opinion of the soul's natural immortality, even in this restricted and legitimate sense, is considered a dangerous error, the root out of
which has grown a false eschatology. In place of the conception of an immortal life belonging essentially and inalienably to the soul, he would substitute that of an existence naturally destined to extinction, except under certain specified conditions. Upon this denial of the soul's natural immortality his whole system, from the assumption of the law of development to the conclusion of the Phaedo, must be considered as founded on a positive crede and ready to give an account of it, he justly claims that, logically, the *omnes pro bandi* as to immortality lies rather with those who affirm than with himself who denies that doctrine.

2. The natural immortality of the soul is the question.---This is not the place in which to state at any length or with any completeness the arguments for the immortality of the soul. It will be sufficient if we so far indicate the grounds of belief as to render intelligible the objections which have been urged on the other side. Undoubtedly, the strongest force working in favour of a general acceptance of the belief in natural immortality has been the dominant influence of Platonism in the earlier stages of the development of Christian doctrine, "Our creeds," it has been said, "are the formulae of victorious Platonism." And though that statement may stand in need of some qualification, yet it is true in the main of the belief in immortality taught in the Phaedo which has become the accepted tenet of the Church. Moreover, it is remarkable how comparatively insignificant are the additions which have been made to Plato's argument since it was first constructed by his pupils, and even by the great modern, who has attempted to prove the immortality of man—Plato down to Franklin and Hume. Whately appears to us to have failed completely in his attempt to prove 'that the natural immortality of man is discoverable by reason. That the natural immortality of man is discoverable by reason may be denied on the ground that it has not been discovered or, if it is necessarily, it would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect.

There is a living principle in man which cannot be affected by bodily death, such as a presence of the kind from which few but declared materialists would dissent. That this living principle will manifest itself in a prolongation of the individual life is a conclusion for which there is a large measure of philosophical precedent, though not direct demonstration or proof. That the life so prolonged will continue for ever is a tenable hypothesis, but it cannot be presented as an inference from universally admitted premises. Hence, in the absence of any proof of the conviction of natural immortality, theories of annihilation may be justly supposed to be untenable.

3. Arguments for annihilation.---The hypothesis of annihilation has in its favour the following considerations.---(a) Cosmological. If the souls of the wicked are eventually to be annihilated, then the process of creation and redemption may be represented as destined to issue in unqualified success. When all that is evil shall have been finally removed, nothing will remain but light and love; whereas every theory of everlasting punishment involves the admission that a shadow of impene-trable darkness will hang for ever over a portion of the universe.

It was maintained by some medieval theologians that the existence of this shadow would intensify by contrast the enjoyments of the light by the saved. 1 A more plausible objection is perhaps drawn from the suggestion of such a reason for the everlasting duration of misery, and indeed takes precisely the opposite line, holding that the happiness of the saved could not be completed unless the other members of their race were suffering (cf. Rothe, *Dogmatik, p. 48*). Even though evil be regarded as positive and hateful, stripped of all its capacity for assimilation, and, yet its continued existence would seem to constitute a protest against the Divine fact of infinite justice and immutability, the yearning of the soul for justice and the yearning of the soul for the exercise of its capacity in these respects, the yearning of the soul for the exercise of its capacity in these respects, the yearning of the soul for the exercise of its capacity in these respects, the yearning of the soul for the exercise of its capacity in these respects.

(b) Psychologica. The further argument in the same direction is derived from the nature of the soul. In so far as the soul can be regarded as the Jab of the body, the corruption of the body would be a corruption of the soul. But the required certainty is not forthcoming. However firmly convinced the student may be in his own mind of the fact of human immortality, he must nevertheless admit that, technically, the philosophic proof of the doctrine is far from reaching the standard of demonstration. The history of human thought enforces the admission. Even among the immediate inheritors of the Platonic tradition there were many who, the most not the least, held to an annihilation theory and carried no conviction. Still less was the tenet of individual immortality acceptable to Peripatetics, Stoics, or Epicureans. And, as in ancient times the world remained unconvinced, so to-day the doctrine of individual immortality, however combined and expanded, is by no means universally admitted.

If we take the arguments in the order given above, we shall find that each in turn has been subjected to damaging criticisms. Energy (it is retorted) cannot indeed be destroyed, but it may be disipated. What reason, therefore, have we for thinking that the force which underlies the individual life will be exempt from the general law of dissipation? If the premises of the idealist philosophy be conceded, there are, doubtless, a legitimate inference to the existence of an immortal element in the human spirit, but that conclusion does not decide the question of the individuality of the soul. Even the admission of the kinship of the soul with the Divine Being is consistent with the denial of individual immortality. The ethical principle which the injustices and inequalities of the present life shall be rectified in the future—certainly by far the most powerful influence in inducing the belief in immortality—is not, however, the case by the conception of a survival not necessarily endless. In truth, writes Lord Macaulay, "all the philosophers, ancient and modern, who have attempted to prove the immortality of man—from Plato down to Franklin and Hume, Whately appears to us to have failed completely in his attempt to prove that the natural immortality of man is discoverable by reason. That the natural immortality of man is discoverable by reason may be denied on the ground that it has not been discovered or, if it is necessarily, it would be easy to multiply quotations to the same effect. That there is a living principle in man which cannot be affected by bodily death, such as a presence of the kind from which few but declared materialists would dissent. That this living principle will manifest itself in a prolongation of the individual life is a conclusion for which there is a large measure of philosophical precedent, though not direct demonstration or proof. That the life so prolonged will continue for ever is a tenable hypothesis, but it cannot be presented as an inference from universally admitted premises. Hence, in the absence of any proof of the conviction of natural immortality, theories of annihilation may be justly supposed to be untenable. When all that is evil shall have been finally removed, nothing will remain but light and love; whereas every theory of everlasting punishment involves the admission that a shadow of impene-trable darkness will hang for ever over a portion of the universe.

1 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, III, sup. xxiv. 1.

soul and its relation to moral evil. All evil is self-contradictory, and therefore tends to be self-destructive. The wicked soul is not only at enmity with others, but divided against itself. And if the doctrine of natural immortality be abandoned, what is there to prevent the internal discord from accomplishing the work of disintegration, and even of total dissipation of the individual being? That evil is in its essence negative rather than positive, has been a widely accepted theory. It would seem to suggest the conclusion that the soul which identifies itself with this principle of non-being is less than alive, until it passes out of existence altogether. Sin, it has been said, may be regarded as a 'poison to which the vital forces of the soul must in the end give way by passing into sheer extinction' (cf. Gladstone, Studies Subsidiary to Butler, 1896, p. 218).

(c) Practical. So strong is the tendency towards Pragmatism at the present day, that little objection is raised when the acceptance of a theory is justified by an appeal to its supposed beneficial effects upon practice. To judgments of value, as distinguished from judgments of fact, it is assigned special validity of their own. In accordance with these principles, annihilationists have pointed to the influence of their doctrine upon the moral life of man. The prospect of annihilation for the wicked, and eternal life for the righteous, provides (they say) a positive incentive to holiness, and to the fears of mankind. Nothing can be a greater inducement to moral effort than the hope of acquiring an immortality otherwise unattainable; nothing a greater deterrent than the threatened doom of total extinction. If capital punishment upon earth arose in the highest degree the fears of the criminal, the thought of an execution in which soul as well as body shall be involved in a common destruction is sufficient to appall the most indifferent and the most hardened.

4. Counter arguments.—Counter considerations to the above arguments are not wanting, and have been brought forward with effect by critics of the theory. (a) Whatever plausibility there may be in the argument that sinners must cease to exist in order that the final state of the universe may be altogether holy, is greatly lessened by reflection on the obvious truth of our profound ignorance with regard to the whole problem of evil. Where the mystery is so impenetrable, it is well to remember that any inference must be hazardous in the extreme. And, after all, the ultimate and inexplicable riddle of the world lies in the present fact of evil rather than in the questions concerning its origin and its end. If we cannot reach even an inkling of the solution of the mystery of evil, present though it be before our eyes and lodged in our own hearts, we are in no position to indulge in rash speculations as to the mode of its introduction into the universe, and the likelihood of its final evanescence. Our complete ignorance is never a very acceptable conclusion to any argument, yet along this line we can arrive at no other result.

(b) Nor, again, does the argument from the nature of the soul produce conviction. Advocates of the theory of annihilation are too apt to confuse absence of proof with proof to the contrary. Right as they may be in questioning the demonstrative cogency of the commonly received arguments for the immortality of the soul, they go beyond the mark in thereupon assuming its mortality. The positive arguments which can be produced to prove that the soul is subject to decay are at best conjectural. Ultimately they depend upon the assumption that the nature of the soul is complex, and therefore capable of disintegration. And that assumption is as much an unproved hypothesis as is the contrary theory of the soul's indisceptibility.

(c) Lastly, the utilitarian arguments in favour of annihilation suffer from the weakness inherent in all considerations of that type. In spite of the stress which Pragmatists lay on the will to believe and on the credit due to judgments of value, it still remains true that the claims of the pure reason in speculation cannot be disregarded with impunity. A strong sense of the beneficial effects which will follow from a given belief may properly lead the inquirer to a diligent search for arguments point- ing the way; but unless he does this with an obligation of finding them. Hence, though it be admitted that threatenings of hell-fire and never-ending torments belong to a stage of theological thought now outgrown, and have ceased to exercise a deterrent effect upon sinners; and though it be granted that a crude presentation of the theory of universal restoration may deaden the conscience and encourage a lamentable slackness of moral effort; and though it were true that an obvious way of avoiding these opposite dangers might be found in the adoption of a denial, would a denial, yet such a case would still be lacking in solid support. And, indeed, whatever be thought of the first two admissions, it cannot be denied that the last of the three is dubious in the extreme. Even where temporal interests only are concerned, it cannot escape our notice that the argument to calculate correctly the deterrent effects of different punishments. A fortiori must it be a hopeless task to discover the comparative deterrent effects of the fear of eternal punishment and the fear of death.

5. Annihilation and Biblical eschatology.—In the literature of annihilation a great deal of space is devoted to the examination of passages of Scripture supposed to bear more or less directly upon the subject. In this article no attempt will be made to deal with particular passages and texts; it will be sufficient to point out why neither in the NT nor in the NT can we expect to find an explicit negative or affirmative answer to questions as to natural immortality. The gradual emergence of the hope of a future life among the Jews has formed the subject of prolonged and minute study, leading to some generally accepted results. Belief in a future life, beginning in the OT, is little more than a dim and uncertain hope, developed under the stress of national suffering and disaster until it succeeded in establishing itself as an integral part of the national creed. Long as the process was, yet the course the issue of the soul's natural immortality seems never to have been raised.

Nor is this surprising, when the conditions under which the belief grew up are recognized. Belief in immortality did not supersede a definitely formulated view of the contrary, a belief in the soul's mortality. In early times the Israelites had shared the common Semitic conception of the desire of man after death. They had looked forward, not to annihilation, but to a shadowy existence in Sheol. It is maintained by Dr. Young Davies (Critical History of the Earth) that the gradual development of their monothestic religion actually deepened the fear of death among them. The conception is less paradoxical than it appears at first view. to be a blessing of communion with God to be confined to this life, the more highly they came to rate their earthly lot, the more highly they feared death. In the OT the statistics of human life are a warning, not of destruction, of purposelessness, of darkness, and of emptiness. This gloomy view of death was still current among the Jews in the time of Christ, and we find little pressed to its logical conclusion in the doctrine of the resurrection. Yet life in Sheol, however bare of all that makes life desirable, was better than nothingness.

Except in the latest books of the OT canon, where we may already trace the influence of Greek
thought at work, the possibility of complete annihilation is not contemplated in the OT. Hence, though it is true that in the OT there is no declaration of belief in the soul's natural immortality, yet it is equally true that there is no counter declaration of its possible extinction. The question was raised in Exodus, but not die entirely had not yet been asked. To attempt to find in the language of the writers of the OT a definite 'yes' or 'no' is to be guilty of an anachronism.

In the NT the situation is somewhat different. Contact with Greek thought and with the prevalent skepticism of the heathen world had by this time familiarized Jewish thinkers with the philosophic aspect of the problem. So far there is no reason why any NT writer should not deal with the question of the nature of the soul's life, and with the possibility of its death. In some Apocalyp-ptic writings of earlier date than the Christian era, the annihilation of the enemies of Israel is foretold as one of the events of the last days (cf. Enoch xxxviii, 5, 6, Apoc. Bar. i. xii. 4-6; Charles, op. cit. pp. 240, 265). But in the NT the indications as to the ultimate fate of the wicked are of doubtful interpretation.

Apostles and Evangelists were concerned primarily not with the theory of human destinies, but with the practical task of propagating the faith. In their preoccupation with the least likely occupying a prominent place; but the time for any discussion of the presuppositions of Christian eschatology had not yet arrived. It was enough for them to insist on the glorious certainty of eternal life through Jesus Christ, and on the inevitable penalty of the coexistence hereafter in the language of the NT: 'The extreme they make use must not be treated as though it were deliberately chosen in view of possible differences of opinion as to the nature of the future life of the wicked.

When due allowance is made for the inexactitude of popular language, it will appear that the NT no less than the OT leaves the question of the soul's mortality altogether underdetermined. On the one hand, the expression 'immortal soul' is notably absent, and, so far as it goes, this is evidence of the absence of the idea from the cycle of primitive Christian conceptions. On the other hand, the words 'death' and 'destruction', freely employed in the NT to describe the fate of the wicked, cannot carry the weight of inference which the annihilationists desire to place upon them.

E. White's book, Life in Christ, affords an example of the attempt to draw evidence for the doctrine of annihilation in the language of the NT. Of this work, J. Agar Beet, who himself makes an emphatic protest against the rigid enforcement of the traditional doctrine, sums up his criticism as follows: 'Thus fails, in my view, Mr. White's main argument. The language and able work I find no provision for the ultimate extinction of the wicked except that contained in the plain meaning of two Greek words (ανιψιήνυμι, ανιψι- ηνυμου). And that this is their plain meaning, i.e. the only one they fairly admit, is disproved by their use in classical Greek and in the Greek Bible (The Last Things, p. 290). Neither for nor against annihilation is the language of Scripture explicit beyond the reach of controversy.

Annihilation and Patristic eschatology. — The eschatological thought of the Early Fathers was influenced alike by the ideas which Christianity inherited from Judaism, and by conceptions as to the life and nature of the soul generally current in the ancient world. This difficulty which they experienced in harmonizing conceptions gathered from different sources into one consistent view, reveals itself in the occasional ambiguity of their language on this matter. They do not speak with unequivocal clearness as to the natural immortality of the soul. On the contrary, they were encouraged that keen sense of the value of individual existence which made the Greeks turn with abhorrence from the thought of extinction.

Yet, notwithstanding the force of this feeling against extinction, the denial of its possibility contained in the Platonic doctrine of the soul's natural immortality did not find general acceptance. It was rejected, for example, by Justin Martyr (Trag. v.), by Tatian (ad Graecos, xi.), by Theophilus of Antioch (ad graecos, xi.), and by Irenaeus, who in his Against Heresies (IV. ii. xix.). The balance of authority inclined strongly towards the doctrine of natural immortality and must not therefore be taken to be identical with an assertion of belief in the eventual extinction of wicked souls. This explanation, however, will not hold good in every case. In Arnobius, for example, there is no possibility of misunderstanding. He is unmistakably an annihilationist.

It is remarkable how closely Arnobius anticipates many of the modern arguments, insisting on the ethical value of his theory, and maintaining that the doctrine of an ineradicable immortality, no less than the supposed prospect of immediate extinction, is repugnant to the Christian idea of life and death (cf. Arnob. Adv. Christian. I. 15). The rejection which he foresees is to be the inevitable result of the punishment which these beings will suffer (ibid. 35: 'Non possumus esse semper bonus, quia quem se non possumus esse nescimus'). The rejection which he foresees is to be the inevitable result of the punishment which these beings will suffer (ibid. 35: 'Non possumus esse semper bonus, quia quem se non possumus esse nescimus'). The employment of the words 'et mihi et suis'; and so the denial of the possibility of annihilation.

In later centuries, the Schoolmen discussed the abstract question whether it is conceivable that anything should pass absolutely out of existence. Thus Aquinas answered: 'In his argument, briefly recapitulated, is as follows: In theory it is possible that God should annihilate His creatures, i.e. these souls, in punishment of their actions, or in the doing of their own self-destruction. As He brought them into existence under no compulsion, but by the free act of His will, so might He by a similar free act reduce them again to nothingness if He so pleased, in which case it is clear that He, the source of life, could directly cause the death of anything; but insusceptibly as the creature continues in existence only through the Divine concomitance, that support would be equivalent in effect to an act of annihilation. Having thus conceded the possibility of annihilation, he denies that it takes place in fact, on the following grounds: No natural process can end in annihilation; for in the case of material things the component parts will still continue in existence after the disintegration of the composite whole; and as to immaterial beings, 'in eis non est potestas ad non esse.' Further, the idea of a miraculous act of annihilation is rejected on the ground that the object of a miracle is to manifest the divine grace, and the divine good is performed either by the maintenance of things in life than by their annihilation (Summa, c. v, 8, 15).

These metaphysical considerations, abstruse as they sound, bring out the real difficulty of introducing the conception of a Divine act of annihilation into a consistent and coherent view of the universe. At the same time there were other and more direct arguments by which the Schoolmen were led to a belief in the survival of the soul. To them it appeared that the truth was sufficiently indicated, if not asserted, in Scripture. Inspired writers (so they contended) would not have asserted the survival of the soul after separation from the body so nonconformably, if that survival had been due not to the nature of the soul, but to some miraculous interposition (cf. Suarez, Anima, i. x. 9). The balance of authority inclined strongly towards the doctrine of natural immor-
tality. At the 5th Lateran Council in 1513 A.D. Leo X. condemned in set terms the opinion of the mortality of the soul, and at the same time strictly commanded all and sundry philosophers, in their public lectures at the universities and elsewhere, to rebut and disprove that opinion. It was not until the crisis of the Reformation had broken through the superstition, that a theory of annihilation, not unlike that which had been expounded by Arnobius, was once again suggested and defended.

8. Annihilation in post-Reformation thought.—In no matter, as in so much else, Spinoza displays his originality and independence. His writings reveal a marked change of opinion in the course of his life. In the Cogit. Metaphys. he had upheld the doctrine of the soul's immortality on the ground that the soul being a 'substantia' could not pass away. In the treatise, de Deo, etc., he takes up a different position, affirming that the destiny of the soul will be determined by her decision between alternative courses. She may unite herself either with the body of which she is the idea, or with God; but either existence involves that which is unchangeable will confer upon her the privilege of immortality (de Deo, etc. II. xxiii., Suppl. 209, 211). It is obvious," writes Dr. Martineau, that the doctrine of immortality is the same in the soul as substance, but depending on the direction of its love, passes from the necessary and universal to the contingent and partial."

The influence of Hobbes was also making itself felt in the same direction. However little credit he deserves for sincerity, he is a doctrine not apparent in Scripture. In his denial of the natural immortality of the soul:

"That the soul of man is in its own nature eternal and a living creature independent of the body, or that any mere man is immortal otherwise than by the resurrection in the last day, except Knox and Elias, is a doctrine not apparent in Scripture." (Works, Lond. 1838, vol. iii. p. 443.)

On the ground of a careful examination into the various Biblical passages bearing on the subject, he sums up in favour of a theory of the annihilation of the wicked.

"Though there be many places that affirm everlasting fire and torments into which men may be cast successively one after the other world lasts, yet I find none so affirm there shall be an eternal life therein of any individual person, but to the contrary an everlasting death which is the second death.

Whereby it is evident there is that to have a second death of every one that shall be condemned at the day of judgment, after which he shall die no more:" (ib. p. 451.)

Loss of the soul as well as being, under present conditions, subject to the law of death. In the short treatise, On the Reasonableness of Christianity, which exercised so profound an influence on the course of religious speculation in the next generation, he begins by insisting that the consequence of the Fall of man was to reduce him to the condition of mortality, the death-penalty involving the destruction of both body and soul. Through Christ alone is the doom reversed, and man becomes capable of immortality. Those who obey His precepts and imitate His example are delivered from death, and rewarded with the gift of life; and life and death are interpreted in their plain meaning of existence and non-existence. Thus Locke, in his attempt to recover the original simplicity and to free it from the gross excesses of theology, substitutes a doctrine of annihilation for the traditional doctrine of inherent immortality. Moreover, he seems to feel no doubt of his success in discovering evidence of the truth in the words of Scripture. His opinion gave occasion to some controversy on the point at the beginning of the 18th century."

But the question of the particular fate in store for the wicked was soon lost sight of in the interest of the wider discussion between Deists and orthodox as to the essence of Christianity. It was not until the middle of the 19th cent. that the topic came again into prominence. From that time forward the doctrine of annihilation has formed the underlying presupposition of all theories of conditional immortality, and guesses have been hazarded as to the nature of the process which will end in this result. While some writers have imagined a bare continuance of existence together with a loss of consciousness, others have attempted the more thorough hypothesis of entire extinction. Some, again, have assumed a future interposition of the Divine power in a sudden act of annihilation, others have preferred the idea of a gradual dilapidation of the soul. And the various theories about annihilation have been put forward with very various degrees of confidence. Cautious thinkers, like W. E. Gladstone and J. Agar Beet, have not ventured beyond the assertion that the Christian revelation certifies indeed the finality of the punishment of the wicked, but not the precise duration of the pains of the lost. More eager advocates have believed that they can find positive proof of their theories in reason and Scripture (see art. Conditional Immortality).

9. Impossibility of a union with Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana.—Between the theory which we have been considering and the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana there is some superficial resemblance. Both involve the conception of annihilation; both assert survival after death together with the possibility of ultimate extinction, the total loss of individual existence. But the resemblance is more apparent than real, and affords little help in the elucidation of the problem. Things which are entirely heterogeneous not only cannot be compared, but cannot even be contrasted. And the difference between Christian and Buddhist religious conceptions amounts to heterogeneity. The two systems are committed to radically opposite interpretations of the universe, the one looking for a solution of all problems in the knowledge of God, the other ignoring His existence; the one regarding life as the great boon every increase of which is to be welcomed, the other as the great evil in deliverance from which the reward of virtue will be found. When views about God, the world, and the self are thus essentially different, the true relation of comparison can be established by the mere fact that in East and West alike some sort of annihilation of the individual is contemplated. Comparative Religion is a fascinating study, but it is well to remember that the religious conceptions of different nations are often inconceivable; and, even when similar terms are used, the underlying ideas may be very far from coincident. This is notably the case with the respective eschatologies of Christianity and Buddhism. See Nirvana.

10. Conclusions.—Metaphysical and ontological considerations must of necessity enter into any estimate of the theory of annihilation, although it is notorious that the present age is impatient and distrustful of abstract reasoning. Arguments based upon the supposed unity and simplicity of the soul carry less weight to-day than when the methods of philosophy were in more general use and favour. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the theory of annihilation has rapidly acquired a considerable popularity. Owing to the temper of the age, the philosphic difficulties have been insufficiently recognized. It is not easy to deny the contention that the doctrine of annihilation tends to a Principle naturally Mortal, 1708; reply by John Norris Philosophical Discourse, etc., 1708.
ANointing.

Introduction (A. E. Crawley), p. 549.

Buddhist.—See Abhiseka.

Christian.—See Unction.

ANointing. — 1. Unction,* anointing with oil, is a minor act of ritual, which possesses, however, considerable significance for the history of sacramental religion. Its forms correspond generally to the practical purposes for which, in early culture, animal and vegetable fats and oils were largely employed, while in both principle and practice it has connexions with painting and dress, decoration and disguise, nutrition and medicine, illumination and the various uses of water and blood. 2. The application of unguents to the skin and the hair has obtained, as a daily cosmetic practice, in most, if not all, sections of the human race, from the Tasmanians to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The unguents, in both secular and sacred uses, from crude animal fat to elaborate and costly perfumed vegetable oils. Among the lower races, animal fats are employed, frequently in combination with ochre, occasionally with such substances as charcoal, soot, and ashes. Higher stages of culture prefer vegetable oils, with gums, balsams, vegetable pastes and powders, such as turmeric, sandal and mustard, sawdust and flour, or the sap and pollen of plants, some of which are occasionally unguents. Perfumed unguents were usually prepared in the form of ointments. Lastly, the term ‘unguent’ is in most languages made to include, by analogy, such substances as blood, saliva, honey, mud, pitch, and tar. (See art. Blood. For anointing with blood see H. C. Trumbull, The Blood Covenant [1887].) 3. Anointing usually follows washing or bathing, and completes the toilet of the skin. The action of oil is to produce a sensation of comfort and well-being. Some peoples regard it as connected to the sun, to the arts, to life, to living beings, to death. Others tie it to religious practices, to the use of sacred objects, to the performance of ceremonies, to the performance of rites, to the performance of actions. As such, it is an exceptional interpolation discontinuous from the rest of the Divine action upon the created world, and therefore ex hypothesis not admitting of explanation. But the hypothesis of Divine interpositions becomes less and less acceptable as men realize, alike in the kingdoms of nature and of grace, the presence and action of the unchanging God. Hence, for the most part, preference has been given to that theory of gradual annihilation which has been under discussion. It is a solution of the problem which has commended itself to many; it may even widen the acceptance in the future; but even its advocates will admit that the difficulties involved in it deserve to be more fully faced and met than has yet been done.

Ethnic.—See Introduction.

Hindu.—See Unction.

Semitic (M. Jastrow), p. 555.

The supply of the muscles and joints. The Australian aborigines relieve the languor consequent on a long and tiresome journey by rubbing the limbs with grease (W. E. Roth, Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines [1897], 114, 162). Oil closes the pores of the skin, and partially represses perspiration; hence the use of ungents by the Greeks and Romans before exercise, and after the bath which followed. Similarly, the Hindu anoints himself before bathing. In extremes of heat and cold these properties have an increased value, and anointing is almost a necessary of life in very hot and very cold climates. Being a bad conductor, oil protects the skin against the sun, and also prevents the escape of body heat. It is a useful emollient for burnt or chapped skin, and a valuable food for the nerves.

4. The cosmetic use soon acquired aesthetic associations. The gloss produced by oil has itself an aesthetic value, which is heightened by the addition of coloured substances. Of the majority of early peoples it may be said that grease and ochre constitute their wardrobe. The use of ungents as the vehicles of perfumes became a luxury among the Persians, the Greeks, and Romans, while among early peoples generally it is a common practice on both ordinary and ceremonial occasions, the object being to render the person attractive. Thus the natives of West Africa grease the body, and powder it over with scented unguents, and when on the Slave Coast, ‘magical’ unguents, supplied by the priests, are employed for such purposes as the borrowing of money and the obtaining of a woman’s favour. Swahili women use fragrant ungents in order to render themselves attractive. Similarly, Homer describes how Hera, when desiring to obtain a favour from Zeus, cleansed her skin with ambrosia and anointed herself with fragrant oil. In the isles of Torres Straits, the boys, at the close of initiation, are rubbed with a pungent scented

* The etymological identifications will be met with in dictionaries, of Eng. sales, etc., and Lat. salus, etc., and of Lat. unguis, etc. or Gr. éyes, etc. are unfounded. F. W. Oheimm in his Die Säulen der Morgen- and Abendlande (1879) has caused the etymology of “anointing” in Indo-European and Semitic languages.
substance, which has the property of exciting the female sex. The Ewe-speaking peoples of West Africa scent the bride with ivy, and make her skin red with the bark of the to-tree (F. Ratzel, The History of Mankind [Eng. tr.], ii. 397, iii. 108; A. B. Ellis, The Ewe-speaking Peoples, 94, 150; Velten, Sitten und Gepflogenheiten der Sukaha, 212; Homer, H. ii. 170 f.; A. C. Haddon in JA F. xix. 412).

5. Anointing thus stands for physical refreshment, well-being, and personal attractiveness. It is, therefore, naturally regarded as being essential on festal occasions. Anointing in the sacred, decorative, and medicinal sense is, according to the principle of rubbing himself with grease and ochre, especially at times when ceremonies are being performed. Among the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, unguents, as representing the completion of festal attire, were offered to guests. In the Homeric age, bathing and anointing formed an indispensable part of welcome. The use of anointing as a mark of honour naturally ensues. Thus, when a Cerameic warrior has taken his first head, he is anointed with fragrant oil by the young women of the tribe (Spencer-Gillitine, The British Museum, 425; W. R. Smith, 238; Homer, Od. iii. 466, viii. 454; J. G. F. Riedel, De stubik-en broscharigie Bassen tussen Selbedes en Papua, 118).

Parallel to the cosmetic use of fats and oils is their application to food—eggs, and as dressing; to utensils, weapons, furniture, and adornments, as a lubricant, preservative, or polish; and to perishable substances as a preservative (E. F. im Thurn, The Indians of Guiana, 314; K. Langloh Parker, The Euahlayi Tribe [1905], 125; Roth, op. cit. 102).

6. In the magical-religious sphere a further principle makes its appearance. In addition to their cosmetic, sanative, decorative, and other merits, unguents now develop a more potent, though not specifically distinct, virtue. The principle may be put thus: according to psychical and organic matter, and, to some extent, inorganic also, is instinct with a Divine force or vital essence. The chief centres of this are sacred persons, objects, and places; later, the gods and their temples. This essence, with its gifts of life or strength, and magical or supernatural power, is transmissible by various methods, primarily contact. Inasmuch as its most obvious and convenient source is the flesh and blood of men and animals, the most direct method of assimilation is provided by eating and drinking; but an equally certain method is external application—a method which, in the form of anointing, is peculiarly adapted to the case of fats and oil. Anointing is thus based upon the same sacramental principle as the practice of eating the flesh and drinking the blood of sacred persons and animals. The Divine life is transmitted, and communion with the sacred source attained, by anointing the worshipper with the sacred essence. Fat is the most primitive unguent, and, as a popular early thought, as a very important seat of life. Ideas of sacralness are perhaps implicit even in its ordinary use, inasmuch as it is animal-substance. (Ernest Crawley, The Mystical Rose [1902], passim, and Apuleius, L. A. E. [1900] 110, 223; W. R. Smith, 383). Where the idea of the sacralness of animal life has been developed to an extreme, as amongst the Hindus, animal fat is tabooed.

To take illustrations: the Arabs of East Africa anoint themselves with lion’s fat, in order to acquire courage. The Andamanese pour melon pig’s fat over children to render them more impervious to any arrows. W. R. Smith collects the fat of certain animals, which they believe to possess great virtue. It is kept in special receptacles; ‘a small portion is given to persons who return home safely after a lengthened absence. . . . The chief makes use of it as an unguent for his body.’ The fat of the human body possesses a proportionately higher sanctity and potency. It is especially

the fat of the emu which is regarded as possessing this vital force (Becker, La Vie en Afrique, ii. 395; E. H. Man, The Andaman Islands, 68; C. J. Anderson, Lake Ngami, 236).

7. There are two further considerations to be taken into account in treating of the origin of anointing. Sacred fat, in the first place, may be regarded as too holy, and therefore too dangerous, to be eaten. External application is a safer method of assimilating its virtues. In the second place, neither fat nor ‘dressings’ are taken merely as preservatives of utensils, weapons, furniture, and adornments; they are also employed as weapons, strong; sick persons are rubbed with it in order to obtain health and strength. In India a prevalent superstition relates that the supernatural virtues of medicines are derived from the fat of boys murdered for the purpose. Grease made from the fat of a corpse is a potent charm among the Almei, B. Smyth, Aboriginals of Victoria, i. 202; J. A. F. xxiv. 175; G. Lumboltz, Among Cannibals, 272; J. Dawson, The Australians, L. II. 384. It is regarded as a peculiar requisite in the curing process, in the medical practice of the Papuans, and is used in the preparation of magical potions, and in the making of ordinary medicine. It is used as a charm, and to provide protection against witchcraft. Amongst these, one is the belief that a man may drive away a spirit by rubbing himself with it; when he has rubbed himself in this way, he is invulnerable in battle.

In the third place, the superstition may be that a man may obtain his kidney-fat with which to anoint himself. It is believed that the virtues of the dead body are mixed into the body by anointing, in order to make it available to the regular practice throughout Australia to use for this purpose the fat of slain enemies. These natives also employ their weapons strong; sick persons are rubbed with it in order to obtain health and strength. In India it is a prevalent superstition to regard the fat of boys murdered for the purpose as a charm. Grease made from the fat of a corpse is a potent charm among the Almei, B. Smyth, Aboriginals of Victoria, i. 202; J. A. F. xxiv. 175; G. Lumboltz, Among Cannibals, 272; J. Dawson, The Australians, L. II. 384. It is regarded as a peculiar requisite in the curing process, in the medical practice of the Papuans, and is used in the preparation of magical potions, and in the making of ordinary medicine. It is used as a charm, and to provide protection against witchcraft. Amongst these, one is the belief that a man may drive away a spirit by rubbing himself with it; when he has rubbed himself in this way, he is invulnerable in battle.

In the fourth place, a person who has been in a ‘sick’ state is rubbed with fat derived from a sick person, and the grease which with which his body is rubbed (K. Langloh Parker, The Euahlayi Tribe [1905], 125; Roth, op. cit. 102).
The shamans of Asiatic Russia charm the blubber, reinder-fat, or bear's grease with which the body of a patient is anointed. So, more definitely, the Melanesian medicine-man imparts mana, magical or spiritual force, to the unguentointments; for, on the other hand, the most powerful unguent in the Chinese pharmacopoeia owes its virtues to gold-leaf. Gold is considered to be the most perfect form of matter, and this unguent transmits life to the human body. The unguent employed by the priests of ancient Mexico, when sacrificing on the mountains or in caves, contained narcotics and poisons. It was supposed to remove the sense of fear, and certainly soothed pain. It was used in the treatment of the sick, and was known as 'the divine physic.' The holy oil of Ceram Laut may be manufactured only by a boy and a girl who are virgins. A priest superintends and repeats formularies over the oil. The Amboynean offer oil to the gods. What is left over is returned, and now possesses Divine virgites. It is used to anoint sick and sound alike, and is believed to confer all manner of blessings (V. M. Mikhailovskii in JAIT xxv. 98; R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, 198 f.; J. J. M. de Groot, The Religions of the Pacific, iv. 399; B. Rassen, De heidense en kroesharige Rassen tuschen Selbes en Papua, 179; F. Valentijn, Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien, iii. 10). To return to magical ideas, variations are made by the practising the anointing the weapon which dealt the wound; in the East Indian custom, whereby fruits and stones are smeared with oil, and prayer is made that the bullets may rebound from the warriors as rain rain upon a penitential sealth oil; and the Australian superstitions connected with bone-pointing. Here it is possible for the user of the magical weapon to release his victim from the wailing sickness he has brought upon him, if he rubs the apparatus or his own body with grease, in some cases giving what is left of the unguent to the sick man. On the principle of sympathy, a mother will grease her own body daily while her son is recovering from circumcision (J. G. Frazer, G. M. H., V. 178; Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap (1890); 805; Langlois Parker, op. cit. 32; Spencer-Gillen, 466, also 250).

The anointing of the dead is based on the principle that, as the Chinese say, the dead man 'may die for the living in a new way for the living for the care of cares.' Africa, North America, and the Fiji and Tonga Islands supply typical examples of the custom. The corpse is washed, oiled, and dressed in fine clothes ('J. J. M. de Groot, op. cit. i. 6, 20; P. Ratze, The History of Mankind, i. 328; Williams and Calvert, Fiji and the Fijians, i. 188; J. Adair, History of the North American Indians, 181). The ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans thus prepared their dead for the last rites. The Egyptians and Greeks poured perfumed oils over the ashes and the tomb. At the annual commemoration of those who fell at Platea, the Archon washed the grave-stones with water and anointed them with oil. The Greeks placed in the tomb vessels (Mevoth containing unguents for the use of the dead. The Kingsmill Islanders, like many other peoples, preserved the skulls of dead relatives. These were oiled and garlanded; food was offered to them as if they were alive (Wilkinson, iii. 363; Servius on Virgil, Aen. v. 219, 243; H. de Lueth, 11; Schmbaur, C. R. Alterthumer, i. 595, 600; Wilkes, U.S. Exploring Expedition, 556). The pious afficiton shown in such customs is elsewhere very commonly developed into practices which aim at a closer union with the departed. Thus in Australia we find a prevalent custom among mourners of anointing themselves with oil made from the decomposing fat of the corpse. This practice has typical examples in the Dutch East Indies, Africa, and North America. The Creek Indians anoint themselves with oil mingled with the ashes of the dead; a curious custom obtains in the Aru Islands of the Dutch East Indies. As soon as a man is dead, his widow runs round to the houses of all his friends and smears the doors with oil (Spencer-Gillen, 293; Riedel, op. cit. 308; First Report BE, 145, 155; Riedel, 288). The Catholic rite of Extreme Unction doubtless derives from the general principle of anointing the sick; but, apart from such customs, there would seem to be no definite elsewhere of the practice of unction immediately before death.

10. It will be convenient at this point to draw out the connexion between ceremonial anointing and the principles of tabo. In the first place, grease, oil, and fat are convenient vehicles for the application of ashes, charcoal, and other marks of mourning, and of the red paint that denotes such persons as the shedder of blood and the menstruous woman. Such a sanctity, however, is not possessed by the anointing of unctious with holy oil, and girt with pandanus-leaves. Galla warriors on returning home are 'washed' by the women with soap and water, anointed with oil, and girt with pandanus-leaves. Gailla warriors on returning home are 'washed' by the women with...
fat and butter, and their faces are painted red and white (R. Parkinson in Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie, x. 117; F. Paulitsche, Ethnographie Nordost-Africana, 258). Before starting, the chief anointed the candidate with stored oil, and the ceremony is repeated on his return. The Australian who smears his enemy with sickness by the use of magic is known from the curse by raising the magical weapon in water or by rubbing it with fat. Similarly, as noted above, the operator may produce this result by greasing his prey. The connection with water and slaughter supplies remarkable cases of this form of affectation. In Ceram Laut, when a man has been viewed as the chief anointed the feet of the aggrieved person with oil. It is a death ceremony.

The man then raises the warcry and rouses the people. In inland South Africa, among the Central Australians, anointing is rubbed with grease and decorated. On her return, her husband removes the decorations and rubs her back with grease. The Fijians observed an elaborate ritual for the son of a chief after slaying his first man. He was anointed from head to foot with red turmeric and oil. For three days he lived in isolation with seven other youths, anointed and dressed like him.

They were forbidden to lie down, or sleep, or change their clothes, or enter a house where there was a woman (F. Stutt-mann, Mit Einem Pascha 35.2. Von Afrika, 89; Roth, op. cit., 157; Riedel, op. cit., 188; Spencer-Gillen, 469-468; Williams and Calvert, op. cit. i. 66). In the cases cited above many principles of early thought may be discerned. It is sufficient to note that war is a holy state, and that it must be inaugurated and con-

12. The removal of tabu coincides with the renewal of normal life and normal sanctity, and anointing is employed here no less regularly than for the inauguration of a highly sacred state. Thus mourners are anointed, as in Australia and New Guinea, when they are released from sorrow. Throughout Africa it is the custom to anoint the mother with fat and oil shortly after child-birth. The practice is common throughout the world, after sickness generally, with women after the monthly period, and with children after the cervix takes on a puckery. The practice in the last instance often takes a peculiar form. In Australia, for instance, and the Andamanas, a boy is made free of a forbidden food by the process of having fat rubbed over his face and body. The child is then fed with thickened gruel. [J. M. Lock.[587], 241; J. BEW, 146; Maclean, Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, 94, 99; G. Macdonald, Africana, i. 129; Dennett, Folklore of the Fjord, 137; Spencer-Gillen, 386; E. H. Man in J. A. 125, 118, vii. 456, 191.]

13. Passing now to cases of consecration proper, we find anointing used to inaugurate periodic sacredness, as in rites corresponding to baptism and confirmation, in marriage and in worship. The custom is said to have originated in the practice of applying a custom of wide extension that the newborn child should be rubbed with oil (Roth, op. cit. 183; Ratzel, ii. 286; Williams and Calvert, i. 175; Caron's 'Japan' in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vii 636; Ellis, Youba-speaking Peoples, 141). This practice soon becomes ceremonial, and suggests baptismal analogies. The Ovahero ceremonial of naming the child combines so many principles that it may stand for a typical summary. The rite takes place in the house of the sacred fire, and is performed in a spirit of high excitement. The chief anoints the body with water and spices this over the bodies of mother and child. Then he addresses the ancestors thus: 'To you a child is born in your village; may the village never come to an end.' He then lays some fat over a vessel, puts upon it, and rubs it over his hands. He next rubs more fat in his hands, spars water upon it. Then he anoints the woman. In doing this he crosses his arms, so as to touch with his right hand his left hand, and with his left hand, and with his right. The process is repeated with the child. Finally he gives it a name, while touching its forehead with his own (E. Dannert in South African Folklore Journal, ii. 67). At the anointing of boys and girls as a preliminary to the ceremonies observed at puberty is of wide extension; it is most prominent in Australia and Africa. In Central Australia the candidate is rubbed with grease at various times during the pro-

tracted ceremonial. At the circumcision festival of the Masai the boys were allowed to gorge themselves with beef. They rubbed the fat over their bodies, much as a Dayak rubs himself with the hoof of a pig, or as a carnivorous animal fasted for a

(c) In the ceremony of marriage we find typical examples of anointing. The Central Australian, for a few days after receiving his wife, rubs himself with grease and oil. Before marriage the Angola bride is anointed with oil from head to foot, and until she is handed over to her husband is treated like a queen. The custom is frequent in Africa, and occurs in Fiji. The Malays anoint both bride and bridegroom. In that amounts to a ceremony of re-marriage, performed after the birth of the first child, the Basuto pair are anointed by a medicine-man with a mixture of roots and oil. In Australia we find the custom of anointing pregnant women (Spennemann, 35, 606; G. Tama, The Portuguese Possessions in South-West Africa [Eng. tr.], i. 175; Williams and Calvert, i. 169; Skeat, 385; ZE [1877] 78).

(d) As a preliminary to worship, anointing is frequently incumbent on the people, more frequently the priests. Among the Greeks, those who consulted the oracle of Trophius were washed and anointed with oil. When a native of the Slave Coast worships the guardian spirit who resides in his head, he rubs his head with oil; the priests anoint themselves before entering the house of the deity. The priests of Mexico and Central America were anointed from head to foot with a sacred unguent, which was also applied to the images of the gods. Returning to Greece, we learn that in the feast of Dionysus the men who carried the sacred bull to the temple were anointed with oil. Similarly, the Lupercoli at Rome were anointed and garlanded. An interesting side-light on the theory of anointing reaches us from Fiji and the Dutch East Indies. At shamanistic ceremonies the person into whom the god is to enter is anointed with fragrant oil, by way of rendering him attractive to the deity (Pausanias, vili. 19, 2; ix. 39, 7; Ellis, Youba-speaking Peoples, 126, also Evon-speaking Peoples, 76; Acoza, History of the Indies, ii. 384; Bancroft, Native Peoples, Inst. i. 21. 45; G. A. Wilken, Het Shamansisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel, 479 f.; Williams and Calvert, op. cit. i. 224).

14. For the special consecration of priests, anointing is a not uncommon piece of ritual, obtaining in various parts of the world. The Shore Coast of Africa provides a typical case. The candidate's body is smeared with a decoction of herbs. Then the priests who officiate anoint his head with a 'mystical unguent,' and ask the god to accept him. If he is accepted, he is 'extolled' to the god by them. A new cloth is put upon the ordained novice, and a new name conferred. Among the Burin the priest is anointed with blood of a kid. In North America, among the Okikasaw, the candidate fasted for some time, and was anointed with a bath and unction with bear's grease. The Totecs and Totonacs of Central America consecrated their pontiffs with an unguent made of india-rubber oil and children's blood. For the anointing of their chief they employed the unguent used at the enthronement of their temporal monarch. The priests of ancient Egypt were consecrated with holy oil poured upon the head (Ellis, The Evon-speaking Peoples, 145 f., J. A. xxiv. 418; Adair, 125; Bancroft, ii. 214, 433, ii. 201; Wilkinson, iii. 360).

15. The anointing of kings, with which Semitie
and Christian custom has familiarized the world, is a spectacular rite of rare occurrence outside the sphere of Hebrew tradition. It is found, however, in a more or less perfect form among the ancient Egyptians, the Aztecs, and the Hindus ancient and modern. The Pharaoh was anointed after invested with the sacred robes. The monuments give representations of the ceremony, and in the Tell el-Amarna letters the king of Cyprus sends to the king of Egypt a flask of good oil to pour on his head, now that you have ascended the throne of your kingdom. The Aztec ceremony of royal unction preceded coronation. The king-elect went in procession to the temple of Huizilopochtli. After paying homage to the god, he was anointed throughout his whole body by the high priest, and sprinkled with holy water. He was then clothed in ceremonial robes, and about his neck was hung a gourd containing powerful remedies against soreness, disease, and treason. The unguent used was the black oil with which the priests anointed their own bodies and the images of the gods. Its name is variously given, uli, or ole, and its chief constituent was india-rubber juice. The Quichés and Cakchiquels bathed the king at his coronation, and anointed his body with perfumes. Candidates for the priesthood, the priest of the Aztecs, were anointed with the same sacerdotal unction (Wilkinson, iii. 360; W. M. Finders Petrie, Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters, 45; H. Winckler, The Tell el-Amarna Letters (Eng. tr.), 87). The anointing of kings and priests combines several principles, and is not to be explained on one separate line of development. It is, in the first place, a part of the festal dress essential on such occasions (W. K. Smither, Aphrodisian, 453). Secondly, we have the various ideas connected with consecration,—the transmission of sanctity, power, and new life (ib. 338 f.), on the one hand; and, on the other, the ‘hedging’ of a dedicated person with sacredness, for his protection and the performance of his office.

16. The anointing of sacrifice and offering, the altar and the temple, and the sacred apparatus generally, supplies many details of ritual which fall into the main lines of religious function, while giving prominence to such as are more closely connected with worship. The human sacrifices of the ancient Albanians of the Caucasus, of the Aztecs, and of the people of Timor, were anointed, as their slain victim, with fragrant oil, to be offered as a sacrifice to the sacred monsters. In the remarkable human sacrifice of the Khonds, the Mersah was anointed with oil, gai, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers. He received his bath with oil and flour. It is not easy to distinguish from adoration. Every one who could touch the oil on the victim’s body and rubbed it on his own head. The oil was regarded as possessing the same virtue as his flesh and blood conferred on the fields (Strabo, ii. 4. 7; Bancroft, iii. 333; Veth, Het eiland Timor, 21; S. C. Macpherson, Memorials of Service in India, 118; J. Campbell, Wild Tribes of Khandistan, 54 f., 112). The custom of ‘dressing’ offerings with oil was regular in the worship of the ancient Greeks. When the West Africans anoint an animal they sprinkle it with palm-oil by way of attracting the spirits. At the festival of the New Fruits among the Creek Indians, the priest took some of each sort and smeared them with oil before offering them to the spirit of fire. The people of Gilgit drench with wine, oil, and blood the branch of the sacred cedar used in their agricultural ceremonies. Similarly the Malays, in their ceremony of bringing home the Soul of the Rice, and the Javanese, in the Marriage of the Rice Bride, anoint the rice with oil (Schumann, ii. 298; Pansianas, ii. 7); A. B. Ellis, The Yoruba-speaking Peoples, 155; Adair, 96; Biddulph, Tribes of the Hindu Kush, 106; Skeat, op. cit. 235; Veth, Java, i. 524).

The natives of Celebes on great occasions anoint the flag and other emblems of state. The Santalas anoint their candidates for the harvest-home. The Shans of Indo-China and the natives of Celebes purify with water and anoint with oil the plough used in their ceremonial ploughing of the rice-fields (G. K. Niemann in Bijdragen voor de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, xxxviii. 2, 270; W. Crooke, op. cit. ii. 308; E. Aymonier in RHR xxiv. 272; B. F. Matthes, Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Selbela, 93).

When we pass to cases more definitely representative of worship, we find development of the ideas: first, that the sacred life immanent in the sacred symbol or image needs periodical renewing; and, secondly, that the spirit connected therewith requires conciliation; anointing the sacred object with fragrant oils brings man into union with the deity. When the Wawamba of Central Africa or the Australian of Queensland anoints his sacred stone with fat when asking it for rain, we may infer that the sacred object is supposed to be consumed and rendered gracious by the cosmic virtues of anointment. Similarly the Central Australians rub their churinga with fat and ochre whenever they examine them. The churinga is supposed to have human feelings, and the process of anointing purifies and renders it more approachable. Stuhlmann, op. cit. 654; Roth, op. cit. 158; Spencer-Gillett*, 255, 265, 270, also*, 161). Here the use of grease for utensils combines with cosmetic anointing. In many cases it is natural to find these ideas merging in the notion of feeding the divine object; but it would be incorrect to derive the anointing of sacred stones from the practice of feeding the god. The custom of smearing blood upon sacred symbols and images is of wide extent, and is a metaphorical pouring of the blood into the mouth of an image. The practical primitive mind does not confuse anointing with nutrition, though well aware that the two are allied. As illustrating the extension of the custom, last case has to do with the Yakobos of the southeast. The Greeks and Romans washed, anointed, and garlanded their sacred stones. The ognok of Delphi was periodically anointed and wrapped in wool (Schumann, ii. 296; Lenian, Aes. 80; Apuleius, Flor. i. 1; Minucius Felix, Octav. iii.; Pausianas, x. 24, and J. G. Frazer, Commentay on Pausanias, v. 354 f.). The Malayans anoint sacred stones with fat or oil or the blood of victims. The Wakamsa near-had anoints a rock in order to turn it in a direction, by the medium of a backbone of a wild boar, through a difficult pass (J. Shiree, History of Madagascar, 305; ZE x. 384). This combination of nutrition and anunction is found among the Kesi Islanders; every family here possesses a sacred black stone, and to obtain success in war or trade a man anoints this with oil and offer fruits to it. In Celebes, sacred images, apparatus, and buildings are smeared with oil by worshippers. The ancient Egyptians anointed the statues of the gods, applying the unguent with the little finger of the left hand. The Arvaiu in animal images, they sprinkle it with palm-oil by way of attracting the spirits. At the festival of the New Fruits among the Creek Indians, the priest took some of each sort and smeared them with oil before offering them to the spirit of fire. The people of Gilgit
ANointing (Hindu)—Among the Veddahs of Ceylon, the priest anointed the throats of the worshippers. The religion of ancient Greece provides a curious instance of the meeting of the practical and the religious spheres. The old temple-statues of the gods, made of wood, were rubbed with oil to preserve them from decay, while to preserve the magnificient creations of gold and ivory, such as those of the Temple of Minerva at Rome, it was rubbed into pipes throughout the statue (Kiedel, op. cit. 223; Mathes, op. cit. 94; Wilkinson, op. cit. iii. 361; CIL vi. 9797; Firmicus, de Errore, 23; Faustusianus, v. 11, and Frazer's Com. ad loc.).

The principle of communion with the deity by means of anointing the sacred symbol or the worshipper himself is more apparent in the elementary stages of worship. The Assiniboins, we are told, venerate the bear, and try to keep on good terms with him. They pray to him when they wish to be successful in a bear-hunt, and so to secure a good supply of bear's flesh to eat and of the bear's grease with which they are always anointed. The natives of Central Australia, at the Initiation ceremony for maintaining the supply of oil and grease of this animal, anoint and anoint their bodies with the fat. In order to obtain success in hunting eumos, they rub themselves with stones supposed to be parts of that animal. Similarly, before eating snakes they rub their hands with their fat. At a higher stage of development we find the West African negro anointing that part of his own body where his guardian spirit resides (de Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries, 139; Spencer-Gillen, 206, also, 192, 235; Ellis, Formulse-speaking Peoples, 126).—Edw.}

The oil of anointing, as we have seen, transmits the sacredness latent within it in either of two directions—to the worshipper or to the god. When we look at the controlling source of its virtue, the potentially sacred substance of the human body, and compare the earliest forms of consecration, we see that the theory of anointing leads us back to pre-theistic and even pre-fetishistic times. The elementary stages of dedication illustrate the less common direction of anointing, in which the worshipper or the priest confers sanctity instead of receiving it. The dedication, more or less informal, of sacred buildings and apparatus by anointing obtained in Egypt, Greece, and Italy; it is remarkably prominent in India, ancient and modern, but does not appear to have to anywhere else. This is, of course, connected with the use of oil for tools, utensils, and furniture, but also has associations with fetishistic methods of making gods (Crawley, The Tree of Life, A Study of Religion (1905), 252). The ritual of renewing the sacred vigour of a sacred symbol has already been referred to; here we note the original induction. Thus every man on the Gold Coast makes for himself a suhman, or tutelary deity. When he has made it, he anoints it with water. Among the Batakas the guru inducts a spirit into the fetish with various ceremonies, chief among which is the application of a vegetable unguent (Ellis, Tshi-speaking Peoples, 100 f.; Hagen in Tijds. v. Totaal- Land- en Volkenk. van Ned. Indie, xxviii. 525; Mathes, op. cit. 94). But many Central Australian, rubbing a newly made curings with fat, is an unconscious exponent of the embryonic stage of consecration by anointing.

In its latest developments anointing passes into the theological metaphor of quasi-doctrinal import. Spiritual union carries with it from the sacramental to the ethical-religious plane the various gifts of consecration, leaving in its course such traces of mysticism as the White Ointment from the Tree of Life, found in the baptismal formula of the Ophites, and Justin's adaptation of Plato's fancy, to the effect that the Creator im-

pressed the Soul of the Universe upon it as an union in the form of a x (Justin, Apol. i. 60; Plato, Timaeus, 36).

In conclusion, the history of anointing in its connexion with religion shows that of all sacramental media the sacred unguent is the most spiritual, and that from beginning to end function is the least material of all purely physical modes of assimilating the Divine. Its characteristic is soul.


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and washed. Girls, on arriving at puberty, are decorated and anointed with oil, or oil and turmeric (haridrā). Brāhmaṇ boys, on investiture with the thread, are similarly anointed with oil and haridrā.* The ceremony of gātra-haridrā is performed during the preliminary marriage-rite on the wedding-day. Bride and bridegroom are anointed with oil and turmeric. The 'sandalwood stone,' which they have to touch with their feet, is rubbed with oil. The bride's brother smears the hands of the bride with ghi, and sprinkles parched rice upon them. rice. Yānadi wedding the mothers of the contracting parties anoint them with oil, turmeric, and sandal-paste. They then bathe and put on new clothes. Among the Kannādiyāns the village barber sprinkles ghi over the heads of the bridal pair, who afterwards take an oil bath. For the sīndārān, sandal-paste, oil, or vermillion are chiefly used. Oil or paste is a common medium for sacred marks.

After death, the body is washed and anointed with sandal-paste, oil, and turmeric, or ghi. In some cases the chief mourner touches each aper- ture of the body with his lips, repeats a mantra, and pours ghi on each. The forehead of a dying man is anointed with possible oil, smears with the sacred sand of the Gangas. At the burial of the urn the chief mourner anoints himself with ghi. At the ordination of a Buddhist priest, his hair is touched with oil before being cut.† The impor-tant ceremony of abhiseka (wh. see), the royal baptism or consecration, is in principle a form of anointing; the holy water, with its numerous in- gredients, consecrates rather by infusion of divine force than by lustration. This rite was celebrated towards the close of the protracted ceremonies of the rājakṣit. The proper time for its celebration was the new moon after the full moon of Phālguṇa, i.e. about the end of March. Eighteen ingredients were necessary, the chief being the water of the sacred river Sarasvatī. The others included ghi, milk, cow-dung, honey, sugar, sandal-water, perfumes, earths, turmeric, and rice-meal. The adhvaryu mixed them from eighteen pitchers in a bucket of udambara wood, repeating a mantra at every stage, e.g., 'O honeyed water, whom the Dakṣa, the mighty one, thou begetter of kings, thou enlivener, with thee Mitra and Varuna were consecrated, and Indra was freed from his enemies; I take thee.' 'O water, thou art naturally a giver of kingdoms, grant a king to the king.' (naming the king), 'O honeyed and divine ones, mix with each other for the strength and vigour of our Yajamāna.' The king, after a preliminary sprinkling, put on a bathing-dress; the inner garment of which was steeped in ghi, and took his seat on a stool covered with a tiger-skin, facing the east, and, as the pouring commenced, raised his arms. On his head was a rose-head of gold, through which the sacred liquid was to spread in a shower. The contents of the vessel were transferred to four ; these adhvaryu, the Brāhmaṇ priest, a kṣatriya, and a vaigāya poured in turn over the head of the king from their respective positions. Mantras were recited, such as—


Devās, may you free him from all his enemies, and enable him to discharge the highest duties of the kṣatriya... .

At the close the Brāhmaṇ said, 'Know ye that he has this day become your king; of us Brāhmaṇas Ṛṣaya is the king.' Notwithstanding the prayers to 'the divine Quickeners,' the belief that the gods consecrated the king, and that through the rite he was filled with divine force. The essence of water is vigour; this and the vitalizing essence of all the ingredients of the sacred liquid enter into him. One mantra states that he is sprinkled with priestly dignity.† The hair of the king was not to be cut until a year had elapsed. Three forms of abhiseka are mentioned—abhiseka for kings, pārābhiseka for superiors, and abhi-bhiseka for emperors. According to the Varāha Purāṇa, a man may perform the ceremony on himself in a simplified form: 'He who pours saum- nam seed and water on his head from a right-hand end Śanaka destroys all the sins of his life. A modified form of abhiseka is still employed at the coronation of Rājās. In Assa, for instance, the water for the ceremony is taken from nine holy places, and is mingled with the juices of plants. A similar account is given of coronation in Mysore. In Rājputāna the ceremony is unctio rather than baptism. A mixture of sandal-paste and water is the unguent employed, and a little of this is placed on the forehead with the middle finger of the right hand. The royal jewels are then tied on.†

As in Vedic times, the Brāhmaṇ washes and anoints himself with oil or ghi before performing religious duties. The insti-tutor of a ceremony also anoints himself. On the festival Sanbrānti it is the custom for every one to take a bath, in which rubbing the body with oil forms a conspicuous feature. In the nirvīdhapakobhanda rite the tree from which the sacrificial post was to be cut was anointed, and the vidhi after being rubbed with oil and turmeric and washed, was anointed with ghi just before the sacrifice. In the Yagṛa sacrifice the ram is rubbed with oil, bathed, covered with akavatas, and garlanded. At the Durgā-pūjā festival a plantain tree is bathed and anointed with several kinds of scented oils.

The consecration of buildings by means of a ritual is a well-developed feature of Hindu ritual. There is a ceremony analogous to the laying of foundation-stones, in which a piece of consecrated and anointed, being thereby animated, the spirit of the god Vāstupurusha, who becomes the tutelary deity of the house. Again, when the principal entrance is put up, the woodwork is anointed with sandal-oil, and the same ceremony is performed over the ridge-plate and the well, and for the house generally, when first entered.

The images of the gods in the temples are bathed, anointed, and dressed by the priests daily. Un- guents for this purpose (vilepana) are one of the 'essential offerings' presented by worshippers. Sacred stones are also anointed and decorated; and the worshippers of Śiva anoint the linga.

The principle of consecration is carried out in the Hindu ritual of anointing, while the allied principles of decoration and purification are fully recognized.†

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ANOINTING (Semitio).—If we find traces of anointing among the Arabs in pre-Islamic days, 1 Rājendralal Mitra, ii. 3, 37 ff., 46 ff.
1 H. Oldenberg, pp. 423, 473; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. by J. Eggeling in 2 vol. xi. 281 ff. 281, 1907.
2 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
3 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
4 S. Matheer, Native Life in Trans-nescia, p. 68; Doe, pp. 503 f. "Hymn to Indra," L. J. 150, 204; Ward, i. 168 f., 176, 354; Monier Williams, pp. 286, 363; Ṛajendraľla Mitra, ii. 144.
5 H. Oldenberg, pp. 896; Ṛ. Mitra, i. 369 ff.; Dubois, p. 513.
6 H. Oldenberg, tr. p. 103 ff. 1887; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
7 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
8 H. Oldenberg, pp. 423, 473; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. by J. Eggeling in 2 vol. xi. 281 ff. 281, 1907.
9 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
10 H. Oldenberg, pp. 896; Ṛ. Mitra, i. 369 ff.; Dubois, p. 513.
11 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
12 H. Oldenberg, pp. 423, 473; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. by J. Eggeling in 2 vol. xi. 281 ff. 281, 1907.
13 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
14 H. Oldenberg, pp. 423, 473; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. by J. Eggeling in 2 vol. xi. 281 ff. 281, 1907.
15 E. Zauber, Th. Indo-āryan and Be-are, p. 80; in general, Hillebrandt, Festscke Opfer und Zauber, 1887, pp. 43, 69, 68.
16 H. Oldenberg, pp. 423, 473; Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, tr. by J. Eggeling in 2 vol. xi. 281 ff. 281, 1907.
we must perforce assume that, though still clinging by force of habit and tradition to rites and practices that fall within the category of primitive religious customs, resting upon distinctly primitive beliefs, they had advanced beyond these beliefs sufficiently to cause the rise among them of the longing to come into direct touch—not merely through the mediation of a special body of officers—with the higher powers. A custom of this kind is vouched for in the pre-Islamic period in connexion with the visit to the old sanctuary at Mecca, known as the Ka'ba, when the worshippers, in some cases, anointed their own person some of the sanctity associated with the deities of the place, rubbed their hands over the images of the gods (Wellhausen, Reste Arab. Held, p. 105) or pressed themselves against the edifice itself. Although no unguent which we commonly associate with anointing appears to have been employed, it is significant that the verb used to express this pressing (takārūb) comes from the stem that in both Heb. and Assyrian embodies the idea of offering; while the rubbing (takārū) is a stem that in the generic term for anointing, and in the form mšrāḥ (Messiah) becomes one of the most significant terms in the religious nomenclature of both Judaism and Christianity.

The anointing of the gods or of sacred objects, as, e.g., the 'black stone' at the Ka'ba, is included, the ancient Semites do not appear to have gone further than to symbolize in these rites of pressing and rubbing the desire to reach out to the sanctity associated with images or objects. The use of wine and oil belongs to a still later stage of religious custom, and, when they are met with in ancient Arabia, are probably due to external influences. On the other hand, the antiquity of the blood-rite as a ceremony, used in covenanting, being vouchèd for (Trumbull, Blood Covenant, ch. i.), some of the uses to which blood is put in the sacrificial ritual of the ancient Semites may properly be classed under the category of anointing. To be sure, the custom of pouring or rubbing the blood of a sacrificial animal over sacred stones on which the slaughtering is done, is not looked upon as a species of anointing, for the purpose of the act is to symbolize that the deity, represented by the stone, or supposed to reside in it, has actually by the act become invested with an odour of sanctity even as the vital element (Wellhausen, loc. p. 113). However, in the ancient Semitic method of covenanting by dipping the hands in blood (Trumbull, l.c. ch. i.) a union of the contracting parties is symbolized, and if the deity is introduced into the act by rubbing the blood also over his symbol—whatever it may be—it is with the view of making the deity a party to the covenant, and in so far the thought of a direct union with the deity—a blood relationship—is present. Yet even here a direct transfer of that odour of sanctity to the altar stones does not appear to take place, as would be involved in anointing, viewed as a religious rite. It is significant, as Wellhausen (l.c. p. 99) points out, that the 'black stone' of the Ka'ba is not smeared with blood, for it may be supposed that the communion with the deity had its decided limitations among the ancient Semites, so that the sprinkling of blood over the door-posts and lintels, or the threshold of a dwelling, and such other practices as those noted by Doughty as survivals of primitive religion among the inhabitants of Syria and Arabia, in which the blood is rubbed or sprinkled on animals or fields or newly erected or newly occupied dwellings as a protection against demons or in, more positive terms, 'for a blessing' (Curtis, Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day, ch. xv.; Doughty, Arabia Deserta, i. pp. 136 and 498, ii. p. 109, etc.), are not to be interpreted as anything more than the placing of the objects in question under the control of the gods invoked through the sacrificial animal. The use of blood in the Hebrew ritual, such as the sprinkling over the worshippers (Ex 21:5), or over the altar (Ex 29:24), or for which Robertson Smith (Rel. of Sem. p. 344) may be consulted, embodies the same general idea.

Considerations of this nature lead us to the conclusion that the prominent rôle played by anointing among the Hebrews, with the application of unguents to vessels as well as to persons invested with sanctity, as priests and kings, is an expression of considerably advanced religious beliefs, in which the symbolic transfer of qualities associated with the Divine essence enters as a prominent factor. That this use of unguents in religious rites represents the transfer to the sphere of religion of originally secular rites, marking the adornment of one's person, may be granted; but this view, so brilliantly set forth by Robertson Smith (l.c. p. 232 ff.), must not blind us to the fact that, in addition to the desire to show honour to sacred objects or persons was intended. The act was meant actually to symbolize the sanctity bound up with such objects and persons, and was to be considered as a symbol with power. The use of oil and wine as unguents—both symbols of luxury accompanying a more advanced culture—seems at all times to have been bound up with anointing among the Hebrews as among the other nations of antiquity, and is practised to this day in the Roman and Greek Churches for the consecration of sacred edifices. We have in this way instances of the anointing of altars, as, e.g., the stone at Bethel (Ge 28:20 35:1); and, incidentally, it may be noted that the reference to oil, which a wanderer like Jacob could hardly have carried with him, indicates the projection of a late custom into the remote past. A similar projection is to be seen in the statement that the furniture of the Tabernacle and the Tabernacle itself were anointed with oil (Ex 29:40). Similarly, the high priest was anointed with oil, sprinkled and poured on his head (Lv 8:10), while in the case of the ordinary priests, the oil was only sprinkled on them (Lv 8:10). The anointing of kings represented the formal inauguration of the person that was invested with a Divine power as a sacred one among the Hebrews. We have explicit references to such anointing in the case of Saul (1 S 10:1), David (1 S 16:13, 2 S 2:19), Solomon (1 K 1:40, Joash (2 K 11:19), Jehoahaz (2 K 23:20), and we may therefore assume that the rite was a general one from the beginnings of kingship among the Hebrews. That the act indicated, besides the purely formal investiture, the actual transfer of Divine powers to the person anointed, may be concluded from the explicit statement in connexion with the anointing of Saul by Samuel: 'the high priest of Jehovah rested with the anointed one; so in the case of David (1 S 16:21). Correspondingly, the Divine Spirit leaves Saul (v. 14) as an indication that he is no longer in touch with the Divine Essence, i.e. is deposed from his sacred office.

In the further spiritualization of the fundamental idea underlying the rite of anointing, namely, the transfer of sacred or Divine qualities to an object or individual, the propitiations are naturally viewed as the 'anointed ones' (Ps 18:2), even though the ceremony itself was performed, except possibly in the single instance of Elisah, and even in this case the order given to Elijah to perform it (1 K 19:14) may be intended only as a metaphor to indicate the transfer of the Divine Spirit to Elisah. The metaphorical application is clear in the case of Cyrus, who is called the
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‘anointed’ of the Lord, to indicate that he acts in accordance with the Divine quality with which he is imbued. The same interpretation is to be put upon the appellation ‘anointed’ employed in a late Psalm (103:1). From this it was a natural step to designate Israel as the chosen people of Jehovah, as the ‘anointed’ one (Ps 89:17, 38; Is 43:1, 19; Hab 3:18, etc.), in which case ‘anointed’ has become a synonym for holy, i.e. endowed with the holy Essence. The final stage is reached in the doctrine of the Messiah as the ‘anointed’ one to bring salvation to His people and to manifest the presence of the Divine quality. In Christianity, Jesus becomes the ‘Messiah por excellens’ (Gr. Xpárhoi), while Jewish theology in rejecting Jesus as the Redeemer of mankind was gradually led to abandon the doctrine of a personal Messiah, and to accept in its stead the outlook towards a Messianic age. The association of anointing with the Divine Spirit passed over into the Christian Church, which, to emphasize the descent of the Holy Spirit on all believers (2 Co 1:21, 1 Jr 4:4, 27). It implied the practice of anointing with oil in conjunction with the rites of baptism and confirmation.

As yet no traces of anointing as a religious rite have been found in Babylonia and Assyria, though this might be accounted for by the fact that concomitant, as coming across the rite in cuneiform documents, especially for those periods when kingship and Divinity were in close union, as appears to have been the case in the days of Sargon, and during the reign of the dynasty of Ashurnasirpal (c. 880-750 v.C.). An early record is in Latin, to 4200 B.C. In later times we have the pronounced tendency towards the secularization of the office of royalty, with a concomitant centralization of Divine prerogatives in the priesthood; and it would appear that the priests likewise liked to carry on the practice of anointing the king, under the influence of the late Bab.-Assyr. conception, became a distinctively secular one, connecting itself with that of a lay-judge rather than with that of a priest-king. As for anointing as a secular rite among the Semites, there is every reason to believe that its origin is bound up with the use of unguents as medicinal remedies. In the medical prescriptions preserved on the cuneiform tablets of Asurbanipal’s library, copied from originals that probably date from as early as 2500 B.C., there occur a good many recipes for unguents applied for the skin are mentioned. The frequent mention of unguents as remedial agents, both in the OT and NT (Is 1:4, Ezk 16:8, Lk 10:43, Mk 6:44, and especially Ja 2:4), points in the same direction, and forms the foundation of the liberal sacramental character of Extreme Unction, and the Greek and (previous to 1553) Anglican anointing of the sick. The cleansing qualities of unguents appear also to have been recognized at an early period in Babylonia, as well as their power in the prevention of diseases of the skin, so common in hot and moist climates. The use of unguents thus became at once a part of the toilet and an adornment of the person, like dress and ornaments. With the increase of luxury, especially highly scented oils were used, and as a natural corollary to this stage of the custom, anointing became a symbol of prosperity (Ps 23:5), while the general tendency in mourning rites to return to the customs of an earlier age led to the view that anointing was not appropriate during the period of lamentation for the dead, and that it was discontinued at such times. In the Semitic Orient popular customs are apt to become hardened into ceremonial obligations, and thus the anointing of a guest takes its place as a ceremony of great importance, the royal custom of crowning the victorious. The account of Mary’s anointing Jesus with precious nard is an illustration of the observance of the ceremony down to a late period. Anointing oneself before paying ceremonial visits falls under the same category (Lu 7:46).

LITERATURE.—Besides the references in this art. see the Hebrew Archaeologists of Benzing and Nowack, and the literature in Hastings’ DB, s.v. ‘Anointing,’ The Anointing of Bethel by A. Smythe Palmer (1899), pt. iii., ‘The Anointing,’ with some references to literature on the subject.

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

ANSELM OF CANTERBURY.

I. Life.—Anselm was born of noble parents at Aosta (not Grossan) in 1033. After a sheltered youth spent in study, on the death of his mother he deserted his studies. In 1055, after years of wandering settled in 1059 at the abbey of Bec in Normandy, newly founded (1059) by the saintly Helvira. There Anselm was then at the zenith of his power, and in 1060, on the death of his father, Anselm took the cowl, and became Lanfranc removed to Caen (1063). Anselm was elected by his successor as prior. The fame of Bec as a school grew greater still. Anselm’s genius as a teacher was remarkable; his gentle methods mark an epoch in pedagogic spec. (Edm. Vita, l., c. 10, 11, 22). On the death of Helvira (1078) the reluctant Anselm was appointed abbot. One result of his election was the far-reaching reform of the observance of hospitality, and anointing with vast estates in England, and Anselm’s journeys in their interest brought him into touch with both the Conqueror and William II., and endeared him to the whole nation. On the death of Lanfranc (May 28, 1086) all men looked to Anselm as his successor. But during his long residence at Bec he had acquired no adherence, and after some delay he appointed him archi-abbey of Canterbury. In 1091 he was accused of corruption, the ‘furious bull,’ already repentant of his penitence, discovered that the ‘weak old sheep’ (Ead. H. H. N. 53) was worth less than his match. Anselm insisted on the restitution to Canterbury of all the possessions of Urban II, (already recognized in Normandy) as the true pope. To this last William II., who had taken advantage of an anti-pope (Clement III.) to seize Peter’s penance for himself, was driven to a verbal consent by Anselm’s threat of retiring to Bec. At last Anselm was enthroned (25th Sept. 1093), doing homage for his successions, a matter of interest in view of later disputes. The question of the recognition of Urban was, however, not really settled, and the position of the king, under the influence of the late Bab.-Assyr. conception, became a distinctively secular one, connecting itself with that of a lay-judge rather than with that of a priest-king. As for anointing as a secular rite among the Semites, there is every reason to believe that its origin is bound up with the use of unguents as medicinal remedies. The medical prescriptions preserved on the cuneiform tablets of Ashurbanipal’s library, copied from originals that probably date from as early as 2500 B.C., or 5100, in which scented oils are mentioned. The frequent mention of unguents as remedial agents, both in the OT and NT (Is 1:4, Ezk 16:8, Lk 10:43, Mk 6:44, and especially Ja 2:4), points in the same direction, and forms the foundation of the liberal sacramental character of Extreme Unction, and the Greek and (previous to 1553) Anglican anointing of the sick. The cleansing qualities of unguents appear also to have been recognized at an early period in Babylonia, as well as their power in the prevention of diseases of the skin, so common in hot and moist climates. The use of unguents thus became at once a part of the toilet and an adornment of the person, like dress and ornaments. With the increase of luxury, especially highly scented oils were used, and as a natural corollary to this stage of the custom, anointing became a symbol of prosperity (Ps 23:5), while the general tendency in mourning rites to return to the customs of an earlier age led to the view that anointing was not appropriate during the period of lamentation for the dead, and that it was discontinued at such times. In the Semitic Orient popular customs are apt to become hardened into ceremonial obligations, and thus the anointing of a guest takes its place as a ceremony of great importance, the royal custom of crowning the victorious. The account of Mary’s anointing Jesus with precious nard is an illustration of the observance of the ceremony down to a late period. Anointing oneself before paying ceremonial visits falls under the same category (Lu 7:46).

Before the peace was made, Anselm had returned to England (Aug. 1100), and was received with enthusiasm by king and people. But he had come home to die, and on his way back gradually faded away, kept alive by his desire to write a treatise on the on the soul. On Wednesday, 4th May, 1109, he fell asleep. His canonization, a suit for which had been begun by Becket in 1163 (Hist. Bocket, Jr., v. 30, was deferred, through the troubles over Bec’s observance of the Observance of the (Conv. Conc. iii. 641). One of the ironies of history, it was then the work of the profligate pope Alexander VI. But Anselm had al-
ready been enrolled by a greater than Alexander among the immortals (Dante, Par. xii., last lines). His feast day is April 21 (Acta Sanct., s.v.).

2. Character and place in history.—In character Anselm was a true saint, whose mingled sanctity and sagacity, gentleness and firmness, tenderness and austerity, acted as a charm on all who came under him from the rudest braggards (Ead. HN 89), the conqueror (Vita, i. 31), and Duke Roger's Apulian Saracens included (Vita, ii. 33), to the most obstinate novice (Vita, i. 10) or the pious saint. He possessed that personal magnetism involuntarily associated in the Middle Ages with miraculous gifts (Eadmer, Descript. Miraculorum (R.S.), 425 ff.).

His unfeigned humility in all circumstances was the natural result of that mystical detachment which gives abiding interest to his writings.

Anselm's place in the ecclesiastical history of England cannot be exaggerated. Hitherto England had been loosely connected with Rome, and as a Church had possessed her own customs and a considerable degree of independence. This independence Conqueror Edward deposed and prepared to continue, as we see from his famous letter of 1076, in reply to Hildebrand (Freeman, Norman Conquest, iv. 433). The Conqueror insisted on the complete subordination of Church to State; the modern congo de desir, which took with him, the subject powers of compulsion were limited by his pleasure; papal letters could not be received unless they had first obtained his sanction (cf. Eadmer, HN i. 9). That William i.'s successors could not maintain his position was due to the stand taken by Anselm. This Italian of Aosta, by the force of his piety, character, and learning, succeeded in imposing upon the English Church the ideals of Hildebrand, and bringing the Church in England into close relation with the Church abroad. In many aspects the Reformation was but the rude undoing of his work and a return by the Tudors to the policy maintained by the Conqueror.

3. Writings and place as a thinker and theologian.—Anselm's writings may be classified as follows:

(i.) Four books of Epistles.—These letters (over 400 in all) are proof of a wide correspondence, and of the singular regard in which Anselm was held as a director of souls by all sorts and classes. We are rich for the details of his life and for their revelation of his character, there is scarcely a reference in them to the stirring events of the day—another sign of his philosophic detachment of soul.

(ii.) Devotional and Hymnary.—Of these the most important are his Orations (Migne, PL clxvi. 835 ff.) and Meditations (ib. 710 ff.). This last has singular charm; Anselm's mystic communings with his own soul breathing throughout a passionate love for Christ (cf. Med. xii. and xiii., both worth reading).

(iii.) Poetical.—That he wrote certain hymns for canonical hours may be reasonably accepted. Much also may be said for assigning to him the Mariale, a poem in honour of the Virgin sometimes attributed to St. Bernard, and commonly known as the Prayer of St. Casimir of Poland (Rigg, Anselm, 97-105; first published in full by Rasey, Lond. 1888). But neither in the Carmen de Contemptu Mundi (Migne, PL clvii. 687 ff.), with its amazing indifference to quantities, nor in several rude poems on the Virgin attributed to him (ib. 1055 ff.), is there any evidence of his authorship save some late and vague traditions.

That he had the Italian's passion for the Virgin is, however, clear from his Orationes (cf. Rigg, 490; Migne, PL clxvi. 942 ff.).

(iv.) Theological and Philosophical.—Of these the most important are—

(a) Monologion de Divinitatis Essentia.—In this work, written about 1070, when still prior at Bec (Epp. iv. 108), he gives the famous so-called a priori proof of the existence of God which has thence its way into most theological treatises. It is really an application of the Platonic Ideas to the demonstration of God's existence by a logical argument from the particular to the universal. In the world of experience we are confronted by transitory imperfect phenomena which inevitably lead the mind upward toward an eternal necessary perfect Being. Our recognition of goodness, for instance, in pheno- mena which are but in a sense 'good,' which is good per se, and which must be the final cause causans, the supreme objective reality in whom our 'ideas' inheres. Thus the existence of God is implicit in ordinary experience.

The criticism of this argument, which rests on certain Realist presuppositions, would take us too far into philosophical discussions. But we may point out here a criticism that applies to all Anselm's works—his extreme anxiety to satisfy reason ('credo ut intelligam,' Proslog, c. 1 fn.; cf. Our Deus, i. 25, that answer of Boase). Anselm in this is akin, though with a difference, to Abelard rather than Bernard (see Anselm, iv. 14, for further discussion of this). He attempts to establish on philosophical grounds that the Trinity is the Incarnation of God, the soul of the fabled isles of the Blest does not possess their existence (c. 6). Anselm replied briefly in his Liber Apologeticus that there is all the difference of the idea of the Summatum Cognitabile, or eternal necessary idea, and any particular empirical things which had a beginning, and will have an end (c. 9); contingent existence as such contradicts the idea of the Summatum Cognitabile, which cannot be conceived save as existing.

The after history of those theological arguments of Anselm belongs to the history of philosophy. They were too Platonic to be accepted by the Aristotelian schoolmen, with the exception of Duns Scotus (c. Sent. D. ii. 2.), who developed them in various forms in the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Hegel. Their most effective critic is Kant (Pure Reason, i. (2) iii. (4)). Anselm's obligations to Augustine are also most clear (e.g. de Trin. viii. c. 3).

(b) De Fide Trinitatis,—An answer to Roscellin's denial of universals as 'empty words,' was composed in 1098 at Schiavi. Roscellin's denial led him practically to the choice between Sabellianism and Tritheism; for the Trinity is itself a universal in respect of its comprehension therein of a threefold personality. Anselm meets Roscellin by pointing out that it is a fallacy to suppose the universal and the individual to be repugnant inter se. Those who care for ingenious similitudes to the doctrine of the Trinity will find, in words that remind us of the Athanasian Creed, a parallel between a 'fountain, river, and lake,' each of which may be called the Nile (c. 8).

(d) To one great doctrine of the modern Roman Church Anselm gave a powerful impulse in his de Conceptu Veritatis, evidence of his work (c. 19), as well as in the Cur Deus (ii. 16), these were argued for the graveness of the entire sanctification of the Virgin before she conceived of the Holy Ghost. Between this and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception there is but a step, which he himself may have taken in his last thought (see the tractate of
his nephew on the matter. Mansi, PL clxxv, 299). According to Mansi (xxv. 299), Anselm inaugurated in England the Feast of the immaculate Conception (cf. Raguey, ii. 243-7). In this treatise (cc. 25-28) Anselm defends most rigorously the damnation of all unGodly children—a logical deduction from his views on original sin. (c) de Veritate. A short work which reminds the student of Malebranche. Truth is the accurate perception of the archetypal ideas in the mind of God.

(f) de Libero Arbitrio.—Mere freedom is not the power of choosing between alternatives, but of persevering in righteousness for its own sake (c. 13)—a doctrine afterwards more fully developed in Kant's Metaphysic of Ethics. It is of importance to notice that Anselm points out that original sin need not involve total depravity. Man is still left in possession of an impaired but real 'natural' freedom (c. 3) and the power of will to govern motives (cc. 6, 8).

Our Deus Homo (begun in 1094, finished in 1098).—In this most important of his works, which marks an epoch in the development of doctrines of the Atonement, Anselm destroyed once for all (i. 7) the old conception of a ransom paid to the devil. (This theory, propounded by Origen (in Matt. xvii. 27) and developed later by Sts. Gregory (Lat. 'Filioque') and Gregory the Great (Adam 48) was developed by Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and Augustine (de Lib. Arbit. iii. 10), and dominated the Church from Gregory the Great to Anselm.) In place of this he substitutes a conflict between the goodness and justice of God, familiar in all forensic ideas of the Atonement, and which reminds the student of Roman doctrines of læse majestat. The defects of this theory (which may be described in brief as the interpretation of the relationship between God and man in terms of the Roman Law) are far from being new: Anselm—of Teutonic law Anselm would know nothing—, in addition to its tendency to destroy, as in much current theology, the essential ethical unity of the Godhead, lies in the essential opposition between God and the external world which it posits, leading to the idea of arbitrariness on the part of God, and the absence on the part of the individual of his own personality as an essential factor. This last, we may remark, is a common defect of the Realism of the Roman School, which Anselm could not accept. The Pauline mystical conception of union with the risen Christ (Rom. vi. esp. v. 5) is left out of consideration. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the Pauline idea was then already strong in theology, or it may be Anselm's easy-going thought, if he could have freed himself from juridical bondage. But instead we have the superabundant payment by Christ, the substituted Christ, the substituted man, of a debt due from man to the justice of God (i. 12, 28), which debt man, by reason of his original sin, cannot discharge. The keynote of the treatise is thus the paradox 'man must, man cannot' (i. 6; 'quant satisfactionem nemo potest facere nisi Deus, nec debet nisi homo; necesse est ut ex faciat Deus Homo'). Anselm's theory of the Incarnation In this treatise is far from satisfactory. In his anxiety to avoid conceptions now known as kensian, he limits the sufferings of Christ to his human nature (i. 8: 'Divinam naturam asservavit impossibile'). The digression on the atonement from among men of the number of the angels who have fallen (cc. 16-19) is characteristically medieval.

(h) de Processione Spiritus Sancti.—This great work, the outlines of which were given at Buri and projected shortly afterwards in the main on lines traced out by St. Augustine's de Trinitate. The unity of God is absolute save so far as limited by His threefold Personality. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son ('Filioque') is more consonant with this absolute unity than the Greek doctrine, which renders the co-inherence in the unity of the Godhead of the Three Persons (see esp. c. 29).

LITERATURE.—(1) LIFE OF ANSELM: We are primarily dependent on his Letters (in Migne, PL, see below) and his secretary Eadmer's Historia Novorum et de Vita Anselmi, one of the most conscientious records (best ed. Roll's Series, 1884, to which all references have been given; or in Migne, PL). Of other sources, the most important is Migne, Anselmi de Canterbury (1986), especially valuable for the philosophy; Martin R. Stake's St. Anselm (2 vols. 1883) is a good storehouse of facts, far fromjudicial in tone, and full of length with Anselm in his Norman Conquest, and more fully on his William Rufus. For the general relation of Malb. to Anselm's position as a theologian, see Dean Church, St. Anselm (1st ed. 1672, often reprinted), may be commended. Of foreign works the best perhaps is Ch. de Remusat, St. Anselme (2nd ed. 1868). Raguey's Eadmer (1892) and S. Anselme (1891), and Tredwell's ed. (1911) are also of service. The Life of Anselm by Dean Hook, Archbishop of Canterbury (1869-70), is a valuable juristic caricature. Dean Stephens's account, England Church, vol. 3 (1901), is judicious and sympathetic.

(2) EDITIONS.—The first complete edition was that of Gerberon (Paris, 1751), still often quoted. The earliest dated annotated ed. would appear to be at Nuremberg, 1494. The only complete save for Eadmer (see above), are now superseded by that of Migne (1883). PL civil, and, including Eadmer and many extra authors, is still in use. There are many more recent ed. of the Deus Homo.

(3) REVIEWS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANSELM ARE MANY. The student should consult Ueberweg, etc. Attention may also be drawn to Grenier's contention that Anselm owed much to the Teutonic law conception of the justice of God, and to his spontaneous justice.

ANTEDILUVIANS.—The term 'antediluvian' (Lat. ante diluvium) was formerly applied to men or races who lived before the Flood, the latter being regarded as a Deluge universal in extent, and destroying all law familiar to men. But the term also came to be used by some ethnologists to describe certain races which were believed to have survived the Deluge, the latter being supposed by them to be concerned only with a single race of men, those descended from Adam. This pre-Adamite theory, as it was called, found many advocates during last century. Thus George Catlin referred the American Indian tribe to an antediluvian genus or family called An- delgian. Like Sesostris American immanentists, like Erastian A. B. Harnack, History of Dogma, iii. 342, 352. H. B. WORKMAN.
that man becomes mortal (319; cf. Ro 5:12, 1 Co 15:21). On the other hand, 322"M (J) seems to imply that
man was naturally mortal, and that mortality
could be acquired; but this passage does not accord
with 32-17, which speaks only of one forbidden tree,
and is probably a separate tradition incorporated
with J (see Oxf. Hex., ad loc.).

The primitive industries are tillage (323), and also
pasturage (4:3 J). According to J, pasturage and
the nomad life were first introduced by Jabol, the
son of Lamech (v. 29). The same generation
witnessed the invention of musical instruments, and
the art of smelting brass and iron (vv. 21-22). The
art of building, on the other hand, is primitive, the
first to build a city being Cain (v. 17).

The attitude of the antediluvians towards
religion and morality is more difficult to
determine, and here again differences between J and
J', and even between different sections of J', show
themselves. The statement that in the time of
Enoch man began to call on the name of Jahweh (4:26 J')
is hardly consistent with the story of Cain and
Abel (J'). 4:16 is too ambiguous to help us
much. The story of the origin of the Nephilim from
the natural union of the 'sons of God' and the
daughters of men (6:1-4), in its present connexion
with 6:5-8, appears to be a reason for the de-
pravity and violence which were the cause of
the Deluge. But it is at least possible that this
story was originally quite independent of the Deluge
story, and that the latter belongs to a later cycle
of traditions (J'), inconsistent, as it obviously is, with
4:21 (see Oxf. Hex. and art. DELUGE). If so,
the term 'antediluvian' is not strictly applicable so
far as J, as distinguished from J', is concerned.

The names of the antediluvians according to J
(+J') are Adam, Seth, Enosh (4:25-26 J'), Cain,
(ABEL), Enoch, Irad, Methusael, Methuselah, Lamech
(ADAM and ZILLAH), Jabol, Jabal, and Tubal-Cain
(4:18-24 J). Of these Abel dies childless; Adam and
Zillah are the wives of Lamech; Jabol, Jabel, and
Tubal-Cain are Lamech's three sons. The rest
appear in two genealogical lines, (1) Adam—Enosh,
(2) Cain (the elder son of Adam)—Lamech, who is the
seventh in the line.

The antediluvians of P. — The first were made
out of nothing by a direct fiat of God, in His
image and after His likeness, male and female
simultaneously (Gn 1:27, 578; v 18; were appointed
the lords of creation (1:28, 9); and were vegetarians
till after the Deluge (1:25-29). The names of the ante-
diluvians are given in one line only (Gn 5:1). Their
relation with those of J best can be seen by the
following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P (5)</th>
<th>J (+J')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Adam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>Seth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enosh</td>
<td>Enoch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kenan (5)</th>
<th>Mahalalel (5)</th>
<th>Jared (7)</th>
<th>Enoch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5:7)</td>
<td>(5:7)</td>
<td>(5:7)</td>
<td>(Adam)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methushelah (6)</th>
<th>Lamech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6:18)</td>
<td>(Lamech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:13, 17)</td>
<td>(Lamech)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5:8)</td>
<td>(Lamech)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A comparison of these lists makes it evident
that P has combined the two lists of names (J (+J'),
merely transposing the names of Mahalalel and Enoch.
The changes in the form of the names are no more
than can be found in other parallel lists, and were
probably due originally to copying errors. P has
ignored the tradition that Cain was a son of Adam.
Of these antediluvians, Seth is described as
begotten in Adam's likeness and his image, implying
that the Divine nature of Adam is reproduced in
his offspring (5:7, 13). Of Enoch it is said that
he 'walked with God: and was not;' for God took
him (5:24), meaning probably that he was translated
(for the first phrase cf. 5:6, where it is used of
Noah). From this it has been inferred that there
is a hint of the translation of Noah comparable to
that of Sittnapist in the Sumerian Deluge story
(see DELUGE).

There is no trace given of the progress of
civilization, or any suggestion of a physical difference
before and after the Deluge, except that the age of
man, which, but for Enoch, had been on an
average about 900 years, began to decline rapidly.

2. The Babylonian antediluvians [see Fragn. of
i. (2); Driver's Gen. in loc.]. Berossus agrees with P
in giving (1) 10 antediluvians, and (2) these in
one line. (3) Some writers, especially Hommel,
and Sayce, have found a further agreement in the
meaning of some of the names occupying the same
place in the two records. Thus, in their opinion,
Amelon = Bab. amiltu = man = Enosh (phew), and
Ammonen = Bab. ummnus = 'artificer' = Kenan
(ppy) 'smith.' A more probable identification is
that of Evedoracus or Edoranchus for Enoch.
Evedoracus is believed to be another form of
Enmeduranki, a legendary king of Sippar, a town
sacred to the sun-god. This god called Evedoracus
to intercede with himself, taught him secrets of
earth and heaven, and instructed him in astronomy,
and thus he became the mythical ancestor of
diviners. This identification is confirmed by the
335 years of Enoch's life, which, though having no
parallel in Berossus, appear to have some
connexion with the 365 days of the solar year. (4)
A further point of contact lies in the fact that the
sum of the reigns of the Babylonian antediluvians
amounts to 452,000 years. If a soss (a period of
5 years) be substituted for a week in the Bible
record, the period before the Deluge in the latter,
1556 years, will agree with the Babylonian (see
Opper, Art. Chronology in J. E. Driver, Genesis,
pp. 78-81).

On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile this
probable connexion of Berossus and P with the
obvious derivation of the latter from J (+J').
The difficulty may be got over on the supposition
that P indeed took his list of names from J (+J'),
and altered the position of Enoch to agree with
that in the list of Bab. antediluvians; that the
agreement of the number 10, if it existed in the
Babylonian traditions of P's time, is a
coincidence; and, further, that P derived his data
of the world's history from a Babylonian tradition,
dividing the time among the antediluvians
according to a method of his own. It must be
admitted that apart from Enoch the identifications of
the names are ingenious rather than convincing. It
must also be borne in mind that Berossus may very
probably have himself departed from ancient
Babylonian tradition by substituting a soss for a
week, and possibly even the number 10 for an earlier
7. The translation of the 7th name of P as
Gn 5:4 (like that of Sittnapisti, the Sumerian Deluge
hero), suggests the possibility that according
to ancient tradition there were only 7 antediluvians,
the last being Enoch = Lamech = Noah = Sittnapisti.

3. Antediluvians in the mythological systems of
other races. — It is not necessary to say much
concerning these. It may suffice to remark that,
whereas among Semitic peoples the antediluvians
are, if indeed somewhat super-normal, at least
human beings, among many other races they are
rarely described as men, more frequently as
monsters, and not infrequently as ape-like creatures
(Andree, Die Flutagen, § 6). In a Fiji
legend two races were destroyed by the Deluge,
one consisting of women only, the other of men
with dog's tails (Andree, § 37). The Quiché Indians of Guatemala have a curious story connected with the origin of the cibe. Men were first made of clay, but they had neither speech nor intelligence, and were destroyed by a flood of water. Then the gods made another race, the men of wood and the women of earth. These terms we speak, but only in a senseless fashion, and were destroyed by a storm of burning resin and an earthquake, except a few who became wild asses. The third time men were made of white and yellow maize, and were so perfectly man-like that it is said they were afraid of the gods. They therefore took away some of their higher qualities, and they became normal men (Andree, § 73). See, further, DELUGE.


ANTHROPOLOGY.

[R. MUNRO].

Definition and scope.—Anthropology ("the science of man; from ἀνθρώπος, 'man,' and λόγος, 'discourse'), in the modern acceptation of the term, treats more particularly of man's origin and place in the animal kingdom; his development as an individual (Ontogeny) and as a race (Phylogeny); the physical and mental changes he has undergone during his career on the globe; his next departure in the organic world; the organization of an animal; and finally, the development of articulate speech and the principles of religion, ethics, altruism, and sociology, which, at the present time, constitute the great landmarks of human civilization. The claims of Anthropology to be recognized as a separate science were for some time successfully opposed on the ground that the phenomena bearing on the history of mankind were already fully dealt with under the sciences of Biology, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, Zoology, Ethnology, etc. But the startling discoveries made in the collateral sciences of Geology, Paleontology, and pre-historic Archeology, about the beginning of the second half of last century, which culminated shortly after the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) in the general acceptance by scientific men of the theory of organic evolution, conclusively proved that there were ample materials in this new field of research which were by no means covered by any of these sciences. While, therefore, Anthropology may be justly regarded as comprising all the elements of a comprehensive monograph on mankind—all that they are, or have been, or may have done, since their genome first came into existence—practically it is restricted to an investigation of the earlier stages of humanity, leaving the details of its later phases to be worked out by these other sciences, on the principle of the division of labour. But, even in this limited field of Anthropology, its remaining materials, which are rapidly increasing in number and variety, present a greater attraction to the philosophic mind than those of any other department of speculative knowledge, because they are so impregnated with human interest that it is felt, if they were not intimately affecting one's own origin and pedigree.

In order to present a brief but reasoned summary of the conclusions to be derived from a study of so fascinating a science, it becomes almost necessary to arrange its scattered materials along certain well-defined lines of investigation, which may be thus categorically stated: (1) Man's physical characteristics; (2) his fossil remains; (3) his handicraft products; (4) his mental superiority over other animals; (5) his social evolution; (6) and, lastly, other concluding remarks.

I. MAN'S PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.—So long as the Hominidae were believed to occupy a higher platform in the organic world than other animals, in virtue of specially created endowments, no one thought of looking for evidence of man's origin and history in the obscure vistas of pre-historic times. The long-cherished traditions and myths which had gathered around the problem left little room for any other hypothesis than that man's appearance on the field of life, as a fully equipped human being, was the last and crowning achievement of a long series of creative acts which brought the present world-drama into existence. But to eliminate man altogether from the processes of organic evolution is not only a unwarranted assumption, but is unsupported by any evidence that can be characterized as scientific. No fair-minded person who is conversant with the close anatomical and physiological resemblances between the structural details of our nearest allies of the anthropoid apes—every bone, muscle, nerve, and blood-vessel being virtually the same—and the striking analogy between the complex mechanism of their organs of sense, can seriously deny that they are the closest relatives on the path of descent of man. The causes of variation which evolved the typical Negrito and Caucasian from one common ancestor were quite adequate to evolve that ancestor from the anthropoid stock in the Tertiary period.

The striking analogy between the structure of man and that of the nearest of the anthropoid apes becomes still more apparent when we consider the phenomena of the fetal life of animals. Not only does the human embryo start from an ovule similar to, and indistinguishable from, that of many other animals, but its subsequent changes follow on precisely the same lines. All the homologous organs in full grown animals, as the wing of a bird, the flipper of a seal, and the hand of man, are developed from the same fundamental parts of the embryo.

"It is," says Professor Huxley (Collected Essays, vol. vii. p. 99), "only quite in the later stages of development that the young human being presents marked differences from the anthropoid ape, while the latter departs as much from the dog in its development as the man does."

Starting as the last assertion may appear to be, it is demonstrably true, and it alone appears to me sufficient to place beyond all doubt the structural unity of man with the rest of the animal world, and more particularly and closely with the apes."

The Illustrous von Baer, who first directed special attention to the importance of embryology, formulated a law to the effect that structural differentiation in fetal development was from a general to a special type. Haeckel, looking at the same phenomena from a different standpoint, came to the conclusion that the development of the
individual is a recapitulation of the historic evolution of the race. If this astounding generalization be true, the study of embryology should supply the anthropologist with a method of reaching the goal of his inquiry, by making the progressive stages of man's development the subject of experimental illustrations within the precincts of the laboratory. But greater progress is made in this special branch of morphological research, we have few data to guide us in forming precise conclusions on the subject. Meantime, it may be remarked, that, if embryology is as conservative of evidence as other organic processes, it would be expected that, in course of passing through a series of progressive increments, some of the minor links would ultimately drop out altogether. Nature is full of short cuts. As a parallel instance in ordinary life may be cited the instinct which leads the chaffinch, being, in general, to alight on a vertical post or occasionally to meet with, in the human body. Such organs as canine teeth, the coccyx, inter- and supra-condyloid foramina of the humerus, the cœcum and appendix vermiformis, fibrous traces of various muscles, etc., are apparently useless in the human economy, while their homologues in other animals have well-defined functions assigned to them. But, indeed, the homologous structure of the entire human body is utterly inexplicable on any other hypothesis.

'Thus we can understand,' writes Mr. Darwin, 'how it has come to pass that man and all other vertebrate animals have been, through the same early stages of development, and why they retain certain rudiments in common. Consequently, we ought frankly to admit their community as a fact, and to take any other view is to admit that our own structure, and that of all the animals around us, is a mere snare to entrap our judgment. This conclusion is all the more strengthened, if we look to the members of the whole animal series and consider the evidence derived for classification, their geographical distribution and geological succession' (Descent of Man, p. 26).

If but the races of mankind are so closely related both in structure and mode of development to the anthropoid apes, what, it may be asked, are the essential characters which differentiate them as to make the latter? Flower and Lydekker, in Mammals Living and Extinct (p. 740), thus answer the question:

'The distinctions between the Hominidae and Simidae are chiefly in the brain and of brain-case as compared with the facial portion of the skull, smaller development of the canine teeth of the males, complete adaptation of the structure of the vertebral column to the vertical position, greater length of the lower as compared with the upper extremities, of greater length of the upper, or giant toe, with almost complete absence of the power of bringing it to projection to the other four toes. The last feature, together with the length of the canine teeth, is perhaps the most marked and easily defined distinction that can be drawn between the two groups.

Of the above distinctions it will be seen, from various passages in this article, that we have assigned the chief place to the erect attitude, because its attainment was the means of setting the fore-limbs for the development of their higher habits as tool-making organs, which constitute the true starting-point of humanity. Throughout the animal kingdom there are many morphological changes which strike one as remarkable instances of the adaptation of special means to special ends, such, for example, as the evolution of the fore-limbs into fins and wings so as to make them suitable for locomotion in the different media of water and air. But nature's operations will be searched in vain for a series of phenomena comparable to those which ushered man on the field of life as a skilled craftsman. The preliminary step in this great event was the attainment of the erect attitude which to this day distinguishes him from all other vertebrates. This divergence from the anthropoid group in human form occurred sometime in the Tertiary period, and was finally completed by the adjustment of certain muscles and bones so as to balance the upper part of the body on the spinal column, and facilitate bipedal locomotion, which henceforth became man's normal mode of progression.

The organic changes involved in the transformation from the semi-erect attitude of monkeys to that of man cannot be regarded as a very arduous piece of work; so that the assumption of bipedal locomotion, and the differentiation of the hands and feet, would have been effected in a comparatively short period. It was, however, very different with mental evolution, as the formation of brain substance in response to the progressive stimuli of nature. The manipulation of objects is a many-speed process—a process which has no limits, and indeed is still in operation. Hence, the time requisite to complete the former, or transition, period in the evolution of man is by no means comparable, in point of duration, to the long ages which elapsed since he became a tool-maker. The evolutionary stages of organic life often run in grooves, and may be long or short in proportion to the facility afforded by the exciting causes in the environment and the benefits conferred by the change. Moreover, it is probable that the attainment of the erect attitude, together with its attendant morphological changes, was completed within a comparatively small area on the globe, so that the chances of finding the fossil remains of a typical specimen of the human races native to this early period are extremely small. On the other hand, the probability of discovering erect beings, with crania in all grades of development, from a slightly changed simian type up to that of civilized man, is enormously greater, not only because of the great length of time since they came into existence, but also because of their increased numbers and wide distribution on the globe. Whatever may have been the precise circumstances which induced the first anthropoid animals to resort to bipedal locomotion, the habit soon became hereditary; and it has continued ever since to be one of the most distinguishing characteristics of man.

It will be observed that the angle which the axis of the spine of a vertebrate animal makes with the axis of its supporting limbs varies from 90° to zero. In man alone this angle reaches the vanishing point, because the vertebral axis has actually come to coincide with the vertical direction of the two lower limbs, which in his case exclusively support the body. This erect attitude is not only peculiar to man, but the ultimate goal of all improvements in the advance of vertebrate life, since the bilateral parts of the body are nicely balanced on the spinal column and the two posterior limbs. It is, therefore, the most conspicuous physiological line of demarcation that exists between man and the lower animals. Moreover, it was indirectly the means of profoundly affecting the subsequent career of mankind on the globe; for the appropriation of the fore-limbs to manipulative purposes virtually inaugurated a new phase of existence, in which intelligence and mechanical skill became henceforth the dominating factors. The co-operation of these two factors was the starting-point of the long series of inventions and ingenious methods by
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which mankind have gradually worked out the elements of modern civilization and acquired dominion over all other animals.

Linnaeus, in his Systema Naturae, described the genus Homo as comprising four primary varieties, viz. Negro, Mongolian, Caucasian, and American, all of which are connected by numerous intermediate forms. To these Blumenbach added the Malay, as a fifth variety. On the other hand, Cuvier reduced them to three, viz. Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian,—a classification adhered to by M. Verneuil in his Races Humaines. The description of these various races of mankind, their relation to each other and distribution on the globe, form the special domain of Ethnology and Ethnography (wh. see). For precise details of the anatomical changes consequent on the attainment of the erect attitude, readers are also referred to special works on the subject (see Memoirs of John Goodison, 1868, vol. i. pp. 207-280).

With regard to Cuvier's division of the Primates into quadrumana and anthropoid, it may be observed that he is quite partially accurate; for, although anatomically the four limbs of the former are truly prehensile organs, yet the upper two are decidedly more adapted as hands than the lower. Even in the apes the distinction between hands and feet had already begun to be marked; and the difference between the upper and lower limbs has greatly widened in two opposite directions, the former becoming exclusively adapted for prehension and manual purposes, and the latter as exclusively adapted for locomotion.

II. SOME REMAINS OF FOSSIL MAN.—With the completion of the bodily changes involved in the attainment of the erect attitude, the evolution of the present human form, with the exception of some remarkable modifications in the cranium, facial bones, and probably the larynx, was practically completed. As soon as bipedal locomotion became the ordinary mode of existence, there was no apparent reason why the component characters of the lower limbs should be sensibly affected by any subsequent increase in the quantity or quality of brain-matter. For example, the femur, which had hitherto supported the entire weight of the body, would not be in the least degree affected by the nature of the component ingredients of that load. It would, however, be very different with the brain-case and its attachments. For, by the substitution of manual habits in lieu of those of self-defense, the subsequent well-being of these novel bipeds became absolutely dependent on their skill in converting the laws and forces of their environment into useful mechanical appliances. And thereby Dr. Eugene Verneuil recognized the intellectual faculties were the true source of such inventions, no doubt a premium would be put on useful discoveries. In this way strong motives for the production of more perfect weapons, tools, and other appliances were constantly coming within the scope of their daily avocations, the result of which would be a progressive increase in intelligence and a corresponding increase in brain substance. Now, according to the well-established doctrine of the erect attitude of brain function and the additional brain molecules and cells thus acquired had their seat of growth for the most part somewhere in the cerebral hemispheres, which lie well within the anterior portion of the brain-case. The mere mechanical effect of this increment to the physical organ of the head could not be to increase the weight of the anterior half of the head, and so to upset its finely equilibrated position on the top of the spinal column. But, as any interference with the free and easy rotatory movements of the head would manifestly be disadvantageous to the individual in the struggle of life, it became necessary to counteract the influence of this disturbing element by the action of some other concurrent morphological process, which would not be prejudicial to the general well-being of the human economy. This object was partly attained by a retrocession, or contraction, of the facial bones, especially the jaw-bones, towards the central axis of the spinal column, and partly by a backward shifting of the cerebrum over the cerebellum. As the gradual forming up of the cranial cavity progressed pari passu with those cranial alterations, we have, in the facial angle of Camper, a rough mechanical means of estimating the progress of mental development during the period of man's existence as a human being, i.e., since he attained the erect attitude.

One of the results of this retrocession of the facial bones was the gradual contraction of the alveolar borders of the jaws, thereby diminishing the space allotted to the teeth,—a fact which plausibly accounts for some of the peculiarities differentiating the older fossil jaws from modern specimens. Thus, in the dentition of the former, the last, or third, molar is the largest, whereas in the latter it is the smallest. Now, but among some European races the last lower molar (wisdom) teeth make their appearance at a later date in the individual's life than in early prehistoric times (a fact which has also been noted in a few Negloitic specimens), so that the so-called wisdom teeth seem to be one of the vestigial organs. It is interesting to note that this shortening of the dental portion of the human jaw attracted the attention of Darwin, who, however, attributed it to "civilized men habitually feeding on soft, cooked food, and thus using their jaws less."

Another peculiarity of civilized races is the greater prominence of the chin, a feature which may also be due to the contraction of the alveolar ridges, and the more upright setting of the incisor teeth in their sockets. But, because may have been, there can be no doubt that the gradual formation of the chin has had a striking parallelism with the progressive stages in man's intellectual development ever since he started on his human career.

The evidence on which these views are founded consists of a few fossil skulls and other portions of human skeletons (necessarily fragmentary owing to the ordinary processes of decay). A short description will now be given of one or two of the more interesting specimens.

(1) Java skull.—Perhaps the oldest and most controverted of such remains are a calvaria, two molar teeth, and a left femur, found in 1801-1892 by Dr. Eugene Verneuil and Dr. Dubois in a layer of soil on the island of Java. After comparing these bones with the corresponding parts of other human skeletons, both fossil and modern, and of some anthropoid apes, Dr. Dubois published, in 1894, a very complete memoir on the subject, with descriptive details and photogravures of each bone. In this memoir (Pithecanthropus erectus: eine menschliche Uebergangsform aus Java, Batavia, 1894) he assigns these remains to an animal having an erect attitude of brain function, and a brain-case of mixed characters, partly simian and partly human, to which he gave the name Pithecanthropus erectus. Unfortunately these bones, though found in the same horizontal strata, were not close together,—the skull-cap being 15 metres from the femur,—and consequently there is room for the belief that they did not belong to the same individual. Expert opinion was greatly divided as to the conclusions to be derived from these relics. Most of the anatomists who critically examined the femur pronounced it human, and the late Prof. Virey being almost alone in maintaining that it might have belonged to one of the anthropoid apes. As to the two molar teeth, there was so much difference of opinion among specialists,—some regarding them as
simian and others as human—that it is quite unnecessary to advance any further proof of their intermediate character. But the ‘bone of contention,’ *par excellence*, was the *calvaria*, with regard to which some twenty experts of various nationalities ranged themselves into three groups, according as they held it to be human, simian, or a transien form (see Munro, *Prehistoric Problems*, pp. 155–168).

The following is a brief description of its prominent characters:—External surface generally smooth and without any marked ridges; sutures almost entirely obliterated. The keel-shaped in the line of the frontal suture; *giabella*, supra-orbital ridges, and occipital protuberance strikingly prominent; cranial vault depressed, and on section (antero-posterior) showing an arch intermediate between that of the anthropoid apes and that of an average European man. Its general dimensions may be thus abbreviated:

| Antero-posterior diameter (max.) | 185 mm. |
| Transverse diameter | 130 '' |
| Height in the parietal region (max.) | 82 |
| Cephalic index | 70 |

Estimated cranial capacity (Huxley) : 1000 c.c.

The specially interesting features of the Java *calvaria* are its estimated small cranial capacity, the great prominence of the supra-orbital ridges and the occipital protuberance, and its remarkably low and retracting forehead. In the absence of the facial bones, we can only surmise that, to be in keeping with the above simian characters, the individual who owned this skull presented a highly prognathic appearance, something approaching to that of *Hylobates*, to which Dr. Dubois compares it. But whatever views may be held as to the anthropological value of this *calvaria*, the femur found in the same stratum conclusively proves that there had then been in existence a being of the genus *Homo* which had assumed the erect attitude as its normal mode of progression, i.e. at a time prior to the advent of that great landmark in the physical history of the northern hemisphere known as the Glacial period.

(2) Neanderthal skull. — In 1857, Prof. Schaaffhausen and Dr. Fuhrrott published an account of a skull found, the year before, in the cave of Pfedhofen, situated at the entrance to a small ravine called Neanderthal, on the right bank of the river Düsseldorf. The cave has long been quarried away, but its dimensions are reported to have been about 16 feet in length, 11 feet in breadth, and 8 feet in height. On its uneven floor lay a mass of consolidated mud, about 5 feet in depth, without stalagmitic deposits, but sparingly mixed with rounded fragments of chert. On this deposit being removed, the human bones in question were discovered. No other animal remains, with the exception of a bear’s teeth of which neither the position nor character was determined, were found in the cave.

The Neanderthal human remains, especially the skull, presented such remarkable peculiarities that, when they were first exhibited at a scientific meeting at Bonn, doubts were expressed by several naturalists as to whether they were really human. The limb-bones were characterized by great thickness, with unusual development of the elevations and depressions for the attachment of muscles, and the ribs had a slightly rounded shape and abrupt curvature—all characters indicating great muscular power. The left humerus was more slender than the right—a fact which suggested the idea that these two did not belong to the same individual; but this peculiarity was referred to have been the result of an injury during lifetime. The cranium, which was of great size and thickness, was characterized by a long elliptical shape, a low retreating forehead, excessive development of the frontal sinuses, and a great projection of the occipital region. The sutures were nearly obliterated, and the line of the frontal suture was marked by a slight ridge. Its dimensions were as follows:

| Antero-posterior diameter (max.) | 200 mm. |
| Transverse | 144 |
| Frontal (min.) | 106 |
| Frontal (max.) | 132 |
| Cephalic index | 72 |

Estimated cranial capacity (Huxley) : 1350 c.c.

With regard to this skull, Professor Huxley, writing in 1863, says:

‘There can be no doubt that, as Professor Schaaffhausen and Mr. Busk have stated, this skull is the most brutal of all known human skulls, resembling those of the apes not only in the prodigious development of the superciliary prominences and the forward extension of the orbits, but still more in the depressed form of the brain-case, in the straightness of the squamous suture, and in the complete retreat of the occiput forward and upward, from the superior occipital ridges’ (Levey’s *Antiquity of Man*, p. 56).

Here also, as was the case with the Java *calvaria*, we have no means, owing to the absence of the facial bones, of judging of the degree of prognathism of this very pronounced pithecoide specimen of humanity.

(3) Les Hommes de Spy. — In 1886 two human skeletons were found deep buried in undisturbed debris at the entrance to a grotto called Belchaneaux-Roches, at Spy-sur-l’Oiseau, in the province of Namur, Belgium. The interior of the grotto had been examined more than once, but in front of it there was a terrace, projecting 13 yards, which had not been previously excavated. It was in this terrace that MM. Lohest and de Fuydt made excavations which unearthed these skeletons. The outer skeleton was found at a distance of 26 feet from the entrance to the cave, under a mass of rubbish 12½ feet in depth and composed of four distinct strata, none of which appeared to have been hitherto broken through. It lay on the right side, across the axis of the cave, with the hand resting on the lower jaw, and the head towards the east. The other was 8 feet nearer the present entrance to the cave, but its position was not determined with so much accuracy as the former. Associated with these skeletons were worked flints of the type known as Moustérien, and some animal remains representing the following fauna:

- Rhinoceros tiborchinicus (abundant).
- Equus caballinus (very abundant).
- Cerbus elephas (rare).
- Cerbus tarandus (very rare).
- Bos primigenius (pretty abundant).
- Elephas primigenius (abundant).
- Ureus spelaeus (rare).
- Meles fagani (rare).
- Hyena spelaeus (abundant).

Immediately over the skeletons was a hardened layer composed of chippings of ivory and flint, pieces of charcoal, and some angular stones of the surrounding limestone rock. Above this there was a reddish deposit containing remains of the same fauna, but the worked objects indicated a decided advance in civilization—saws and borers of flint, together with needles, bone points of bone and ivory. Above this was a bed of yellow clay, in which were still found bones of the mammoth and various flint implements; and lastly, a mass of clay and fallen rocks, without relics of any kind.

The osteological characters of one of the Spy crania correspond in a remarkable degree with those of the Neanderthal skull, as may be seen from the following measurements by Professor Fraipont (Congrès international d’Anthropologie et d’Archéologie préhistoriques, Paris 1889, p. 233):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neanderthal</th>
<th>Spy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antero-posterior diameter (max.)</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transverse</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These measurements show a close agreement.
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Spy. Neanderthal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pecrinal (min.)</th>
<th>104 mm.</th>
<th>106 mm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(max.)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal circumference</td>
<td>693 (571-691)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the great development of the super-
eliminal prominences, the low retreating forehead, and the depressed and elongated form of the cranium, both these skulls present a more brutal appearance than any human skull known up to the time of the Java discovery.

According to M. Fraipont, the entire anatomical characters of the Spy skeleton are in harmony with the same lowness of type shown by the skull. The jaws are deep and powerful, the chin slopes away from the teeth downwards and backwards, while the teeth and alveolar border have a striking prognathic appearance. The last molar teeth are not smaller than those immediately in front of them. The long bones are materially different from those of the normal Belgians of the present day, being generally shorter and stouter.

It is, however, only just to note that the pithe-canoid characters of the other Spy skull appear to be less pronounced, the cranial vault being more lofty and the cephalic index at least 74.

It has already been surmised that the individuals to whom the Java and Neanderthal skulls belonged had the prognathous profile which greatly strengthens the inference as to the two former.

(4) Naulette jaw.—Among isolated cranial bones occasionally discovered, the lower jaw, being merely attached to the skull by muscular and ligamentary tissue, is most frequently met with. Perhaps the most instructive of these fossil jaws is the Naulette mâchoire, discovered in 1885, in the Trou de la Naulette, by M. E. Dupont, Director of the R. N. H. Museum at Brussels. The cave known under the above name is situated on the left bank of the river Leese, near Dinant, and contained much débris and remains of the Quaternary fauna, among them being this jaw, at a depth of 4-60 metres beneath its final or modern floor. Though in a fragmentary condition, it presents characters which strongly differentiate it from the corresponding bone in modern civilized man. Its characteristics, according to M. Dupont (L'Homme pendant les âges de la Pierre, p. 99), may be thus stated:

(a) Its small height, in proportion to the thickness of the body, gives it an exceptionally stump appearance.
(b) The chin, instead of projecting forwards, slopes backwards; and the 'genial tubercules' (apophyse génien) on its inner surface are wanting.
(c) The posterior molars are larger than the others, and present the appearance of having five roots, as shown by the size of the sockets, all the teeth being absent from the mandible when discovered.

Dr. Broca came to the conclusion that the Naulette jaw, in its anatomical characters, approached the simian type more than any previously known.

"Nous sommes autorisés à conclure," he writes, 'que cette mâchoire, dont l'antiquité prodigieuse remonte au temps du mammoth, est de tous les restes humains que l'on connaît jusqu'ici, celui qui se rapproche le plus du type des singes' (Congrès International, etc., Paris, 1867, p. 49).

With respect to the retreating slope of the chin and the character of the teeth, he consulted the two skulls who owned the Naulette jaw held an intermediate place between man and the anthropoid apes; and in support of this view he exhibited a sketch of a number of human mandibles showing a regular upward gradation from the extremely sloping chin of a chimpanzee up to that of a modern Parisian (ib. p. 599). These facts go far to establish the generalization that, as men advanced in intelligence, the prognathism which they inherited from their simian-like ancestors became gradually smaller, until the face assumed the almost straight and classic profile of modern times. This view is further strengthened by evidence derived from a comparison between the skulls of modern civilized people and those of the lower races still inhabiting the globe. This method of inquiry has yielded some striking results as regards the degree of gnathism and frontal development which they respectively exhibit. The extent of this difference is well illustrated by Professor Owen (Comparative Anatomy, vol. ii. pp. 598, 599), in a comparison which he makes between the cranium of a native Australian and that of a well-formed European, from which it will at once be seen that the former has a low retreating forehead and a highly prognathic profile. The characters of the European skull, which present a very marked contrast to the former, are thus described by the Professor:

"In more intellectual races the cranial cavity is relatively larger, especially lofty and wider. The fore-parts of the upper and lower jaws, concomitantly with this, are less produced, and the contour descends more vertically from the longer and more prominent nasals. The ascending rami of the mandible are more pronounced. The malar is less protuberant, and the mastoid more." (5) That other crania supposed to be of great antiquity have been recorded whose anatomical features do not correspond much satisfactorily with the views so well as do those of the Java, Neanderthal, and Spy specimens, need not cause any surprise, considering the difficulty which sometimes occurs in correctly estimating their antiquity. Thus, the so-called famous skull of Crâne de l'âge de la Pierre, long regarded as originally belonging to one of the hunter-artists of the late Palaeolithic period, shows a decided approach in all its characters to the normal type of civilized man. Its cephalic index is 73-9 and its capacity 1500 c.c. The height of its original owner was 1'82 metres. The lower jaw has a large ascending rami, behind which, on both sides, the third molar is partly hidden. These two teeth are also smaller than the other molars, being in this respect more like those of the Neolithic and modern races. For these reasons, as well as for the fact that the Cromagnon skeletons were found on the surface of the Palaeolithic débris of the rock shelter of Cromagnon, some anthropologists maintain that the skulls belonged to the Neolithic period. But between the latest phase of the life of the Palaeolithic artists of middle Europe and the earlier Neolithic people there was probably no great interval of time. Although the Cromagnon human remains were lying over the true culture débris of the Moustérien period, the amount of superincumbent talus under which the skeletons lay shows that they could not have been much later than the transition period. Moreover, there are other human remains with regard to which no doubt has been raised, such as the skulls of Chancelade and Lauverie Basse, both found in the Dordogne district, which show equally advanced cranial characters.

(6) The recent discovery of two skeletons in the Grotte des Enfants near Mentone, which Dr. Verneau describes as belonging to a race intermediate between the Neanderthaloid and Cromagnon races, marks an important addition to fossil craniology. They belonged to a young man and an old female of normal stature, and lay on a level layer at a depth of 7'72 metres. The cephalic index of the former was 69-72 and of the latter 68-58, and both have prominent negroid jaws. But the interesting feature of the discoveries in this cave was that, a little more than 2 ft.
higher up in the débris, another skeleton of the Cromagnon type was found, measuring 6 ft. 3 in. in height and with a cephalic index of 76-29 (L'Anthropologie, vol. xiii. pp. 561-583). That these two distinct races should be thus brought nearly on the same chronological horizon by no means discredit Dr. Verneaux's theory, as it is not improbable that, kept hidden away, individuals of an older and lower race still survived in Europe. In corroboration of this we have the record of two skulls, of a distinctly negroid type, having been found among Neolithic remains in British Guiana, and even accepting the Cromagnon race, whose skulls indicate a great stride in mental capacity over those of Spy and Neanderthal, as belonging to the latest phase of the Reindeer period in France, it does not appear to the present writer that they disclose a greater brain-case than would be expected of a people who displayed such artistic feeling and mechanical skill as the authors of the art gallery of the Reindeer period (see § III.).

(7) Some forty or fifty human skulls, more or less imperfect, and supposed to date back to Quaternary times, have been recorded up to this date from as many different localities throughout Europe, occasionally in alluvial deposits, but more frequently in the accumulated débris of caves and rock shelters. Some years ago (Graecia Ethnica, 1873-1879), MM. H. and E. de Mortillet and M. Magnier have fully examined all the remains then known, and classified them under the names of the localities where the most typical specimens were found. Among dolichocephalic, or long-headed, they described two distinct races, one represented by a portion of a catarrh found at Canstadt and the other by the skull of the old man of Cromagnon. The brachycephalic, or broad-headed, were made to represent four races, under the generic designation of Purfoss, the name of a cave in the valley of the Lesse, thus:

1. The race of Canstadt, Cephalic index, 72
2. The race of Cromagnon, 78-76
   (i.) Purfoss, 79-31
   (ii.) Sister Valley, 81-39
   (iii.) Furfooz, 82-93
   (iv.) La Truchère, 84-56

It was subsequently ascertained that these Purfoss skulls were the osseous remains of Neolithic interments, which shows both the difficulty and the danger of making chronological classifications on imperfectly observed data.

As the outcome of this short review of fossil craniology, perhaps the most important outstanding feature is that the three skulls above described as typical examples are all dolichocephalic. The race of Cromagnon was, in all probability, separated from the Neanderthal and Spy troglodytes by an interval of time which can be only approximately measured by the duration of the larger part of the Glacial period. The appearance of brachycephalic races in Central Europe only at the beginning of the Neolithic period is an ethnological problem not yet satisfactorily explained. It has been abundantly proved, by the contents of dolmens and other sepulchral tombs, that two races, the dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic, lived contemporaneously with each other in the South of France (RAuth, 1873; Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'homme, vol. xii. 1877, etc.). From the remains in the province of Perpignan, investigated and described by Baron de Born (Archéologie Préhistorique), the two races seemed to have more or less ceded. From the amalgamation of these varied races the highly mixed populations of modern Europe can be readily accounted for; but whether the brachycephalic were developed from the dolichocephalic people at an earlier period still remains a controverted problem. These passing glimpses of the early races of man in Europe support the hypothesis that two peoples widely separated had come into contact in Southern France, and perhaps elsewhere in Europe, at the close of the Reindeer period. Of these the dolichocephalic appear to have been long indigenous to the locality, and were descendants of the Palaeolithic men whose skeletons were found in the caves of Spy and Neanderthal.

III. MAN AS A TOOL-MAKER. — Man may be differentiated from all other animals by the fact that he is a skillful tool-maker. This gives him a great variety of objects which he largely utilizes instead of the organs of offence and defence with which nature originally endowed him. In lieu of the specially developed teeth, claws, horns, hoofs, etc., used more or less for these purposes by other animals, man has provided himself with a multiplicity of knives, axes, swords, spears, arrows, guns, etc., through the instrumentality of which his self-preservation is more efficiently maintained.

(1) Looking at the accumulated products of man's mechanical ingenuity, which have been gathered on the highways and byways of his primeval life, from an archaeological standpoint, there can be no doubt that they are characterized by successive increments of improvement, both in technique and material stages capable of leading to the most perfect appliances of modern times. That, during the transition period, broken pieces of wood and natural stones would be used as missiles, without being fashioned into any particular shape, was, it is assumed, as a corollary to the theory that man passed from a state of existence in which tool-making was unknown; also that, in the course of time, such missiles would give place to stones so simply worked as not to be readily distinguished from the accidental operations of nature. Objects which come under this category are named eoliths (ión 'dawn,' and ιθος, 'stone'). They are recorded as having been found among gravels on chalk plateaux in various parts of the South England, notably on the Kent plateau. Mr. Read, who figured some of these eoliths in his Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age in the British Museum, thus refers to them (p. 10):

"It is not the province of this Guide to enter into the arguments which have been brought forward for the artificial character of Eoliths, but it may be said that, whether their claims can be substantiated or not, the existence of implements of a ruder kind than those of the drift is in itself not improbable. For no invention reaches perfection suddenly, and each stage of advancement is attained by an infinitely slow progress from the simple to the more complex. The majority of the drift implements are clearly something more than the first efforts of an unpractised hand; the contrary, signs of a comparatively long development, and it may be fairly argued that their ruder prototypes must exist somewhere. It was only to be expected that they should have escaped notice for a longer time than the typical Palaeoliths, if only because they europeans are more difficult to distinguish from naturally fractured flints."

(2) The recognition, even among anthropological savants, that some peculiarly shaped flints, now known as paleoliths, were manufactured by man and used as implements, is scarcely half a century old. A fine pear-shaped flint of this type was found along with an elephant's tooth at Gray's Inn Lane, London, about the end of the 17th century, but, though described in the Sloane Catalogue and preserved in the British Museum, its true significance became known only when Sir W. Franks pointed out its identity with those found in the Valley of the Somme (Ancient Stone Implements, p. 521). Also, as early as 1797, Mr. John Frere, F.R.S., described to the Society of Antiquaries some flint 'weapons' found, associated with the bones of extinct animals, at a depth of 12 feet in
brick-earth at Hoxne, in Suffolk. He was so much struck with the situation that he gave a precise account of the circumstances, and he regarded the implements as belonging to "a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world." (Archaeologia, vol. xii. p. 204). Mr. Frere presented specimens of the Hoxne implements to the Museum of the Society; yet here they lay, unheeded and unsuggestive, till 1859, when Sir John Evans, on his return from Amiens and Abbeville, recognized them as similar to those in the collection of M. Boucher de Perthes. The discovery of the flint "implements," associated with bones and teeth of extinct animals, beneath a thick continuous sheet of stalagmite, was so much the more striking as the examination of the stalagmitic deposits by Mr. Godwin-Austen, F.G.S., in 1840, and by Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., in 1846, had not shown any trace of a human habitation in the Hoxne gravel. Mr. MacEnery, who asserted that he found in it "implements" strictly analogous to those associated with bones of the extinct mammals, had little chance of being accepted.

(3) It was about the beginning of the second quarter of last century that Kent's Cavern, near Torquay, first became a subject of archaeological interest, owing to the researches of the Rev. J. MacEnery, who asserted that he found in it flint "implements," associated with bones and teeth of extinct animals, beneath a thick continuous sheet of stalagmite. But the legitimate inference from these facts, viz. that man was contemporary with these animals and lived before the deposition of the stalagmite, had little chance of being accepted when opposed by the teaching and authority of so famous a geologist as Dr. Buckland, author of Reliquiae Diluvianae and of the Bridgewater Treatise on Geology and Mineralogy.

The facts on which Mr. MacEnery based his conclusions were verified by fresh excavations made by Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., in 1846, and subsequently by a committee appointed by the Torquay Natural History Society, contributed to 1848. Papers embodying the results of these investigations were read at the Geological Society of London and at the meeting of the British Association in 1847. But, according to the late Mr. Pengelly, F.R.S., the reception given to another of his investigations was not encouraging, and the inconvenient conclusions arrived at were given to an apathetic, unbelieving world.

(4) Another discovery of a similar character was the Windmill-Hill Cavern at Brixham, explored in 1858, under the auspices of a committee appointed by the Royal and Geological Societies of London. The first paper on the result of this investigation was read by Mr. Pengelly in September 1858, at the meeting of the British Association. Mr. Pengelly then announced that eight flint tools had already been found in various parts of the cavern, all of them in situ, indistinguishable from bones of mammals, at depths varying from 9 to 42 inches in the cave-earth, on the floor of stalagmites, or lying on the ground. They were thick, having within it and on it relics of the lion, hyena, bear, mammoth, rhinoceros, and reindeer. "This paper," says Mr. Pengelly, "produced a decided 'awakening,' besides indirect results of the highest importance." (5) The discovery by M. Boucher de Perthes of rude flint implements, associated with bones of the mammoth and other extinct animals, in the ancient gravel beds of the valley of the Somme, at various levels considerably above the present highest flood-marks of the river, equally failed to attract scientific attention. An account of his researches, under the title Antiquités Célestes et Antédiluviennes, was published in 1847, but for upwards of ten years it lay absolutely unheeded. Nor can there be any doubt that the ultimate recognition of the importance of his discoveries was one of the indirect results of the less sceptical tone prevalent in scientific circles in Britain in consequence of the exploration of the Brixham Cavern just referred to.

Excluding the esoliths as too controversial a subject to be discussed in this brief review, it would appear that certain flint implements found at various depths in the higher gravels of our present river systems are the oldest evidence of man's handiwork in Europe. These gravels had been left high and dry long before the rivers had excavated the winding valleys at the bottom of which they now flow. The Hoxne implement, above referred to, is a typical specimen of what are known as the French archaeologists as the "coups de poing," probably the earliest type of hand-implement known, which came to be widely imitated among the earlier races of mankind. Implements of the coup de poing type vary considerably both in form and size, the degree of variability being, however, strictly compatible with their function as hand-tools. They have been discovered in widely separated localities in Europe, Asia, and Africa; and nearly all possess the peculiarity of being made by chipping a nodule so as to convert it into a suitable hand-tool—the flakes struck off being apparently of no use.

The original manufacturers of these Palaeolithic tools are supposed to have entered Europe from Asia at a time when there was easy communication between the two continents by several land bridges across the basin of the Mediterranean. The climate being sub-tropical, these naked nomads appear to have inhabited the wooded banks of the rivers, living off fruits and nuts and the small wild animals that fed on the advent of the Glacial period forced them to take shelter in caves and to protect their bodies by skins of animals. It is difficult to realize how much the severe climate which then prevailed contributed to the improvement of the physical and mental attributes. Perhaps the most obliging energy of the Palaeolithic age was that which enabled to adapt their mode of life to the changing conditions of the environment—for the adage that necessity is the mother of invention is truly applicable to the Palaeolithic age. The natural food productions of a warm climate gradually disappeared, until finally there was little left but wild animals,—mammoth, reindeer, chamois, horse, bison, etc.—many of which came from arctic regions. To procure necessary food and clothing in these circumstances greatly taxed the skill and resources of the inhabitants. The difficulty was ultimately solved by the manufacture of special weapons of the chase, with which they successfully attacked the larger wild animals which then occurred in great abounding. Other tools which were employed by these Palaeolithic people were for hunting and for the collection of fruits and nuts. The "apotheosis" of the Palaeolithic age is the flint "implement," which was manufactured with great skill and much care. It was the practical necessity of a warm climate that caused the Palaeolithic people finally to emerge from this singular contest with the forces of nature, they were physically and mentally better than ever equipped for the exigencies of life. A greater power of physical endurance, improved reasoning faculties, an assemblage of tools adapted for all kinds of mechanical work, and some experience of the advantage of housing and clothing, may be claimed among the nomads of the Palaeolithic age.

Of the kind of life which these early people of Europe led we have remarkably precise evidence in the food-refuse, and the lost, broken, and worn-out implements, weapons, and ornaments which have been discovered by excavating the caves and rock-shelters. These early people had made their homes in the caves and rock-shelters, and the implements, weapons, and ornaments which have been discovered by excavating the caves and rock-shelters have been held to be evidence of their skill in the art of producing them for teleological purposes. After some experience, it was found that a skilled workman could produce a flake of any required size and
shape. By subjecting these flakes to secondary chipping, implements of great variety and efficiency were in the course of time abundantly produced. This was indeed an important step of advance in flint industry, evidence of which is to be found in the fact that henceforth flakes were the useful products, while the residuary core was rejected as useless. Flints found in the early and inhabited caves of France and Belgium, such as Mousterian and Spy, show that secondary flaking was already in progress—thus proving that their habitation was later than the formation of the river-drift gravels containing waste. The careful inspection of the handiwork of these troglodytes, it will be seen that it is characterized by a gradual development from simple to more complete forms. Implements, tools, and weapons were slowly but surely made more efficient, thus evidencing on the part of their manufacturers a progressive knowledge of mechanial principles. Art and ornament, too, had taken deep root among these primitive hunters, and before the end of their civilization they evinced a remarkable artistic talent, which they transmitted to their children.

Hence G. de Mortillet classified their industrial remains in chronological sequence into Moustriens, Solutriens, and Magdaleniens,—a nomenclature which he founded upon the names of the most typical stations then explored. The earliest of the Palaeolithic industries was Le Moustier, situated on the right bank of the Vezère (Dordogne). During its habitation by man the climate was cold and damp, and among the contemporary fauna were the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, cave-bear, and musk-ox. The special features of the industrial remains of this period were the scarcity of the coup de poing—which was so characteristic of the older river-drift deposits—and the splitting up of flints into smaller implements, such as scrapers, trimmed flakes, etc. The next typical station in ascending order was the open-air encampment of Soltré (Saône-et-Loire).

The stage of culture here disclosed was characterized by great perfection in the art of manufacturing flint implements, especially spear- and lance-heads in which the bent blade and leaf, and the socket, were made of horn and bone re used by the inhabitants as food. The climate was mild and dry, the great glaciers were on the wane, and the rhinoceros seems to have disappeared from the scene. The implements at Le Moustier were the so-called Moustrie, characterized by the abundance of objects made of bone and horn, the development of a remarkable artistic talent, the predominance of a northern climate and fauna, and the extinction of the mammoth towards the close of the period.

The civilization thus developed represents the outcome of a system of human economy founded on the application of natural laws to mechanical purposes, but little affected by the personal religion or ethics. The mysteries of the supernatural had not then been formulated into the concrete ideas of gods and demons. The notions of good and evil, right and wrong, were still dominated by the cosmic law that might is right. Neither gloomy forebodings nor qualms of conscience had much influence on the conduct of these people. Their philosophical and sentimental speculations, if they had any, centred exclusively on the habits of the animals they hunted, and on the strategic means by which they could be waylaid and captured. During this time they made great progress in the manufacture of mechanical appliances, as shown by the number of flint implements—spear-throwers, scrapers, etc.—with which they made needles, pins, ornaments, weapons, and other objects, including the so-called bâtons de com-

mandement. Upon the whole, it would appear as if their minds were engrossed with the chase and its exciting scenes and incidents, for the relics of their domestic economy indicate little more than the art of roasting or broiling the flesh of the captured animals, and of converting their skins into garments. Possibly some remarkable pebbles, abundantly found in the debris, may have been used as 'pot-boilers,' but a few stone mortars, which occasionally turned up, would seem to have been used only for mixing colouring matter to paint their bodies. Of agriculture, the rearing of domestic animals, the art of fishing, and the manufacture of pottery, they appear to have been absolutely ignorant. But yet, in an environment of such primitive resources and limited culture associations, these wild hunters developed a genuine taste for art, and cultivated its principles so effectually that they have bequeathed to us an art gallery of over 400 pieces of sculpture and engraving, many of them being so true to their original models that they bear a favourable comparison with analogous works of the present day. They adorned the walls of the caverns frequented with incised outlines of the neighbouring fauna, and made actual colour-paintings of them in black and ochre, or in one of these colours.

The other characteristic feature in the lives of these people was that they lived exclusively on the produce of the chase, for without agricultural and pastoral avocations they could do little else than organize daily hunting and fishing expeditions. During the later stages of Palaeolithic civilization their principal prey consisted of reindeer and horses, which then roamed in large herds throughout Western Europe, and thus rendered them more liable to be ambushed, trapped, or speared by their wily enemies. The weapons used by these hunters were harpoons, generally made of reindeer-horn; spear- and lance-heads of flint; and short daggers the typical weapon of the age. It was generally agreed that with these weapons they would take the initiative in attacking the hyena, lion, or cave-bear, except in self-defence. That, however, these formidable creatures were occasionally captured by them, is suggested by the fact that their canine teeth were highly prized and used as personal ornaments, or as mementoes of their prowess in the chase.

When the physical conditions which called these human accomplishers into existence passed away, and the peculiar fauna of the Clactonian disappeared from the lowlands of Central Europe,—some by extinction, and others by emigration to more northern regions or to the elevated mountains in the neighbourhood—we find the inhabitants of these old hunting grounds in possession of new and altogether different kinds of food. Finding the produce of the chase becoming so scarce and precarious that it was no longer possible to live a roaming life, now gathering fruits and seeds, now hunting with the bow and arrows, and finally the way of cultivating special plants and cereals, and rearing certain animals in a state of domestication. Whether this new departure was a direct sequence of the highly developed intelligence of the Palaeolithic people of Europe, or was derived from new immigrants into the country, is a
debatable question. At any rate, it was eminently successful, and may be regarded as the starting point of Neolithic civilization. In the course of time these Neolithic people cultivated a variety of fruits, wheat, barley, and other cereals; they reared oxen, pigs, sheep, goats, horses, and dogs; they became skilled in the ceramic art, and in the manufacture of cloth by spinning and weaving wool and fibrous textures; the flint industry continued much the same as in the later stages of the Palaeolithic period, but in addition to chipping they now graver stone implements so as to give them a sharp cutting edge; in hunting the forest fauna of the period they used, besides spears, lances, and daggers, the bow and arrow; they built houses, for both the living and the dead—thus showing that religion had become an active and governing power among them. But of the artistic taste and skill of their predecessors they had scarcely a vestige, and what they did by way of ornament consisted mainly of a few scratches, arranged in a simple geometrical pattern. The fundamental principles of the two civilizations are really so divergent that the Neolithic can hardly be regarded as a direct development from that of the Palaeolithic period in Europe, although there are several instances on which there characteristic remains were chronologically superimposed, without any apparent break in continuity, as at Campigny, Relhaic, Mast-D'Azil, etc. The probability is that, while the reindeer-hunters were in existence, people beyond the area, possibly of the same stock, were passing through the evolutionary stages which connected the two civilizations.

IV. MAN'S MENTAL ENDOWMENTS.—The great supreme mental manifestations over those of all other animals is too patent to be called in question by any serious worker in the field of anthropology. Indeed, according to some eminent psychologists, the gap between them cannot be bridged over by the doctrine of organic evolution. On the other hand, evolutionists in general believe that it is explicable on the ordinary principles of physiology and psychology. If, then, it is to be held that man, like other animals, is a product of his environment, it may well be asked why, and by what means, he has so far out-distanced all other beings in the struggle of life. The attempt to minimize this remarkable disparity between man and brute has not met with much success. Among the pessimists who fail to recognize the vast gap that exists between man and the brute, Mr. Alfred Wallace, F.R.S., has been a typical representative. Anti-Darwinians have no object in discussing this question, their argument being that no speculation founded on materialism can account for it. Accordingly, various hypotheses have been formulated by way of explaining this psychological enigma, which will now be noticed.

That there is a physical stratum, common to man and some of the higher mammals, which brings them both within the domain of organic evolution, has already been advanced in these pages; and may be regarded as the basis of some controversy. This being so, we have to investigate the two following propositions: (1) What are the mental faculties common to both? and (2) What psychological phenomena are peculiar to man? On these problems Mr. G. J. Romanes writes thus:

'If we have regard to Emotions as these occur in the brute, we cannot fail to be struck by the broad fact that the area of phenomena which are so nearly co-extensive with those which is covered by the emotional faculties of man. In my previous works I have given what I consider unquestionable evidence of analogous emotions, which I here name the order of their appearance through the psychological scale—fear, surprise, affection, sympathy, curiosity, jealousy, anger, pleasure, sympathy, emulation, pride, resentment, emotion of the beautiful, grief, hate, cruelty, benevolence, revenge, rage, shame, contempt, asceticism, emotion of the ludicrous.

Now, this list exhausts all the human emotions, with the exception of those which refer to religion, moral sense, and perception of the sublime. Therefore I think we are fully entitled to conclude that, so far as emotions are concerned, it cannot be said that the last of animal psychology rate any difficulties against the theory of descent. On the other hand, the emotional life of animals is so strikingly similar to the emotional life of man—and especially now that we think the similarity ought fairly to be taken as direct evidence of a gentle continuity between them' (Mental Evolution in Man, p. 7).

Similarly, Mr. Romanes deals with Instinct, Volition, and Intellect, and strongly argues that there is only a difference of degree between their respective manifestations in man and other animals. So far as for these views of Mr. Romanes are concerned, they are shared by the leading psychologists; but at this stage a serious divergence of opinion crops up among them, some holding that the principles of evolution are inadequate to account for the origin and working of the higher faculties of man. But these dissentients are seldom in agreement as to the precise nature of their objections. The eminent French anthropologist, Professor de Quatrefages, regarded man's entire organization, physical and mental, with the exception of the faculties of conscience and religion, as the work of evolution. Others extend the range of their objections so as to include the intellectual faculties. Mr. St. George Mivart, while denying that the principles of evolution are applicable to man, makes the following admissions as to the resemblance between the mental actions of men and animals:

1. I have no wish to ignore the marvellous powers of animals, or the resemblance of their actions to those of men; I can reasonably deny that many of them have feelings, emotions, and sense-perceptions similar to our own; that they exercise voluntary motion, and perform actions grouped in complex ways for definite ends; that they to a certain extent learn by experience, and combine perceptions and reminiscences so as to draw practical inferences, directly apprehending objects standing in different relations one to another, so that, in a sense, they may be said to apprehend combinations of ideas, without hesitation, even apparently, after a conflict of desires, with what looks like choice or volition: and such animals as the dog will not only exhibit the most marvellous fidelity and affection, but will also manifest evident signs of shame, which may seem the outcome of incipient moral perceptions. It is no great wonder, then, that so many persons little given to patient and careful introspection, should fail to perceive any radical distinction between a nature thus gifted and the intellectual nature of man' (President Address at Biological Section, British Association, 1870).

Professor Huxley thus expresses his views on this phase of the question:

'1. I have endeavored to show that no absolute structural line of demarcation, wider than that between the animals which immediately succeed us in the scale of animal world and ourselves; and I may add the expression of my belief that the attempt to draw a psychical distinction is frustrated by our present stage of research and investigation, that of intellect begin to germinate in lower forms of life. At the same time, so one is more strongly impressed with the vastness of the gulf between civilized man and the brute; or is more certain that whether from them or not, he is assuredly not of them. No one is less disposed to think lightly of the present dignity, or despairingly of the future hopes, of the only consciously intelligent denizen of this world' (Man's Place in Nature, p. 109).

On the other hand, Mr. Alfred Wallace, F.R.S., who holds such a distinguished position in this special field of research, has promulgated a most remarkable theory. This careful investigator, an ardent supporter of Darwin's views of the development of man in his civilized capacity, is also and a powerful advocate of their adequacy to bring about the evolution of the entire organic world, even including man up to a certain stage, believes that the cosmic forces are insufficient to account for the development of man in his civilized capacity.

Outside the Cosmic Theory. 'Natural selection,' he writes, 'could only have endowed savage man with a brain a few degrees superior to that of the brute, whereas he actually possesses a brain that of a philosopher' (Natural Selection and Tropical Nature, p. 207).

The present writer has elsewhere made the following comments on Mr. Wallace's position with regard to the application of the doctrine of evolution to man:

'This deficiency in the organic forces of nature he exalts to
supply by calling in the guiding influence of a "superior intelligence." In defending this hypothesis he means some intelligence that has a "modern cultivated mind," sometimes interlaced between it and Deity. But as this is a pure supposition, unsupported by any evidence, and merely a matter of personal conviction, it is hard to discuss it further. I will just, en passant, ask Mr. Wallace why he dispenses with this "superior intelligence" in the early stages of man's evolution, and only reserves it to give, as it were, the final touches to humanity? (Prehistoric Problems, p. 103).

That mind in its higher psychical manifestations has often been looked upon as a spiritual essence, which can exist independently of its only known physical supports, cannot be the result of astronomical or mechanical laws, when it is considered how ignorant we are of the machinery of thought—how the pleasing abstractions of the poet, the fascinating creations of the novelist, and the profound speculations of the man of genius come forth as from a hidden cavern without exciting any suspicion of having behind them not only a physical equivalent of brain matter, but also a laboratory in which thoughts are evolved. It is this marvellous power of volitional reflection in summoning ideas from the mind, and putting up in the relations into which the brain is divided, and utilizing them for other and nobler purposes than mere animalities, that gives a prima facie plausibility to this theory. From this point of view abstract reasoning, imagination, conception, idealization, machinery, etc., may be regarded as by-products of mental operations which are due to the ordinary reasoning faculties, and which have their chief stimuli in the external environment.

Leaving, however, the field of speculation aside, and reverting to the opinions of the four eminent authorities quoted above, it is manifest that they all recognize the magnitude of the psychological gulf which separates humanity from the rest of the animal world. Nor does Professor Huxley himself give any clear ideas as to how it is to be bridged over—certainly it has never been shown that this is possible on the Darwinian principle of the 'survival of the fittest.'

Such were some of the leading opinions on this particular phase of the evolution theory, as applied to man, when presented in a somewhat simplified form to the subject in his Presidential address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1893. In that address (Prehistoric Problems, ch. ii.) he advocated the hypothesis that one of the most important products, and the most distinctly human development of man was the conversion of the upper limbs into true hands. From the first moment that the being recognized the advantage of using a club or a stone in attacking his prey, or defending himself from his enemies, the direct incentives to a higher brain-development came into existence. He would soon learn by experience that a particular form of club or stone was more suitable for his purposes; and if the desiderated object was not to be found among the natural materials of the place, he must find a substitute and search it out and manufacture it. Certain kinds of stone would be readily recognized as better adapted for cutting purposes than others, and he would soon learn to select his materials accordingly. If these were to be found only in a special locality, he would visit that special locality whenever the prized material was needed. Nor is it an unwarrantable stretch of imagination to suppose that circumstances would lead him to lay up a store for future use. The possession of a primitive weapon was a new departure in the career of man, and every repetition of such acts became an effective object-lesson, and an ever-accumulating training-force for further progress. The occupation of these primitive tool-makers, once fairly in operation, afforded frequent opportunity of comparing the merits and demerits of their respective mechanical products—thus supplying a fruitful medium for the development of abstract reasoning. In this way the function of the hand and the function of the brain became intimately correlated, the joint result of their long-continued action being a larger brain, greater intelligence, and a highly specialized manipulative organ than were ever before seen among the products of the organic world.

That there is an amount of cortex cerebri in the human subject, corresponding to his greater mental power, is manifestly not the result of the size of the human brain, relatively to the rest of the body, is enormously greater than in any other animal. According to Sir William Turner, the cranial capacity of an average European is about 1500 c.c., while that of the gorilla, which is a larger animal, does not exceed 590 c.c. (Journ. Anat. and Physiology, vol. xxix. p. 436). That the largest portion of this increase in the substance of the human brain is to be correlated with the higher mental powers of man, as cause and effect, is only to be expected. Mr. Wallace, in his opinion, can there be any doubt that its chief stimulus, at least in the earlier stages of human development, was the function of the hand. That subsequently there were other powerful factors working in the same direction is not difficult to see from the following remarks on articulate speech.

Next to the invention of mechanical appliances, the use of articulate speech was, undoubtedly, the most potent factor in the mental evolution of man, especially when conjoined with its later development, the art of writing. By articulate speech is meant the faculty of uniformly associating certain words or sounds with definite ideas, so that these ideas can be understood by those previously instructed in the process. Of course, the members of a family or tribe would be conversant with it from birth. Spoken language is virtually an extension, or rather a concentration, of the power which many of the more intelligent animals possess, in common with the Homoidea, of giving expression to emotions by means of vocal sounds, grimaces, and gestures. The acquisition of full human speech was, unquestionably, the result of slow growth; for there is no known race, however low and savage, but it has an articulate speech, which, however, may be simple and melodious, and means, which serves the speaker as a sort of code to the language of the world he lives in, taking in every subject he thinks about, and enabling him to say what he thinks about it.' (Tylor, Anthropology, p. 132).

Of the importance of articulate speech in the intellectual and social development of man it is unnecessary to produce detailed evidence, as its elaboration must have proceeded pari passu with the higher development of the brain almost since the first movements of a human embryo. 'A train of thought,' writes Mr. Darwin, 'can no more be carried on without the aid of words, whether spoken or silent, than a long calculation without the use of figures or symbols.'

As to the stage in the evolution of man to which articulate speech is to be assigned, there is little agreement among anthropologists. Darwin regarded it as having an early origin in the stem line of humanity, while Romans made it subsequent to the art of manufacturing flint implements.

"For my part," says Professor D. J. Cunningham, in his Presidential address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, Glasgow, 1891, I would say that the first words uttered expressive of an external object marked a new era in the history of our early progenitors. At this point the simian or brute-like stage in their developmental career came to an
end, and the human dynasty, endowed with all its intellectual
possibilities, began.'

Professor Haeckel, in describing the evolutionary
stage of Pithecanthropus erectus, thus writes:

"The brain is considerably enlarged. Presumably it is still
driven, so-called articulate speech; this is indicated by the
fact that children have to learn the language of their parents,
and the whole process of articulate phlogopit shows that it
impossible to reduce the chief human languages to anything
like one common origin" (Last Link, Lond. 1898, p. 72).

One of the latest contributions on the subject is from
the pen of Professor D. J. Cunningham (Huxley Lecture, 1902), who thus expresses him-
self:

"I have already hinted that by the study of the early con-
densation of the cerebral cortex in man, information may be
attained regarding the evolution of human societies. We can
see that the bulging of the area in the human cerebral
regions occurs very early—somewhere about the middle or end of the
sixth month. The portion of cortex devoted to speech assumes
shape much later. Indeed, it does not appear until shortly before
the end of the first year of infancy. This might be considered to give some
basis of support to Dr. Munro's plea that man attained the
erect attitude and that the arm was set free for the develop-
ment of its higher functions, before articulate speech was ever
used.

There are two well-attested general observations which
appear to throw some light on this obscure point, viz. —(1) that none of the apes of the present
day have even the rudiments of articulate speech; and
(2) that the so-called articulate speech of man, as
practised at any rate by certain present-day civilised
men, is well developed among all the Hominidae.

The present writer's interpretation of these facts is
that the origin of articulate speech was subsequent to the
separation of the genus Homo from the apes of the
Simia stem, but prior to the development of the
races of mankind—a view which places it subse-
quent to the attainment of the erect posture and the
development of the human hand.

V. MAN'S SOCIAL EVOLUTION.—It has now been
amply shown that, from whatever standpoint we
contemplate the great drama of human life, it
stands forth as a unique development in the
organic world. Starting, possibly as early as the
Miocene period, with a progenitor of its own
race, with a will and a capacity to use its
means, the Hominidae of to-day, have gradually forged
their way into what is virtually a new world—the
world of ethics and moral responsibility. Almost
from the very first, it was evident that the chief
means of this advance were manipulative methods, with latent capabilities which (as
we can now realize) were tantamount to a new force in
the organic world, viz. the art of manufacturing tools and using them for the advancement of their
own welfare. Like some ancient races of man, unlike the creasutres around them, who were largely at the mercy of a
fickle environment, these implement-using animals
soon learned to accommodate themselves to all its
vicissitudes. With a knowledge of the use of fire,
the skill to manufacture garments, and, ultimately,
the art to construct houses, they braved the
rigours of frost and snow with comparative
impunity. As they became more and more
conversant with the laws and forces of nature and
their own power over them, they laid a usurping
hand on the powers of Cosmic evolution itself, the
cultivation of selected plants and animals, and the
destruction of others which were found unsuit-
able for their own purposes.

The far-reaching consequences of securing food
supply, that from nursery and the domestica-
tion of animals, led to more social and sedentary
habits. The appearance of large communities con-
current with the development of various trades and
professions was but a matter of time, the outcome of which is an epoch without
name in commerce. Already the greater portion of
the earth capable of being cultivated is con-
verted into gardens and fields, whose choice pro-
ductions are readily conveyed to all the chief
towns of the civilized nations of the globe. Flesh
diet is everywhere abundant, but it is no longer
necessary to hunt the animals in their primeval
haunts. Skin-coats, dug-out canoes, and the coup
de poing are now lineally represented by woven
fabrics, Atlantic ligners, and Long Toms.

Concurrently with the far-reaching inroads into the
secret arcana of nature, these skilled artisans became religiousists as well as legislators,
and founded social institutions and laws for the
maintenance of a rapidly increasing population. In the
course of their long sojourn on earth, they no
shortsightedly overcame before they succeeded in establishing the great landmarks of
civilization as they now present themselves to us,
not only in works of art, architecture, engineer-
ing; electricity, etc., but in constructive philology,
religion, ethics, altruism, and the sense of honour,
all of which may be said to be still in process of
development, though their sources reach far back
into pre-historic times.

Some of the lower animals have accompanied
man so far on the road to reasoning intelligence
as to be able to associate certain natural results
with their natural causes, as crows do when they
keep at a safe distance from a man with a gun.
But none has ever reached the stage of being able
to reason out to be desired effect. Man not only sows the seed, but
waters the field; the fickle environment refuses the seasonal showers. No other animal in
a state of nature has attempted to do anything
comparable to this simple act of practical ratiocin-
ation.

It is probable that religion came first to the
front as a modifying influence to the stern decree
of the survival of the fittest. Some grounds for
this suggestion may be seen in the readiness with
which the early races of mankind identified the
obscure forces of nature with supernatural spirits
which they were believed to have control over human
destinies, and were, therefore, worshipped as gods
or demons; and in the prevalence among savages
of magic and fetichism. But such polytheistic
notions, as well as the pretended art of magicians
to control the so-called supernatural agencies, are
rapidly giving way to the precise methods of
the scientific research of the ages. Many of the
people, of course, there is little evidence in support of the belief, advocated by
some, that religion was practised by the Paleo-

"It is only in the far future that man will be able to
comprehend the true nature of his own being and
the forces that govern his destiny."

The Neolithic times its prevailing influence throughout Europe
is attested by a whole series of memorials of the
dead— ossuaries, chambered graves, cairns, cists,
urns, etc. That the Neolithic people believed in
a life beyond the grave somewhat similar to the
present may be inferred from the character of the
grave-goods,—vessels with food and drink,
implements, weapons, favourite wives and animals,
often being buried along with the body.

Next to religion in importance, if not also in chronological sequence, comes the moral
faculty, or conscience, which regulates judicial and
ethical actions. Its position in psychology may be
aptly compared to that of instinct in the organic
world,—the psychical being that their sudden
appearances are to be the outcome of an impulse
rather than a deliberate act of ratiocination.
The most rational explanation of this peculiarity,
in both conscience and instinct, is that the su-
cessive increments of reasoning on which their respective injunctions were originally founded have more or less lapsed in the course of time.

But perhaps the most important formula which has hitherto emanated from the laboratory of ethics is altruism (which see), which may be described as a product of conscience and the conscience is an outgrowth of human nature. The object in its primary sense is the relief of suffering humanity, and for this purpose it has received the support of the civilized world. Many regard the motives of all such good deeds as having been instilled into the conscience by a remote or forgotten father, or a remote and necessary assumption; for in the accumulated deliberations of wise men during long ages we have an adequate pabulum for its birth and maturation. But whether heaven-born or earth-born, altruism has become a doctrine in human civilization. So long as the laws of our wisest Solons are liable to error, and the environment contains a residuum of unexplained forces, there will be a certain proportion of failures among yearly births, whose fate may be mitigated only by a more civilized life, the care of the blind, the lame, the poor, the friendless, and, in short, all who are ushered into the world without the means of successfully entering on the struggle of life. Our original interference with methods by which the savage community under the most imperfect sanitary arrangements, has greatly increased the number of such wastrels. Hence their immediate relief, so far as that is possible, is a moral obligation on all who derive benefit from the social government under which they have inherited or acquired wealth, position, and influence, possibly without any effort on their part. On this phase of the subject there is a conflict between the methods of this social community and those of the ethical code of humanity. The influence of the one is directed to the survival of the fittest; that of the other to ‘the fitting of as many as possible to survive.’ The former has left man with the garb and qualities of a savage; the latter has endowed him with mental culture, the refinement of civilization, and moral responsibility for his actions towards his fellow-creatures.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS.—The Hominids of the present day not only possess more highly developed brains than those of their early ancestors, but they also derive some advantages in their struggle from the accumulated experiences of their predecessors in the form of all sorts of mechanical inventions, organized institutions for scientific research, altruistic laws, and other ethical enactments acquired as results of their progressive culture. Thus they at once start on a higher rung in the ladder of human life. It is by these means that they have come to hold such a predominating position in the organic world; and it is through the general diffusion of such attainments that further progress can only be made by more urgent reforms by way of rectifying past mistakes and safe-guarding the future interests of the race, may be mentioned the eradication of obsolete doctrines and pernicious superstitions, the enforcement of just and equitable laws, the prevention of crime, the popularization of scientific methods, and especially strict attention to sanitary improvements.

There is, however, a limit to human powers over the laws of environment, for occasion-ally the most conscientious and capable communities find themselves helpless amidst the operations of nature itself. But yet it is in this direction alone that prospects of future betterment lie.

From various data advanced in the previous sections, it seems clear that there are two distinct lines on which investigations into the past history of mankind may be profitably conducted. The first relates to man as a biological entity, and comprises, in addition to his ontogenetic and phylogenetic development, a few fragments of skeletons of his predecessors which by some fortuitous circumstances have to this day resisted the disintegrating forces of nature. This department is generally known as Physiological Anthropology. The evidential materials to be gathered along the second line of research consist of the remains of man’s handicraft works, which, being simply preserved impressions of his skill in the different stages of culture through which he has passed, may be characterized as being essentially archæological. The successive modifications which these respective materials have undergone during a long series of ages, though different in kind, are found to bear a decided ratio to the progress of human intelligence. Thus, taking the human skull at the starting-point of humanity as comparable to that of one of the higher apes, we know, as a matter of fact, that during the onward march of time it has undergone some striking changes, both in form and capacity, before reaching the normal type of modern civilized human brain."

LITERTURE.—Owing to the number of works more or less bearing on the natural history of man, all that can be attempted here is to make as judicious a selection as possible. For a complete survey of the subject see:

Anthropomorphism. — Generally, and perhaps always in the past, man has believed that there are powers other and greater than he. He has felt it not only desirable, but possible, to enter into communication with them; that is to say, he has taken it as a fact that they can understand him when he addresses himself to them; that he can more or less understand them; that he can win their sympathy and assistance, if he sets about doing so in the right way. Further, he has believed at some times that these powers possess the shape of man; at other times, that their shape is that of beasts or of plants; at others, that they are visible in and as the sun, moon, or stars, or audible in the storm, the earthquake, or the thunder; that they have been supposed in all stages of human development, from that of the Fuegians to that of the ancient Greeks, to possess human form is a truth which needs neither demonstration nor illustration. Indeed, X said which Ares over went to to the gods length, whether in jest or earnest, of supposing that cattle, lions, and horses, were they able, would make the gods in their own likeness. It is also obvious that deities originally theriomorphic tended to become anthropomorphic: the Egyptian gods which have gained human bodies and limbs, but retained their animal heads, are an obvious instance of this tendency. And the human form given by Greek sculptors to Helios suffices to show that nature powers, if not originally conceived in human form, lend eventually a human likeness. It is also obvious that deities originally theriomorphic tended to become anthropomorphic in the narrower place; anthropomorphism is in some cases preceded by theriomorphism, but theriomorphism is never generated out of anthropomorphism.

We may then, perhaps, assume that there was a pre-anthropomorphic stage in the history of religion. But if we make that assumption, we can do so only by limiting the term ‘anthropomorphism’ to the sense in which it means that deities have bodies and limbs like those of men, and by excluding from the content of the term the sense in which it implies that deities have thoughts, emotions, and wills like those of men, though transcending them. Further, it may be said that to limit the meaning of the term to the first of the two senses which may be put upon it is to break, or rather to ignore, the continuity which is characteristic of—indeed, essential to—evolution in all its forms, whether evolution of religion or of anything else; whereas, by including in the meaning of the term the second sense as well as the first, we are enabled to grasp the principle which underlies and runs through the whole evolution of the idea of God.

2. Psychological anthropomorphism. — From this point of view, then, man has always ascribed, and does now ascribe, to Deity thought, emotion, and will. He may originally have worshipped animals, or even stones and trees, as the fetish worship he does; but if he did so, it was because he ascribed to those objects thought, emotion, and will; and the characteristics so ascribed were none the less human because they were ascribed to the deity in a transcendent degree. In the next stage of evolution, not only did aniconic objects of worship become iconic, not only did pictures and statues of the gods in human form supplement, and more or less drive out, the stones and trees which were the object of the older cult, but the very conception of the god, as it existed in the mind of the worshipper, became more and more definitely human—and did not in the process become more divine, as the example of Ares and Aphrodite in Homer shows. Homer will address the god as a deity, but his idea of the god is that of a man or an animal: but though religion in this stage becomes iconoclastic, and ceases to be anthropomorphic in the narrower of the two senses of the word, it continues to believe, in this stage as in the previous stages, in a personal deity. In this stage of evolution the same impulse that leads religious minds to deny that the deity can be conceived in any bodily form, leads also to the conclusion that some human virtues cannot be ascribed to a deity: thus it would be degrading, if it were not unmeaning, to ascribe to deity the temperance or the courage possessed by men. In the third stage of evolution the same process is repeated, with the result that the broader of the two senses of the word, or the ‘anthropomorphic’ stage becomes again a necessary stage in the evolution of the idea of God. It was, indeed, so continued in one of the arguments considered in Cicero’s De natura deorum (II. 3), where it is argued that knowledge of good and evil cannot be ascribed to a good God, for he who can do no evil requires no such knowledge; and in the same way reason cannot be ascribed to Him—or shall we assign reason which makes dark things plain? But to a god nothing can be dark. In modern times the same feeling finds expression in the doctrine that the cause of all things is the Unknowable, to which we are not warranted in ascribing thought, emotion, or will. If we seek to ascribe all things to the Unknowable, we reverse precisely the second stage of the ideal process of evolution. In the interests of clear thinking, therefore, we must abstain from so ascribing them. Power, indeed, must be assigned to this Unknowable cause—but not personality. The anthropomorphism which has characterized religion from the beginning charac-
terizes it to the end. In the progress of human thoughts, anthropomorphism tends gradually to be sloughed off; at first, indeed, the tendency is to provide the gods more and more definitely and precisely with human limbs and bodies; but that tendency is eventually defeated by its own realization—when fully realized, it becomes intolerable, as it then is doomed. Next, the tendency is for religion to insist on investing the deity with the mental and moral qualities of man; and that tendency too—on this theory—eventually reveals its own inner and essential self-contradiction. In this, however, anthropomorphism, comes to be felt untenable and intolerable, religion, in any ordinary sense of the word, becomes impossible.

3. Origin of anthropomorphism.—Looked at from the point of view of evolution, the fate of the belief in anthropomorphism was determined from the beginning. If it is seen in the end to be logically incoherent and impossible, it is so because it has carried within itself the seed of its own destruction from the very beginning. We have already argued, on the one hand, that it is fundamentally rational in order to see its want of validity. The tendency to personify objects is exhibited by children—and even by animals—at play. Such personification, indeed, in the case of both children and dogs, may be a case in which the very problem is insurmountable; and the terror may be removed when the object personified is shown not to be a living thing. The same tendency is shown by the African negro, who, starting out on some business, happens to have his attention arrested by some object, say a bright pebble, and, immediately associating it with the business he is engaged on, picks it up as a fetish, regarding it as a personality which has the power, if properly treated, of understanding what he wants and of giving him assistance. The same tendency to personify objects and to associate them with the fortunes of the man who discovers their personality, will account for the fact that an object thus personified by the father of a family or the most influential member of a clan comes to receive the worship of the whole family or clan, and thus becomes not a personal fetish but a family god or a tribal god; and may possibly survive and eventually become a national god. But the African negro may find out that he gets no benefit from the object he has picked up; and then, though he may cast it away as not being really a fetish, still he usually keeps it, even though he pays it no worship, because it may perhaps after all turn out to be an operative fetish. In the same way, amongst the African negroes and elsewhere, we find traces of gods who, though the names and the memory of them linger on, receive no worship, because they are no longer believed to do good or evil. The belief in such gods, and in such fetishes, evidently has a lessening tendency: but the tendency to personify objects of sense or objects of thought—which is found in animals and children as well as in savages, is the origin of anthropomorphism, which is puerile therefore in character as well as in origin. The evolution of the idea of God, it is argued, is simply the process by which a childish error is developed slowly to its fullest extent, and now that its inherent inconsistencies and self-contradictions are coming to be fully recognized, is being cast off. It is a case in which the psychological 'projection of the self' into the world is made the basis of an attempt to explain all things, and is ultimately found to afford no explanation which is satisfactory, morally or intellectually, of the not-self.

4. The method of science.—From this point of view, the not-self, the world around us, must be accepted on its own terms, so to speak, and must be studied objectively; we must not make the mistake of assuming it to be the expression of a subject's reason or will. We must not assume its ways to be our ways or to be explicable by them or by analogy with them. We must take them as they are and study them as they are given, without presuppositions and without assumption. This is the world, we assume, the method that of science, the objective method. So we shall escape from the error of foisting on the facts an anthropomorphic explanation which they will not tolerate.

Now, the object of science is to understand the world; and it may fairly be said that any attempt to explain the world assumes the course of the world to be explicable. It is assumed not only that the course of things is or may be to some extent intelligible to the human reason, but also that it is rational. This is the reason that presents itself to science is attacked by science with the firm conviction that there is a solution. Such a problem is a challenge to science; and the challenge is never declined on the ground that the problems are insoluble. On the contrary, the challenge is accepted, and the problems presented to the science of the world are continually being solved. The course of the world is continually being exhibited by science as more and more intelligible; and science is perpetually being confirmed in its fundamental assumption of the rationality of things. The world becomes more and more intelligible, on the assumption that the reason of things and the reason in things is intelligible to the human reason.

5. Objective rationality.—Are we then to say that science also is anthropomorphic, or are we to deny it? In the one case we shall say that science, like religion, starts from the human reason, and persists in measuring everything by it and interpreting everything in conformity with it. In that case, if we adopt this anthropomorphic system, it eventually breaks down in the hands of religion, and proves in the long run to be but a puerile 'projection of the self' into the external world, then the anthropomorphism of science, its assumption of a preconceived and recognized human reason—to into things, may, like the anthropomorphism of religion, pass muster for a while, but eventually must be found untenable and intolerable. Indeed, it may be said, science as well as religion has already come to that pass. It is vain to deny the possibility that being may be rational only in a very narrow sphere, and that it might some day turn towards us another side, about which we could build no structure of connected and practical thought (Höfding, The Problems of Philosophy, p. 114). Not only is it not necessarily valid at all—the want of validity has merely grown more and more patent. That is to say, the origin, as well as the history, of the belief shows that it has no validity; the tendency to personify objects of sense or objects of thought—which is found in animals and children as well as in savages, is the origin of anthropomorphism, which is puerile therefore in character as well as in origin. The evolution of the idea of God, it is argued, is simply the process by which a childish error is developed slowly to its fullest extent, and now that its inherent inconsistencies and self-contradictions are coming to be fully recognized, is being cast off. It is a case in which the psychological 'projection of the self' into the world is made the basis of an attempt to explain all things, and is ultimately found to afford no explanation which is satisfactory, morally or intellectually, of the not-self.
lating that the world is intelligible to man is not
guilty of anthropomorphism; it does not assume
that the reason which it strives to understand
is human, and it does not make the reason which it
finds. But even so—granted, that is, that to some
extent, as far as it has gone, science finds in things
a reason which it does not put there—the possibility
remains that Being may any day turn to us another
side, displaying no reason, but irrationality. The
possibility indeed remains, but science scouts it
or systematically ignores it; or, perhaps we may
rather say, faith in science forbids us to acknowledge
it. No unsolved problem in science is admitted to
be insoluble. In other words, if the rationality of
things, so far as it has been discovered by science,
is a fact and not an assumption, still it is an
assumption so far as it has not yet been discovered.
It is not, of course, discredited by the fact that it
is an assumption, for we must begin with an
assumption—by assuming either that things are or
that they are not, or that they partly are and
partly are not, rational. And the assumption that
things will continue to reveal a reason which,
though it is not man's, is intelligible to man, is at
any rate harmonious with the discoveries which
science has thus far made, even though it be an
assumption rather than an explanation.

But, granting that we make the assumption and
show the faith which science demands, we have
only got thus far, viz., that the power which dis-
plays itself in things is rational in the sense that
it is logical. But, how, and indeed whether, it is
to get this, for science aims at nothing more:
its position is that things are logically comprehen-
sible; its coherence is a logical coherence which it
finds in things and does not put into them. Even
things which, we think, it that reason is not, can
be, and we know, in a mind, and that a mind must be
self-conscious, the utmost that we can get out of
science, or hold to be implied by science, is that
there is a self-conscious mind whose power acts
logically; and even if we grant that there is
nothing anthropomorphic in this,—on the ground
that the reason and logic in things are found in
them and not imputed to them by science—still
the mind or power thus revealed as superhuman
is not self-evident, nor altogether logical, nor
revealed as moral, or as recking aught of man.
Its laws extend to, just as its rain descends on,
the unjust and the just alike; and science affords not
the slightest ground for holding that the ultimate
winds which we discover favours the just rather
than the unjust. If, then, man can discover and does discover in
things a logic and a reason which he does not put
there, if the logic and reason so found are objective,
and are not created by him, are not images of his
own making,—are not, in a word, pieces of anthropo-
morphism,—can we go further and discover in man's
experience anything else which is similarly given
to him and not created by him? The fact that
a thing is comprehensible by man is no proof that
it is the work of man's reason, if it is merely
logically intelligible to man's reason, is found in
things by science,—which looks only for logic and reason,—
can man and does man, when he looks for more,
find more than mere reason? Does science exhaust
objectivity, or does the realm of objectivity include
other things than reason? Is man's experience of
the universe that it discloses reason alone to him?
Man's experience has been that he has found some-
thing more in it than a reason partially intelligible
to him, and next, that things in it function in
which awakes in him a sense of gratitude, of duty,
of awe, and of fear.

But the experience in which these workings of
this power are thus disclosed or felt is distinguish-
able, if not distinct, from the experience, or from
the aspect of experience, of which science is the
interpretation or the expression. Whether we term
the aspect of experience with which science has to
do sense-experience or experience of the physical
or the external world, it is, however defined, at any
rate marked off from the rest of man's experience,
just as being but a part and not the whole of human
experience. Or, if we go so far as to say there is
nothing in human experience which may not be
investigated scientifically, we still indicate by the
adverb 'scientifically' that the point of view of
science is only one point of view, and that the full
aspect of reality which science confronts is not the
only aspect which human experience presents to
man. One and the same set of facts, for instance,
may be viewed psychologically by science, may be
pronounced valid or not valid from the point of
view of logic, may be estimated right or wrong
from the standpoint of morality, holy or sinful in
the eyes of religion. The scientific aspect is not the
only aspect of our experience. The scientific is not
the whole account of that experience.

6. Ethical qualities.—If, then, the reason which
science finds in things is not the creation of science,
is not made after the image of human reason, and
is not put into things by science, but is found in
them and is found to be just as it is in the
man, then the same experience, which when studied
by science reveals a reason which is not man's,
may, when regarded in its entirety, or even when
regarded from other points of view than that of
science, reveals more, or may even than the
logical rationality. It may disclose ethical quali-
ties. It may disclose qualities, in the apprehen-
sion of which by the heart, and not merely by the
intellect, religion consists. Whether it does, as a
matter of objective fact, disclose such qualities is
not the question now before us for discussion.
The point is that, in thus interrogating experience, we
are no more guilty of anthropomorphism than is
science when it interrogates experience. The ques-
tion is, what, in what man, is that which is dis-
covered in science, is what experience discloses when interrogated.

Science discovers in things the operations of a reason
which is not human reason; religion discovers in
the experience of man the operations of a power
whose ways are not the ways of science. Above all,
religion discovers the operations of a personal power.
The personalism of that power is only partially dis-
closed in those of its operations with which science
concerns itself; and it is disclosed only partially,
because science is concerned with only a partial
aspect of its operations. Even when we attempt
to view its operations from a more comprehensive
point of view than science pretends to offer, the
conception we then form of it is, doubtless, shaped
to some extent by our human limitations, and may,
that, nay, has itself been already, partially disclos-
ed limitations. Of course, every apprehension must,
whether to whatever extent, be so shaped, but it does
not follow from this that nothing is apprehended.
A thing to be misapprehended, even, must be ap-
prehended; and, to be apprehended, it must be there.
Will it, then, be said: Granting heartily that it
must be there, still it can be apprehended only by
being anthropomorphized? The statement, then,
is, first, that the power is not personal or spiritual;
and, next, that there is in the immensity of the human
mind, it can only appear, or be conceived, as per-
sonal. In other words, the religious experience
of God as a person is alleged to be not experience, but
an interpretation of experience—a false interpreta-
tion, and an interpretation which, from the nature
ANTHROPOMORPHISM

of the case, must be false. What, then, are the grounds on which we can say, a priori, that this interpretation, if it is an interpretation, must be false? They can only be that we know something which proves that it is false; that we know, to start with, that the power is not personal. But that is precisely what we do not know; that is precisely the very reason why it is that, on the one side, is that in religious experience God is known as personal. If, on the other side, that is denied, then the dispute is as to the nature of religious experience, and the dispute can be settled only by reference to that experience; it cannot be settled by assuming the point at issue, by begging the question. The question, then, becomes whether the personality of God is a fact of experience, or an inference—possibly a false inference—from experience. Now, those who have not had a given experience—for instance, a blind man who has not had experience of colour—are, obviously, on unsafe ground if they allege that other people have not had that experience, e.g., of colour, but have had some other experience, e.g., such as touch, while the man also who has not drawn the inference that they see. No blind man is, of course, so foolish as to argue in this way. He accepts the fact that sighted persons are blessed with an experience which he has not; he may be unable to form any idea of what the sensation of colour is, but he is not necessarily to be excluded from it, and the inference that they see. He might be—perhaps does not mean, or at least might be—false from experience, but an inference—a false inference—from experience.

7. Testimony of experience. We are, then, thrown back upon the necessity of interrogating experience, of asking what is found there. A person who is not accustomed to a microscope will not see what is undoubtedly to be seen through it; and we cannot accept the fact that he sees nothing as proof that nothing is to be seen. So, too, in the interrogation of religious experience we must accept what is found there, and not deny that it is objectively there because of some of us fail to see it. The position that religion rests on the existence of God as a fact given in experience, and can only be reached by a process of inference, which may or may not be correct, is a position which this article assumes and has not to prove; here we have to consider simply in what sense, if any, religion is anthropomorphic. Now it is undeniable that the existence and the personality of God may have been, and in many or most of the stages of religious development have been, anthropomorphized: He has been pictured in human form, as indeed also in animal form; and, even when this misrepresentation has been cast aside, He has been depicted as having passions which are specifically human. But though this is perfectly true, it is equally true, and philosophically more important, that this process of anthropomorphization has also been conducted by the highest religious minds and is to be found in the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness; and its incompatibility, when thus pointed out, has been recognized by others as true to the facts of that religious consciousness. Thus, as a matter of historic fact, it appears that anthropomorphism has been, and is recognized to be, a limit and a hindrance to the comprehensive and realization of the personality of God as revealed in the religious consciousness. That being so, the attempt to exhibit anthropomorphism as a producing condition of this Personality is manifestly at variance with the facts; it is not a producing condition, but a distortion of the personality of God. That the distortion should be greatest in the case of mature minds and the lowest forms of religion is a point which it is easy to recognize, and the recognition of which is compatible with—indeed assumes—the recognition that there is something there to start with which can be distorted, that is to say, anthropomorphized. That misinterpretation precedes recognition of the facts as they really are is illustrated by the history of science quite as fully as by the history of religion. But that the facts were not there, at the beginning, to be recognized is a notion which neither science nor religion can take up. If it be said that science, starting from things as they appeared to the mind of primitive man, has eventually come back to pronounce them very different from what they then appeared, it is an objection to that science; it cannot be settled by assuming the point at issue, by begging the question. Yet, too, the growth of religion would have been impossible if there had not been at least one fact—the personality of God—which it not merely started from, but to which it constantly returns, and in which, properly understood, it finds its constant touchstone of truth. From this point of view, the proper understanding of the personality of God is a test of religious truth; and that personality is not to be found in the forms that long are interpreted on the analogy of human personality—so long, that is, as it is interpreted anthropomorphically. So long as it is thus interpreted, or rather misinterpreted, the limitations of the finite are necessarily, and self-contradictorily, imposed on the Infinite. Thus escape from the self-contradiction is possible only so far as we reverse the process, and recognize, with Lotze, that perfect Personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof. When that is recognized, anthropomorphization is seen for what it is—a misinterpretation of what is given in consciousness, leading necessarily, if slowly, to the assertion that God is not revealed in consciousness for what He is, but is given either for what He is not—the Unknown—or is not given at all.

It may perhaps be said that human knowledge, to be human, must be contained in human minds, and, being so contained, it must be shaped by that which contains it; in fine, that in admitting it to be human we are ascribing it to be anthropomorphic; in denying it to be anthropomorphic we are denying that it can be known to man. Thus, whatever knowledge is poured into human minds must be shaped by the mould into which it is poured, and so must be anthropomorphic. But this argument is based on the false notion that the shape is shaped before anything is poured into it, and that the shape is purely human. It fails to consider the possibility that the vessel is plastic, and may be shaped in part by that which is put into it; and that consequently, even if the vessel is human, it may take a form more or less divine, if that which informs it be divine. It tacitly assumes that man makes God in his own image; or, at any rate, that man cannot possibly, under any circumstances, in the perspiration of his eyes or aspiration, mould himself on the image of God: all he can do is to conform to the image of God in his own image. But the assumption that man can shape the facts with which he comes in contact, but cannot in the least be shaped by them, is one which will scarcely bear examination. The facts cannot, of course, shape him if they are unsubstantial; but if they are unsubstantial, neither can be shaped by them. Scepticism at once emerges from this line of argument; it starts by crying of the facts, 'They are naught! They are naught!' And as long as it continues to do so, it is condemned to immobility.

But if we use the metaphor of the vessel,—whether it be a vessel of clay or of skin, whether it shapes or is shaped—we should remember that it is a metaphor; and if we cannot speak without metaphors, we may at least vary them. We speak
of rising above ourselves, and a fact, fortunately, is expressed thereby: in morality and in religion we may rise above ourselves, even as, from the metaphysical point of view, we may ‘transcend self.’ These facts, or rather the metaphorical expression of them, may serve to remind us that we do not merely receive facts and shape them into our own likeness, but that we go forth into a world of reality and there encounter things which we have not made, which are not in our likeness, but on which we may model ourselves.

8. Testimony of feeling. We have considered the question of anthropomorphism thus far, rather from the point of view of knowledge than of feeling. But no answer will afford permanent satisfaction which appeals to knowledge only and not to feeling. Practically, the question is one of feeling rather than of knowledge; it is: Are we to doubt the goodness and love of God, and to suppose that it is by the fallacy of anthropomorphism that we ascribe them to Him? To that question the only answer is that we do not doubt God’s love; we know it. But the ‘knowledge’ is not purely or primarily or essentially intellectual; and if it be said that then His love is not a matter of knowledge but of feeling, the simple and sufficient reply is: How else is love to be felt if it were not modelled of knowledge? It might be a matter of inference; and the inference would be subject to examination, and therefore to doubt. It might be represented as an inference from the love of man for God, and so as anthropomorphic, an hypothesis on which human experience was modelled. But an essential quality of it—without which it would not be what it is—is that it is experienced as His, and not as something which remains as it is, whether ascribed to Him or not. As a fact of experience, it may be characterized as an appeal to our sense of those who experience it, that our love is a response to His, and that it is His which calls forth ours. It is so felt. Beyond that, or behind it, it does not seem possible to go. Feelings, after all, are facts.

9. Testimony of action. Feeling and knowledge issue in action. Omniscent love must, from the religious point of view, be the source from which all God’s actions flow. From the religious point of view, therefore, nothing can be ascribed to Him save that which issues from such a source. Human actions have other sources assigned to them; and anthropomorphism is exhibited when actions are ascribed to God, or to the gods, which cannot without self-contradiction be imputed to a love that is omniscient. Human actions proceeding from the human mind are inessential characteristics of anthropomorphism—more essentially indeed than are human parts. The gods of Greece were as anthropomorphic in their passions and actions as in their forms; and only in their forms were they typical of human beings at their best. The cowardice of Ares, the incontinence of Aphrodite, the lusts of Zeus, were doubtless a bequest to Greek civilization from barbarous or savage times; and they were a damnosa hereditas. If the bequest was made to those who were impelled thereunto, if the obedience, by most of those who were born to it, the reason doubtless was that the philosophy summed up in the sentence, ‘Man is the measure of all things”—νὰ τῶν μὲν τῶν ἄθρων—was characteristically Greek: even the gods were made in man’s image, and they did not do credit to it. Xenophanes spoke bitterly when he said that the gods of men were anthropomorphic, just as the gods of animals, if animals believed in gods, would be theriomorphic. He failed to note, apparently, that theriomorphism goes back to the anthropomorphic, but revert to theriomorphism and to bestial conduct. Where a plurality of gods is believed in, the gods are necessarily conceived as objects, as items in the world of objects, and therefore as limited and circumscribed in their action and reaction. The action of any one of them is liable to be frustrated by the action of the rest; and behind and over-topping them all there tends to rise the vague figure of destiny or fate, to which all are subject; omnipotence cannot remain in the hands of any god; to find anthropomorphism were a fallacy which infected religion alone, the position of those who see in religion nothing but that fallacy would be stronger than it is. On reflection, however, it is manifest that religion, as well as science, has that fallacy to contend with; in the animistic period of man’s history, the tendency is to account for the action and behaviour of all—even inanimate—things by the assumption that their action is anthropomorphic, and to influence their behaviour by proceedings based on that assumption. Only when that assumption is discounted or ignored does it become possible to study the interaction of things scientifically—rerum cognoscere causas—to discover in them a reason not modelled on man’s, though intelligible to it, provided that we reject the fallacy of anthropomorphizing their action. Religion, also, as well as science, has to throw off the fallacious tendency to anthropomorphize God’s action. It is only according to an anthropomorphic picture incapable of rejecting the fallacy. Monothelism escapes from it only by degrees; not only is vengeance the Lord’s, but the worshipper may pray Him of His goodness to ‘slay mine enemies.’ The tendency to assume that God’s ways are as our ways is the essence of anthropomorphism. To yield to the tendency and to follow it out to its logical extreme is to make God after man’s own image. Science, by studying its facts objectively, is enabled to proceed in the right way in that religion succeeds in making the same escape only where it similarly renounces the a priori method of interpreting God’s action, and further renounces the desire to utilize it as a means to make man’s will be done. Religion rises for the first time clear of anthropomorphism when the prayer goes up from the heart, ‘Thy will be done.’ Then, and not till then, does the will of God become a fact presented to the religious consciousness, a fact which for the religious mind possesses as much validity as the facts of science, the latter being as studied by science, and for the non-religious mind is as meaningless as for the non-mathematical mind a mathematical formula is. The difference may be illustrated by contrasting the petition, ‘Slay me the enemies of the Lord,’ with the same petition in our enemies: the former is properly addressed to an anthropomorphic god; the latter could only proceed from a very God, and be accepted as of objective validity only by a religious mind. The fact that religion is not anthropomorphic is shown by the way in which the Christian revelation set as ideals before mankind lines of action (such as humility, love of enemies) which were paradoxical and foolish in the eyes of the world, though wise and to us their value was not to be appreciated till sixty years or more after they were suggested were to do God’s will, to be like unto Him, to be pure even as He. Should it be objected that this is the only way in which the Christian revelation was not received by the religious minds to the precept of loving our enemies, we may use another illustration: the command to give your coat also to him who takes your coat, and even your cloak; that is one which cannot be justified on the principles of any non-religious system of ethics, and is one which is not accepted as valid by common sense: it is one which no anthropomorphic deity could self-consistently give. The very design of the command is couched are, of course, intelligible to all; the value of the command is for the non-religious mind naught; only for him to whom it is revealed as God’s will, as the course of action
which will be followed by him so far as God's will operates through him, does it become an objective fact for the same reason that it is an objective fact for the same reason that the facts of science have for the scientific mind. It is not that the same thing is presented to the religious and the non-religious mind and produces different effects in the two cases: it is that the way in which the one is introduced and rejected by the other, and that for him who accepts it all things become new—God is no longer anthropomorphic. To allege that religion is necessarily belief in an anthropomorphic god is to close our eyes to the fact that on the point on which faith of particular sects turns, viz. the love of God, only a hypothesis, merely phanastic is the reason why reason, whether the reason proclaimed by science or the love proclaimed by religion. The reason thus projected is human on the reason, the love, human love. We may have soared for a while into the clouds, but the end of anthropomorphism all the time was round our feet, and brings us back to the facts we started from, —there they are just as they were when we started. We never have got clear of human limitations, never have lost ourselves in the Divine Love. We may have lost sight of self; but we come down to earth, and recognize that it was the self who imagined that self was transcended or lost. We have simply seen ourselves, our form, our human project, projected to the clouds: if, after all, it is merely an assumption —and not the only possible assumption—that reason and love, because they occur in man, are limited to man. It may equally well be that reason and love are not limited to man, but revealed to him. And the question then becomes one of fact, whether such a self-lost experience is experienced. As a question of fact and of feeling, it can be answered only by experience and with reference to the experience. Those who have not some experience which give any answer to it; those who have it need make none. Experience excludes hypothesis.


ANTICHRIST.—1. The name ἄντιχριστος occurs for the first time in Christian literature (1 Jn 2:18, 2). The ideas which are associated with this name, in particular the conception of a God-opposing tyrant and ruler of the last times, reach back with certainty to the most flourishing period of the Apocalyptic literature. It is most likely that they have their deeper roots not in definite historical phenomena and experiences, but in a mythical and speculative idea, namely, the idea of the battle of God with the devil at the end of the world.

This conception seems to have arisen in the Persian eschatology (the battle of Ahura Mazda with Angra Mainyu; cf. Bousset, *Judentum*, 238 ff.), and to have passed from this source into the Jewish Apocalyptic literature. The opposition between the Messiah and the one soul, who is introduced under the names Beelzebul, *Mazda*, or *Tuntas*, is the chief leading ideas of the Jewish source of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which undoubtedly arose in the Maccabean period. Even here Beliar appears as the enemy of the last times. It is said of the Messiah (Levi 1894) : ‘And Beelzebul will be bound by him, and he will give his children power to trample on his enemies in the same way, the description of the last great battle in *Assumpt.* (No. 109) begins as follows: ‘And then will His (God’s) enemies be gathered together, and they shall be brought to naught.’ The same thought is also to be found in the Gospels (Lk 11:20, Mt 12:24, Jn 14:19, 28, Revelation 12:7); *Assumpt.* 201-3, 7-16; Bousset, *Judentum*, 238 ff., 385 ff.)

It is very likely that ‘Antichrist’ is originally nothing else than the incarnate devil, and that the idea of the battle of God with a human opponent, in which all devilish wickedness would become incarnate, arose under the influence of definite historical conditions.

2. In fact it is very probable that the roots of the conception of Antichrist are even more widespread than this. We shall see that the conception of the battle of God with the devil was closely interwoven with related mythological fancies regarding the battle of God with a dragon-like monster.

Traces of these ideas, which probably come from the Babylonian battle of Marduk with Tiamat, are already to be found in all parts of the OT (cf. Dn 12, 18). In this way the figure of Antichrist and the monster of chaos are combined into one (cf. Rev 12). Thus we need not be surprised if the figure of the devil incarnate, the persecutor of Antichrist, and here the two stand at the edges of the same myth, the figure of the mythical monster, and manifests a ghastly superhuman character which cannot possibly be explained from the fantastic historical situations of the separate predictions. Thus even in Dn 8 the figure of Antichrist is depicted with the superhuman features of the monstrous dragon, as where we read that a little horn raised itself against the host of heaven and cast down some of them to the ground. In the same way Pompey in the 2nd century B.C., the conqueror of the Greeks, is described as the dragon of Chaos, whom God destroyed because he rose up against him. It is also a significant fact that Antichrist in a series of later passages receives the name which in the other sources (Test. *Patriarch* etc.) was applied to the devil—Beliar (see *Ps. 29* in all probability originally a god of the under-world); cf. *2 Co 11:14* (of *Assumes*. i. 28), *Saphon*, ii. 33, *Libyca*, ii. 167.

3. The idea of Antichrist itself can be traced back to the 2nd cent. B.C., and appears first of all in the Book of Daniel in the Maccabean age. The historical figure whose features have in the first place been attributed to Antichrist is the Syrio-Jewish Antichrist IV. *Epiphanes*, the persecutor of the Jews. In particular, the representations of Dn 7:1-8, 14-18, have been of lasting influence. That Antichrist (‘the king of the North,’ 114) will appear as a mighty king with great armies, that he will destroy three kings (the three horns, 7-9), that Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites are to be spared by him (114), that Libyans and Cushites will follow in his train (119), that he will persecute the saints (72), that he will reign 42 years (786) etc., that he is to be set up in the Temple the ‘abomination of desolation’ (39 *Athenar* τῆς ἐμφάντωσεν, 89 ἐν 121)—all this belongs, from this time onward, to the standing requirements of the Antichrist picture that had predicted by ‘Daniel’ did not come, but his book received a place in the canon; and thus the faithful still expected the fulfillment of his predictions in the future, and handed them on from generation to generation. In this process ‘Antichrist’ came to be separated from the historical figure of Antiochus IV., and became the type of the God-opposing tyrant who was discovered now in this and now in that historical character.

To the author of the Psalms of Solomon (140) to Pompey, the captor of Jerusalem, the blasphemers of the sanctuary of God that is the Divine adversary, the ‘dragon’ of the last times; and his destruction is celebrated in triumphant strains by the writer as a great act of his God (22). In the *Assumption of Moses* (ch. 3) a remarkable prophetic picture of the cruel tyrant is
outlined; and, if minutely examined, it seems to be a figure possessing the mixed features of Antiochus Epiphanes and Nero the Great.

In the Roman period the character of the Emperor Caligula (a.d. 37–41) influenced the history of the legend. The fearful triumphs of Caligula, embittered by the revolt of the Jews at Jannia, gave the order to the governor Petronius to erect his statue in the Temple, recalled ahere the prophecy of Daniel. The small Jewish Apocalypse, adopted to a large extent in Mk 13 and Mt 24 and interwoven with words of Christ, may date from this time. In the same way the attempt has been widely made to find in Rev 18 a source belonging to this time, chiefly for the revelation of Rome. Secure connection with Rome actually makes up number 616; and several manuscripts of Rev 18 preserve this number (instead of 666). Then we shall see later how the expectation of Antichrist was carried over to the person of Nero.

Finally, in 4 Es 9, too, we find in quite general terms attention called to the last hostile tyrant of the last times: "regnabit, quem non speravit" (cf. the Syriac Apoc. Bar. 40).

4. Christianity took over from Judaism this whole cycle of ideas, and we meet with numerous traces of these conceptions in the NT. In the eschatological chapters (Mk 13, Mt 24) we have, in all likelihood, as has already been indicated, a small apocalypse of Antichrist, interwoven with words of Jesus, if we are entitled to interpret the βασιλεύς τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐχθρόνων (Mt 24:4, Mk 13:9), which stands in the position of an interlude. In particular, the predictions of the Revelation of John borrow their fundamental tone from the fancies regarding Antichrist. The eleventh chapter, with its prediction of the beast rising from the abyss (11:3), i.e., a beast, surrounded by great armies, appears in Jerusalem and kills the witnesses of God, is entirely on the lines of Jewish Apocalyptic prophecy. Finally, if the beast, who is called up by the devil (Rev 13:1), who rises out of the sea, is regarded as representing the Roman empire, or more particularly a Roman ruler, we have here, too, the character of the Antichrist, the God-opposing tyrant, preserved.

5. A strongly marked transformation of the whole idea, from a specifically Christian standpoint, is indicated by the discussion in 2 Th 2, which the present writer, in spite of renewed and energetic opposition on the part of the Rwe (TU, new ser. Is. 2), prefers to ascribe to St. Paul himself. Of course, too, the idea as Jewish Apocalyptic thought forms the fundamental conception, as is proved by the names (2 Th 2:8; 2 Th 2:10; τὸν αρχηγὸν τοῦ ἡμέρας, perhaps Beliar; cf. the OT הָגַּדֹּל, or ἀρχιερεῖον, as well as by the phrase, as the Son of Man, which, on the other hand, the Antichrist is no longer the God-opposing tyrant, but a seductive agency, which works by signs and wonders, and seeks to obtain Divine worship. Antichrist here is a false Messiah, a prophet who, if he is assumed, will call forth the faith of those Jews who have rejected the true Messiah (2 Th 2:10–12). At the same time the idea is raised still further into the realm of the superhuman (2 Th 2:8, ἀπωλείαν ἄγαν, ὧν ἦτο θεός). Antichrist, as this false one is called for the first time in a real and proper sense regarded as the opponent of the true Messiah. By means of the latter his destruction shall be accomplished, and this is described in 2 Th 2:9 in the words of Is 11' (καὶ ἐν πατρίῳ διὰ χειρὸς ἄνθρωπος ... ὁ πρῶτος αὐτοῦ ἔγερσιν). The Targum on the passage, too, interprets the word "one" as Antichrist. A remarkably puzzling trait is the 'sitting' of the ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ἡμέρας in the temple of God—probably, as we saw above, a reminiscence from the time of Caligula. But this trait is left to the prophetic picture of the seductive personality. If, finally, the enigmatic reference to a power which still keeps the appearance of Antichrist in check (τὸ κατάγων, δὲ κατίχθων) be correctly interpreted as referring to the Roman empire, then the separation of the idea of Antichrist from the political tendency, which up to this time adhered to it, comes more clearly to the front. Accordingly the significant change, which 2 Thess. has effected in the idea of Antichrist, consists in this, that here out of the God-opposing tyrant the seductive adversary of the last times has been developed, so that, while the original idea led to the proclamation of the Roman empire or of a Roman emperor as Antichrist (Revelation of John), here the figure of the ἀρχιερεῖον obtains a non-political, purely ideal significance. In this process of re-moulding, which has become of world-historical importance, the genius of St. Paul is in all probability manifested, or in any case the genius of youthful Christianity, freeing itself from Judaism and placing its foot in the world of the Roman empire.

This new conception seems to have found acceptance in wide-spread Christian circles. The author of the Fourth Gospel, too, appears to give expression to the thought that the Jews, because they have not believed on the true Christ, who was sent by God, will place their faith in the false Messiah, who will come forward in his own name (5:18).

From this point of view we are enabled to understand how, in the Epistles of John, Antichrist is connected with the Great Deceiver, and how in general the appearance of false teaching is thought of as one of the signs of the last time—the crowning point of Satanic malice (1 Ti 4:1, 2 Ti 3:1, 2 P 3:3).

6. But this anti-Jewish conception, which corresponded better with the position of Christianity in the Roman State, was prevented from obtaining any hold in the Jewish world by the political situation. This was due to the acceptance in wide circles of a remarkable combination of the Antichrist legend with the popular expectation of the return of Nero, prevalent originally among the heathen masses. Not here, however, the rumour that he was not dead, but was still alive, or that after his death he would re-appear (Sueton. Nero, 57; Tacitus, Hist. ii. 8). As Nero had stood in friendly relations to the Parthians in his lifetime (Sueton. 47, 57), the report was now circulated that he had fled to them, and would return with a Parthian army to take vengeance on Rome. Deceivers made use of the rumour to appear under the mask of Nero. Such an one came forward in 62 as the new Nero (Tacitus, Hist. ii. 8–9; Dio Cassius, liv. 9; Zonaras, xi. 15), and a second appeared under Titus (Zonaras, xi. 12; probably also Sueton. 57). Even in 100 A.D. the belief that Nero was still alive was held by many (cf. Bousset, 70. 411 ff.; Charles, Ascension of Isaiah, i. 11). This popular heathen belief was now adopted first of all by the Jewish Apocalyptic writers. While the author of the 4th (Jewish) Sibyl (79 A.D.) takes it over simply without any special tendency (v. 137–139), the author of the 5th Sibyl (v. 138 of Rev 17) (Bousset, 414–415) expects the return of Nero with the Parthians to take vengeance on Rome, because she had shed the blood of the saints (17', destruction of Jerusalem [1]; καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀνάβασιν τῶν μαρτυρῶν Ἰωάννου is a later addition). In the 5th Sibyl, which
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for the most part (with the exception of vv. 1–51) was written by a Jewish writer at the end of the 1st cent. (J. Geltken, "Komp. u. Entstehungszeit der Urs. Sibyll., "TV, new ser. vii. i, p. 22 ff.), the subject of the return of Nero is mentioned by the author no fewer than three times (137–164, 214–227, 361–385). Here the figure of Nero is already transformed into a ghostly demon; his return and the terrible war, which will then convulse the world, will be the beginning of the last end. The Christian as well as the Jewish Apocalyptic thought possessed the figure of the Nero, and on this soil the figure of Antichrist was quite identified with that of Antichrist. Then we have to take into account the additional circumstance that the longer the period from the death of Nero became, the less could a simple return of the living Nero be expected, and the more did the expectation of his return from the under world grow. In this way, too, his figure became more and more hellish and ghostly: the relation to the Parthians is lost sight of, and instead of an adversary of Rome he becomes an opponent of God and Christ.

In the small apocalypse in the Asc. Is. 29p., which dates, from the second, or perhaps only from the third, decade of the 2nd cent. (Harnack, Chronol. der altchristl. Lit. i. 573), we clearly see the final combination of two figures originally quite foreign to each other, when we read that Beliar, the king of this world, will descend from the firmament in the form of a man, who is depicted as the matricidal tyrant Nero. The beginning of the 5th Sibylline (vv. 1–51), too, probably a Jewish composition inserted by the reductor in the time of Marcus Aurelius, identifies Nero with Antichrist (pp. 28–34 in Bousset’s readers of the Sibylline on the Revelation in the age of Diocletian, still knows the relation of the writing to the legend of Nero (Bousset, 33 ff.). The apologist Commodian, who probably did not write his Carmen apocolyticum till the beginning of the 4th cent. (A. Harnack, Chronol. ii. 433–442), is acquainted with two figures of Antichrist, one of which he still identifies with Nero redivivus.

7. But even in the 2nd cent. the legend of Nero lost its influence on the picture of Antichrist. In the same degree the anti-Jewish conceptions borrowed from 2 Thess. 2, which was free from historical and political limitations, gained the upper hand. On the ground of exegetical combinations, in particular, under the influence of a renewed use of the prophecies of Daniel, and by the help of other traditions—here the combination with the idea of a world-configuration, which also in all probability arose from the Persian apocalyptic, is specially to be mentioned—the conception was filled out in detail, and it exhibited in all its particulars a remarkable persistency.

Antichrist is to come from the tribe of Dan (cf. Rev 7?); also Basset conformed the same view (ibid.). Antichrist shall appear in Jerusalem as a mighty ruler, subdue three rulers, assemble the armies of the world around him, perform signs and wonders, and demand Divine worship. Elijah and Enoch, who both appear as witnesses against him, shall be subdued and slain. The Jews shall believe on him, and he shall rebuild the Temple. He shall persecute those among the Jews who refuse him their faith. He shall even devour the nations; however, shall be saved by the grace of God (the angel). He will put his seal upon his faithful, so that only he who bears this seal shall be free to buy and sell in the last time (cf. Rev 13:17). Finally, the time of the Antichrist shall overtake him, from which he will not be able to save his followers; then the last he shall be subdued as the great antichrist, and the general configuration follows. These are the ever recurring features of this picture of the future, which continues to persist throughout the centuries (cf. the proofs in detail, Bousset, Antichrist).

The same ideas are already to be found in broad outlines in the eschatological portions of Hermes Trismegistos and in Hippolytus (de Antichristo et de Mitis). In times of political excitement and of internal disturbances, men were always turned aresh to the prophecy regarding Antichrist. The external features of the prophecy change, and in the different historical prophecies come to prominence under the ground the prediction of Antichrist, connected with no definite time, remains pretty much unchanged. Thus we find in the beginning of the Thessalonican Bousset, lately edited by Rahmani, an apocalypse of the time of Decius, although it has undergone a later redaction (Harnack, Chronol. ii. 314 ff.). In this work the description of the external appearance of Antichrist is of interest (cf. also the Copitc and the Jewish Apocalypses of Elyiush; see below). The time of Aurelian and Gallienus, with its embittered struggles between the Romans and the Persians as well as between the Roman emperors and the Parthians, seems to have given a new significance to the prophecy.

From this time, in all probability, dates the Jewish Apocalypse of Elyiush, which is preserved to us in Hebrew, and in the Latin translation, which, if Buttenweiser’s conjectures are correct (Die Apocalypsen, Leipzig, 1897) are correct, Odesnat of Palmyra appears as Antichrist. In the same period, we find the prophecy of the 13th Sibyl, which ends in a glorification of Odesnat, but does not belong to the Antichrist predictions of the Sibylline (cf. Bousset, 325). Finally, it seems as if the text of the 3d Sibyl was still in use, and was preserved in the 3d Sibyline, v. 63 ff., and at the end of the 2d Sibyline, belong to these circumstances (Bousset, PReB xviii. 572 ff.). Finally, it seems as if the text of the 3d Sibyl was still in use, and was preserved in the 3d Sibyline, v. 63 ff., and at the end of the 2d Sibyline, belong to these circumstances (Bousset, PReB xviii. 572 ff.).

Lactantius in the 4th cent., who represents the Antichrist legend in an original and interesting form, which shows a certain amount of contact, on the one hand, with the Jewish Apocalypse of Elyiush, which has just been mentioned, and on the other hand, with the Carmen apocolyticum of Commodian (belonging to the first decades of the 4th cent.).

8. A new turn in the history of the legend is represented by the so-called Tiburtine Sibylline. By means of the investigations, which all point to the same conclusion, undertaken by Sackur (Sibyll. Texte und Forschungen, p. 114 ff.), by Kamper (Die deutsche Kaiseridee, p. 18 ff.), of Antichrist, it has been ascertained that the Tiburtine Sibylline, which appears in various editions and revisions of the Middle Ages, goes back to an original document which was composed in the 4th century. Since Basset published a Wisdom of Sibyl (cf. ibid.) we have evidence derived from Ethiopian and Arabic sources, which in itself is closely connected with the Tiburtina, but is enlarged by predictions which go down to the date of the sons of Harun al-Rashid, it has become still more easy to re-construct the original of the old Tiburtina. This Sibylline, dating from the 4th cent., and celebrating the Emperor Constans as the last ruler, is of importance, because in it occurs for the first time the prophecy which, who burned emperor Nero, and in the 5th cent., who burned emperor Antichrist, shall obtain dominion over the whole world, and at the end of his reign shall march to Antioch and lay down his crown on Golgotha. From this time onwards the last ruler of the world before Antichrist becomes a standing requisite of the legend. In the same period, Commodian’s prophecy in Latin under the name of Eprihus (Isidore), which probably dates from the 4th cent., and which has been published by Caspari (Briefe und Abhandlungen, 1890, pp. 208 ff., 428 ff.), this change in the legend is also already indicated: "Christian-...or imperium traditur Deo et patri" (oh. 5).

There are, besides, quite a number of writings on Antichrist which have been handed down to us under Euphrasius’s name, as, e.g., a δομος εις την αναστασιν του Αντιχριστου (Arsamane, ii. 229–230, iii. 154–147), related treatises are to be found among
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Ephraim’s works in Bouisset, Antichrist, 234); further, a Syrian homily (Th. J. Lamy, iii. 187 ff.), 
... the counterpart of modern political anarchism, being directed towards the 
struction of the Moral Law of the OT in the early of the Antichrist, St. 
ny movements among the Crusaders. (954) plays (Forschungen, 
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... the book of the Apocalypse is closely bound up with the 
... the Apocalypse, the Sibyl, and finally the later Syrac Apocalypse of Ezra (Bouisset, Antichrist, 45 ff.). In the age of Islam we have also a curious and rare work, the Apocalyptic literature, probably to a large extent caused by the Christian prophetic writings. One of the most interesting of the writings here to be indicated is the Jewish history of Daniel which is handed down in the Persian tongue (Merx, Archeologie zur Erbahrung des AT, i). Alongside of this work there is a series of other writings: the Mysteries of Simon-mono-theist, the Micro-Mystica, the Signs of the Messiah, the Book of Zerubbabel, etc. (cf. Buttenschow, Neo-Apocalyptic Jewish literature, 1911).

9. This whole type of prophecies came to the West of pseudo-Methodius, which was early translated into Latin. The Tiburtini, too, with its numerous recensions, accompanying the history of the German emperors, plays a special role. Finally, great influence was exerted by the Latin missionary monk monk Gerberga: de Ortu et Tempore Antichristi (cf. Sackur, Sibyll. Texte und Forschungen, ii.). Then the legend of Antichrist passed through its classical period in the West, in which it even made history. Since the beginning of the 2nd Christian millennium a strong increase in the eschatological direction can be observed. This was intensified by the excitement which was produced in the lands of the West by the Crusades. All these fantastic expectations were focused on the person and activity of the abbot Joachim of Flora (end of 12th cent.); in particular, the intellectual movements which he originated found ready acceptance in the Franciscan order, and the whole movement was under the influence of the Franciscans who were inclined to form an opposition. Thus the time came when people saw Antichrist, or the fore-runner of Antichrist, in every ecclesiastical, political, national, or social opponent, and the catch-word ‘Antichrist’ sounded on all sides: in the stomach of the Pope, even the Papacy, Quills and Ghilleblines, opposing Franciscans and the Papacy, between heretics and the Church, reformatory social movements and the ruling powers opposed to them (Reformatio Sigismund, Onus Ecclesiae of Berthold of Chiemsee); in sculpture and painting (e.g. cf. Signorelli’s picture in the cathedral of Orvieto), in lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry (cf. esp. the Ludus de Antichristo, ed. W. Meyer), the motives were supplied by the prophecy of Antichrist. In particular, the belief that the Pope of Rome was Antichrist (antichristus minor, mysticus), became of world-wide historical importance. This view was assiduously cultivated by the Franciscans of the opposition, who had remained true to the original spirit of poverty. From them it was passed on over to the pre-Reformation sects; the Bohemians Milić of Krensis (Libellus de Antichristo) and Matthias of Janow are connected with them in a way which can quite easily be traced. Wyclif and his follower Michael Purvey (the probable author of the work edited by Luther (1529), Com. in Apocalypse in antequam annos editae), as well as Huss on the other side, are firmly convinced of the anti-Christian nature of the Papacy.

In a particularly instructive monograph, H. Preuss has shown how important a rôle the idea of Antichrist played in the age of Luther among the widest classes of the people—how the idea gradually came to stand for the idea that the Pope of Rome was the incarnate Antichrist, and how this conviction led him to more knowledge of the opposition, to a reference to Luther in the Papacy, and filled his soul with all the passion and remorselessness of battle. Thus in the Articles of Schmalkald, which were composed by the ancient ‘Papists’ with Daniel-apocalyptic, Bouisset, Antichrist, 41 ff.), which, in the period of the Latin Empire, directs the restoration of the OT king of the Jews (Laws, xx. 296 ff.). In the regions of the East which were ruled over by Islam, the age of Islam and the Crusades was exceedingly productive of prophecies of Antichrist. To this period belong the Apocalypses which are contained in the so-called Liber Clementiae divinae, the Apocalypse of the Arabic, and probably also the Syriac tongue (Bouisset, Antichrist, 45 ff.), the Coptic (14th) Vision of Daniel (1435) (Viole’s edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, Oxford, 1800) also the above-mentioned Ethio-Asian Wisdom of the Sibyl, and finally the later Syrac Apocalypse of Ezra (Bouisset, Antichrist, 45 ff.). In the age of Islam we have also a revival of Jewish Apocalyptic literature, probably to a large extent caused by the Christian prophetic writings. One of the most interesting of the writings here to be indicated is the Jewish history of Daniel which is handed down in the Persian tongue (Merx, Archiv zur Erfahrung des AT, i). Alongside of this work there is a series of other writings: the Mysteries of Simon-monist, the Micromystica, the Signs of the Messiah, the Book of Zerubabel, etc. (cf. Buttenhose, Neo-Apocalyptic Jewish literature, 1911).


Antinomianism.—Antinomianism (griech. ‘against,’ and σύν, ‘law’), as a distinct theological phenomenon, originated historically in the 14th century (1429–1568), who was an early condottiero of Luther in the Reformation. It is the counterpart of modern political anarchism, being directed towards the destruction of the Moral Law of the OT in the
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interest of the new freedom of Christians and the testimony of the spirit. Antinomianism, as John Wesley defined it, is the doctrine that 'makes void the Law through faith,' Christians are free from the Law. The Law primarily referred to was the Law of Moses. Agricola denied that Christians overrule their own interpretation of this text, even to the Decalogue.

In its widest sense the term is used to designate the doctrines of extreme fanatics who deny subjection to any law other than the subjective caprices of the empirical individual, though this individual is revealed in the word and inward witness of the Holy Spirit. It is uncertain just how far Agricola went towards this wider capriciousness of the individual. For we get from history the usual exaggerations of theological controversies, when we read the debates between Luther and Agricola on the subject. Agricola began, and intended to remain, true to the great Reformation principle of justification through faith alone, without works. It was the fear of work-righteousness that led him to argue against the Moral Law—at least that of Deceit. He wishes to establish the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works, or work-righteousness, on some distinctively gospel principle. After making a secret propaganda for some ten years, he maintained, in a pamphlet written in 1537, that such works are indifferent, and that a man is saved by faith alone without any regard to his moral character. He said: 'Art thou steeped in sin, an adulterer or a thief? If thou believest, thou art in salvation. All who follow Moses must go to the devil. To the gallows with Moses.'

It was then that Luther characterized the teaching as being antinomian, and identified it, in principle, with the anarchoomnianism of the Anabaptists. Agricola retracted and was reconciled with Luther, but the controversy was carried on by others. One of the followers of Agricola, a certain Amsdorff, said that good works imperilled salvation. Agricola claimed that he was only expounding the teachings of Luther and Melanchthon. Indeed we find Luther (Werke, v. 203) saying: 'We do not wish to see or hear Moses. For Moses was given to the Jews, not to us Gentiles and Christians. We have our Gospel and New Testament. They wish to make Jews of us through Moses, but they shall not.' And Martin Luther to Jacob Augusti (Luther's Apology, p. 127): 'It must be admitted that the Decalogue is abrogated.' But the controversy with Agricola was only the occasion for Luther to give the definite term antinomianism to a view far older than the German Reformation. This view showed itself even in NT times. Luther himself characterized the Epistle of St. James as 'an epistle of straw,' because of its emphasis upon good works. Then we find the Apostles (Rom 13:6; Eph 2:9) warning Christians against perversion of their doctrine. Paul even speaks of the man whose soul and body are things indifferent to the spirit. Hence, soul and body might wallow in licentiousness without detracting from the salvation of the spirit. Thus we find with Augustine the most frank and definite statement of Antinomianism in its widest and most immoral form.

A tract of Augustine (contra adversarium legis et prophetarum) seems to indicate the existence of Antinomianism in the 4th century. There are traces of it to be found during the Middle Ages. It comes out strongly among the Anabaptists of Germany and Holland. During the Commonwealth, it existed in England among the high Calvinists. These argued that, if a man was elected and predestined to salvation, no power in heaven or on earth could prevent it; and hence, no matter what the moral conduct of a man might be, his salvation was sure if he was one of the elect. If actions of such a man were not sinful, and he had no occasion to confess his sins or to break them off by repentance. Saltmarsh, Cromwell's chaplain, was among these sectaries. But they never became an independent sect. Antinomianism existed in England both in the Church of England and among the Dissenters. Again, it appeared in England among the followers of John Wesley, who made earnest protest against it. This gave occasion for John Fletcher to write a strong book, entitled Checks to Antinomianism.

It is not in place to carry the discussion of this term beyond its proper theological role. We may only add that the principle of the thing—opposition to law—is found in every sphere of the organized or institutional activities of humanity. All who advocate the subjection of the family, the State, or the Church, are antinomians. All moral sophists are antinomians. All who pervert the principle that 'the end justifies the means,' into a disregard for established moral laws, so that some of the lowest and most licentious desires are attained, are antinomians. And every individual who pleads special exemption from obedience to the common law of morality is an antinomian.

We may cite Epiphanius, the seneschal of the Gnostic Carpo- crates, as one of the lowest types of antinomians. He died at the age of seventeen from the effects of debauchery, after having written a work on Righteousness, in which he advocated the most generous principle—'Follow your own nature, against all established laws.'

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ANTINOMIES.—Kant first introduced this term into philosophy. (Lectiones, 1st ed. 1777) although the conception for which it stands had been used by the Eleatics, by Plato (Phaedo, 102; Rep. 523; Parmenides, 135) and by Aristotle. With Kant an antinomy is the unavoidable contradiction into which reason falls when it seeks to satisfy its necessary demand for the unity of the world as a whole. This is the subject-matter of Rational Cosmology. We can never perceive or conceive the world as a whole. But we are compelled to think it. The conflict then is—the world as we know it under the categories of the understanding, and the idea under which we think it by the reason. Reason goes beyond the limits of a possible experience, and is met with a flat contradiction the moment it attempts to construe the unconditioned totality in terms of the conditioned, or the world of possible experience. In this knowable world, every phenomenon is determined in relation to other phenomena ad infinitum, not ad infinitum. Hence no determination can be complete and final. But the idea of reason demands this very completeness and finality. This is the conflict of the understanding (Verstand) which knows and Reason (Vernunft) which thinks. Reason says, 'If the conditioned is given, then the whole sum of conditions, and therefore the absolutely unconditioned, must be given likewise.' But, as Kant limits knowledge to the synthesis of the under-
standing, he turns to it to prove the idea of reason. But it is limited to the conditioned, and therefore can never reach to knowledge of the unconditioned. An unconditioned condition is absurd. And yet this is what reason demands.

The idea of reason is too large for the capacity of the knowing understanding; and the definite knowledge of the understanding is too small for the idea of the reason. Hence the hopeless back and forth swing between the dicta on laws of the two faculties.

Kant gives four antinomies of pairs of theses and antitheses.

The first is the antinomy of quantity. Two mutually exclusive propositions can be proved with equal force in regard to the quantity of the world:

I. **Thesis.** The world had a beginning.
   In time, and is limited also with regard to space.

II. **Antithesis.** The world had no beginning, and has no limits in space, but is infinite in respect to both time and space.

He then shows that the denial of either member of both the thesis and the antithesis involves an absurdity.

The second is the antinomy of quality, and relates to the divisibility of matter.

III. **Thesis.** Every composite substance in the world consists of simple parts, and nothing exists anywhere but the simple or what is composed of it.

IV. **Antithesis.** No composite thing in the world consists of simple parts, and there exists nowhere in the world anything simple.

Here the same reductio ad absurdum is applied to both the thesis and the antithesis. First two antinomies are styled the mathematical, as considering the world quantitatively and qualitatively. The next two he styles dynamical, as considering the world, not as a total of dead things, but as consisting of things dynamically and organically related to each other.

The first of these is the antinomy of relation, dealing chiefly with the relation of causality.

V. **Thesis.** Causality, according to the laws of nature, is not the only cause in the world; and in all the phenomena of the world can be deduced, in order to account for these phenomena, it is necessary to admit another cause, that of freedom.

Here, again, Kant reasoning is to the absurdity of the opposite of both thesis and antithesis. For the thesis it is argued that without free causality there is no vera causa, but everything is merely an effect, and not even that, unless it presupposes a vera causa which can never be found in any member of the causal series. For the antithesis it is argued that if free causality be allowed, then it must itself be held to be uncursed, and thus contradict the law of causality—that everything must have a cause.

VI. **Antithesis.** There is no freedom, but everything in the world takes place entirely according to the laws of nature.

Thus are considered the antinomies of quantity, quality, relation, and causality.

VII. **Thesis.** Knowledge, according to the Critique of Pure Reason, is an immanent thing, and the mind cannot know anything, but what it can have an immediate intuition of, and that is occasion, and necessity to the subject-matter of science.

Hegel (Encyclopaedia, § 81) blames Kant for his small list of antinomies. He holds that antinomies ‘appear in all objects of every kind, in all representations, conceptions, and ideas.’ It is this view that is the vital element of the dialectic, forcing thought onward to ever higher and more concrete forms till it reaches the Absolute Idea in which all contradictions are resolved.

The true and positive meaning of the antinomies is this: that every actual thing involves a coexistence of contrary elements. Consequently, to know, or in other words to comprehend, an object is equivalent to being conscious of it as a unified group of contrary elements. Hegel's whole Logic is an exhibition of the antinomical dialectic of all finite thought, in its indwelling tendency to absolute and final thought, as 'the life and soul of scientific progress, the dynamism which alone gives an image of connexion and necessity to the subject-matter of science'.

Of every thing and every conception we say it is and it is not, because it is more than what it is in its unmediated form. With more
identity, $A=A$, there can be no progress. But nothing in the world is mere identity:

'Thing in itself is one soul of being mingled with another soul of being.'

The truth of any thing or thought is always a unity of identity and difference, of thesis and antithesis. Synthesis is the truth of both. But all finite syntheses develop antinomies on the way to the ultimate synthesis of thought and reality, where antinomies are no more.

J. MACBRIDE STERRETT.

ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY.

[J. H. SRAWLEY].

The title 'Antiochene Fathers' is generally applied to a school of Church teachers, all connected with Antioch, whose activity covers the latter half of the 4th and the first half of the 5th century. Its most famous representatives were Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus († 394); John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople († 407); Theophilus, bishop of Mopsuestia († 429), and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrillus († 457). But the theology of these Fathers has its roots in an earlier period, and reproduces the traditions of a school of Christian learning at Antioch, the history and characteristics of which form a necessary introduction to a study of the later writers.

I. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH: HISTORICAL AND CHARACTERISTICS.—The city of Antioch, founded by the Seleucid kings and made by them the capital of their dominions, was the metropolis of the East and the third city of the Roman Empire. It was a centre of Greek life and culture, and was noted for its pursuit of art and literature. The Church of Antioch had played an important part in the early spread of Christianity, and from early times had been the centre of important movements in the region of thought. It was the home of the early Gnostics, Menander and Saturnilus, while the writings of Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, in the latter years of Marcus Aurelius and under Commodus, attracted the notice of the West, and show that the attention of the Church had been directed to the statement and defense of Christian truth. The earliest reference to anything like an organized Christian school of instruction occurs in connexion with the condemnation of the heresy of Paul of Samosata in the year 369. At the council of Bishops, which met at Antioch in that year and condemned Paul, the latter's teaching was exposed by Malchion, a presbyter, who was the head of a school of Greek learning at Antioch. From Eusebius' description (HE vii. 29) it has been argued that the Church of Antioch already possessed some institution resembling the Catechetical School of Alexandria, in which sacred learning was combined with secular studies, and the pursuit of rhetoric and dialectic. There is no place (πετρουστω των ε' 'Αρχαγγέλων θανατωρίων διατηρούσι προστετω) for the teaching of Paul himself is representative of a distinct school of thought at Antioch it is difficult to say, but there are features in it which are reproduced in the later Antiochene theologians (e.g. his appeal to the historical Christ and his rejection of metaphysics. See below, II. 6).

It is, however, in the time of Lucian († 311-312), the presbyter and martyr, that the school of Antioch begins to come clearly into light. He is said to have studied in the schools of Edessa and at Cæsarea. From the latter he probably acquired that interest in Biblical studies which was due to the influence of Origen, and for which the school of Lucian was also celebrated. In conjunction with Dorotheus, who combined knowledge of Hebrew with Greek learning (Euseb. HE vii. 32), he completed a revision of the LXX, and to him also been attributed the early Syrian revision of the text of the NT (see these see Swete, Introd. to OT in Greek, p. 81 f.; Westcott and Hort, Introd. to NT in Greek, p. 138). There is also extant a fragment of his Commentary on the Book of Job (Routh, Rel. Sacr. iv. p. 71 f.). But equally important with the Biblical labours of Lucian was the influence exerted by his Christology of the Eastern Church. In what way he was connected with Paul of Samosata is uncertain (see, however, Harnack, Pref. xx., art. 'Lucian der Märtyrer'); but the influence of Paul's teaching upon him is unmistakable, and he contested the Alexandrian method of interpretation, and, while affirming the need of insight into the inner spiritual
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meaning of Scripture, he asserted the importance of grammatical and historical methods of exegesis. Lastly, Diodorus' importance consists in the fact that he was the inspirer and teacher of the two most famous representatives of the school of Antioch — Theodore and Chrysostom. Theodore, bishop of Antioch († 429), developed on bold and original lines the teaching of his master Diodorus. As an independent thinker and systematic theologian he was the greatest of the Antiochenes. His theology contains a fully thought out system, embracing the nature and destiny of man and the Person and work of Christ. He has points of contact with the Pelagians in his teaching on sin and the Fall, free-will and grace; and in his Christology he was the immediate precursor of Nestorius. No less important were his contributions to the study of Scripture. In his subjective criticism of the Canon of Scripture, his insistence on the primary meaning of OT prophecy, and his endeavour to bring out the full historical meaning of Scripture, he represents the climax of Antiochene teaching.

Three other representatives of the school of Antioch during the period of its greatest fame call for notice, though none of them carried out so far as Theodore his endeavours.

Polychronius, bishop of Apamea († c. 430), and brother of Theodore, exhibits in his commentaries on the OT the traditions of Antiochene exegesis. John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople († 407), was a progressive disciple of Polychronius, and shows the influence of his Antiochene training alike in his doctrinal teaching and in his exposition of Scripture, though in both respects he was in closer accord than Diodorus or Theodore with the Antiochene tradition of his theology. It was, however, the popular teacher and preacher rather than the exact theologian, and his commentaries on Scripture, which are marked by profound insight into human nature, are the work of a homilist rather than a critical student.

Theodore, bishop of Cyrnhus († 457), was a disciple of Theodore, and played an important part in the Christological controversies of his time, in which he exercised a mediating influence between the Antiochene and of Arian, Nestorian, and Alexandrian theologies. He exhibits, alike in his theological and Biblical works, the Antiochene tradition. But he modified in several respects the teaching of his master. As a commentator he exalted truth and avoided tautology and verbosity, though he is inferior in originality to Theodore and Chrysostom.

On the later history and influence of the school of Antioch, see below, III.


With the Antiochenes the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments held a foremost place as the source of Christian doctrine. In their Canon of Scripture they followed the tradition of the church of Jerusalem. It was also represented in the Syriac and Vulgate versions, and did not include in the NT the Apocalypse, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, or Jude. Theodore, on subjective grounds, also rejected the Epistle of St. James. In dealing with the OT books, Theodore recognized degrees of inspiration, and submitted them to a rigorous subjective criticism. The Book of Job he regarded as the production of a pagan Edomite and a work of dramatic invention, which in higher inspiration. Similarly, he denied inspiration in the higher sense to Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The Song of Songs was merely the marriage-song of Pharaoh's daughter, and lacked the authority both of the synagogue and of the Church.

He assigned little value to Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, partly owing to doubts as to their acceptance in the Jewish Canon, and partly because they seemed to lack the prophetic insight which marked the other historical books. (Loofs, however, thinks that the only books which Theodore rejected from the OT Canon were Esther and the Apocryphal books. See PRE, xix. p. 604). He also rejected the inscriptions of the Psalms, and assigned a late date to the composition of many of the Psalms, placing some in the period of Hezekiah, others in that of Zerubbabel, and others again in Maccabean times. These views, however, were rejected by Chrysostom and Theodore, who adhered to the general sentiment of the Church.

The Antiochenes held the LXX in the highest reverence, and appear to have used Lucian's recension of its text. 'But Theodore and Chrysostom were unacquainted with Hebrew, and none of the teachers of the later school took up Lucian's textual labour or interested themselves in such studies (see, however, Chase, Chrysostom, p. 82 f.).

In their treatment of the inspiration of the Scriptures, while recognizing a real influence of the Holy Spirit upon the writers, the Antiochenes held to the literal interpretation of the text. In their exegesis of the Apocrypha they rejected the Apocryphal books because they were not written under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, because they were not, or were not clearly indicated by their writers, in the original Hebrew, and because they were not originally written in chiasm.

The Antiochene school was thus characterized by three general characteristics: (1) the literal interpretation of the text; (2) the rejection of the Apocrypha; (3) the subjective criticism of the OT, which recognized varying degrees of inspiration.

The Antiochene exegesis is characterized by two general principles: (1) the literal interpretation of the text; (2) the subjective criticism of the OT, which recognized varying degrees of inspiration. The Antiochene school was thus characterized by three general characteristics: (1) the literal interpretation of the text; (2) the rejection of the Apocrypha; (3) the subjective criticism of the OT, which recognized varying degrees of inspiration.

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e.g. Theodore recognized only four Psalms (2, 8, 45, 110) as directly Messianic. (2) Prophesies which have a primary reference to OT events, and refer only typically to the NT, i.e. such prophesies as are quoted in the NT. (3) Prophesies which have no Messianic reference, but refer only to the OT (e.g. Mic 4:2, Zec 11:12, Hag 2:9, Mal 1:12, 3:24). See B. B. M. vn. Mops., p. 143.

Theodore has a profound realization of the significance of the idea of the Kingdom of God as set forth in the OT. The whole course of OT history was intended to prepare the way for the Messiah. Christ. His doctrine, and by critical methods to the OT, though often arbitrary and vitiated by his ignorance of Hebrew, exhibits at times an acumen and insight which were far in advance of his age. In his subjective criticism of the OT books he found no successors, but, through the later Antiochenes—Chrysostom and Theodoret, who followed in the main his methods, while modifying his conclusions—the science of exact and literal exegesis gained a foothold in the Church, and exercised a far-reaching influence both in the East and the West. See Chrys., of Migne, lxvi. 634.

3. The Creation of Man.—The chief representative of Antiochene teaching, Theodore of Mopsuestia, exhibits a fully thought-out conception of human nature in its constitution and development. In this respect he is superior to the Alexandrian theologians, and shows a deeper interest than they in questions affecting the origins and history of man. Theodore's treatment of the Trinity, as in the case of his exegesis of Scripture, is empirical, and rests upon the observed facts of human nature.

2. Doctrine of God and of the Trinity.—The Antiochenes exhibit little interest in metaphysical speculation upon the Being of God or the proofs of His existence. Plotinus, however (Bibl. Cod. 223, see esp. p. 269; Migne, PG citi. p. 533), gives an account of his Deity and its work (Against Fate, in which the latter propounds the cosmological argument for the existence of God. The world, Diodorus maintains, is subject to change. But change itself is a condition which implies a beginning, and requires us to assume something constant behind it. Moreover, the variety of existing things and the wisdom displayed in the very process of change, point to an underlying unity of origin, and suggest a Creator and a Providence. Both Chrysostom and Theodoret wrote works upon the providence of God, in which they endeavoured to show that this providence extends to particulars.

Diodorus and Theodoret were staunch supporters of the Nicene theology. Accepting its conclusions, Theodore set forth the doctrine of the Trinity by the help of careful exegesis of Scripture, rather than by speculative arguments. From the baptismal formula in Mt 28:19 we may learn that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three self-sufficient Persons, and equally belong to the Divine nature and its origin. In the OT, however, the Persons was not yet revealed (in Hag. 2:4). But when the OT speaks of the Divine nature, its language may be applied not only to the Father, but to the Son also, by reason of their community of nature (see Heb. 3:9-12). The Holy Spirit is a Person (σώμα) of the Trinity, and has its subsistence (διακονία) from the 'being' of the Father (in Matt. 18). Chrysostom's treatment is similar to that of Theodore. Careful exposition of the language of Scripture shows that the subordination of the last Person upon the Trinity. Theodoret expounds in his Erast. (Dial. i. p. 33 f.), Migne) Basil's distinction between the terms 'being' (ζωή) and 'person' (σώμα), but, like Theodore and Chrysostom, he contributes little to the subject.

In one respect, however, Theodore and Theodoret occupy an important place in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity. Theodore's teaching upon the Holy Spirit exhibits a clear conception of the essential Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father. In his treatment of the OT record of the Holy Spirit's 'going forth' (ἐξορρόζωσιν) was no mere external mission, but 'a natural procession' (οὐσικὴ πρόδρομος). But in the Creed put forth by him (Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbole, p. 302) he denies that the Holy Spirit received His subsistence through the Son (σώμα διὰ κατὰ γενέσιν τῆς ὑπομολογίας εὐθύμου).

This position was attacked by Cyril of Alexandria in the ninth of his anathemas against Nestorius, and the Spirit was declared to be the 'very own' (ἐμοῖς) Spirit of Christ. Theodoret, in his reply to Cyril (Josephus, Anathemata, 9), re-asserted the contention of Theodore, and pronounced the opposite position to be blasphemy. Possibly the motive underlying the denial of the Procession through the Son may have been the fear of introducing the heresy of the Pneumatomachi (so Swete, DCB, art. 'Holy Ghost').
beginning of this second stage in the Incarnation of His Son (in Jon., Migne, lxvi. 317), but it was His purpose that man should first pass through the earlier stage, in which He is subject to conflict, temptation, and mortality. In thus creating man mortal, however, there was a beneficent purpose, from the deliverance which was intended to train man’s will by exercising his power of choice between good and evil (in Gal. 2.16). (b) In view of man’s fall, which He fore-saw, God attached the penalty of actual death (as distinguished from the liability to death) to disobedience, in order to deter men from sin. (c) Man’s mortal condition rendered it possible for ‘the body of sin’ to be destroyed along with the dissolution of his body. Had man sinned, being immortal, his fall would have been irreparable (in Genes. 3); there is a somewhat similar treatment in Methodius and Gregory of Nyssa). Hence the purpose of the command to Adam, and later on, of the Law, was to call forth the knowledge of good and evil, to provoke sin, and to show man his inability to attain perfection by his own efforts. It was only through the struggle and the conflict of this mutable life that man could learn his need of the Divine principle of life revealed in Christ, in order that he might attain his true end (in Rom. 7, in Gal. 3.19, in Rom. 11.18).

4. The Fall.—Theodore taught that by man’s disobedience the liability to mortality became an actual fact, for God had not said, when He threatened man with death as the penalty of disobedience, ‘I shall put death unto you’ (Genes. 3.18 but (Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 340). Death came by sin, and the result of death was the separation of soul and body in man. Thus, too, the bond of the Universe, which had held together the visible and invisible, was broken. Sin gained an entrance into the world, and in Adam’s descendants the same experience was repeated. As each of them sinned in turn, he became subject, like Adam, to death (so Theodore interpreted Ro 5.12). A further result of the actual mortality which resulted from sin was that it increased the tendency to sin, by fixing man’s thoughts upon the present order of things and by ministering to his passions (in Rom. 5.17, in Gal. 5.17).

5. Original Sin.—The summary which has been given above of Theodore’s teaching shows that he allowed no place for the idea of inherited sin. Even the ‘death which passed unto all men’ is regarded as the result of man’s own transgressions, not of Adam’s sin, a fragment of Theodore’s work, Against the Defenders of Original Sin, preserved by Marius Mercator (ed. Baluze, p. 3401.), his attitude towards the standpoint of Jerome and Augustine is clearly shown. He affirms that Adam was created mortal, and he repudiates the idea that Noah, Abraham, David, Moses, and other righteous men should be subject to punishment for Adam’s sin. Such a view he regards as inconsistent with the Apostle’s words (Ro 5), that God will render to every man according to his deeds. Thus, too, in speaking of baptism, he distinguishes between the forgiveness of the sins of the individual, and the sinless state which will be fully revealed only at the general restitution of all things, and he maintains that in the case of infants the former cannot be taken into account. Such teaching made Theodore a valuable ally to the Pelagian leaders, and in 415 Julian of Eclanum and his companions sought refuge with him after their banishment from the West. The points in which his teaching of Pelagians are: his insistence that man was created mortal, his emphasis on free-will, his denial of inherited sin, and his treatment of man’s growth in knowledge and obedience through the discipline of the commandments and the law of God. On the other hand, his idea of redemption is different from that of Pelagius. For, according to Theodore’s teaching, the original constitution of man as mortal and mutable rendered it impossible for him to attain the goal of his existence apart from the deliverance which could come by Christ. Again, as we have seen, Theodore’s conception of free-will is more profound than that of Pelagius, with whom freedom is simply the indifference of the will to good or evil (see above, § 3).

6. Christology.—The Christology of the Antiochens, which was closely connected with their doctrine of human nature, constitutes their chief importance for the history of doctrine. Their
teaching has links of connexion with the teaching current in earlier periods at Antioch (cf. above, I.); and, as Harnack has observed (Hist. of Dogma, vol. iv. p. 166, n. 1), there is an essential unity in scientific method between Paul of Samosata, Lucian, Eusebius of Emesa, Eustathius, Diodorus, Theodore, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. The features to this treatment are: (1) the rejection of metaphysical speculation (cf. above, I.); (2) the attention paid to the historical portrait of Christ in the Gospels; (3) the ethical interest, which leads them to assert a true moral development in the teaching of the Logos. Another basis of their conception of θεότης, which was taken by them to denote a particular individual being (Harnack, Hist. of Dogma, iii. p. 46; Bethune-Baker, Intro. to Early Hist. of Christian Doc. pp. 112, 235). This rendered it difficult for them to conceive of a complete nature which was not personal.

But, while there is a general resemblance in the method of treatment exhibited by all these writers, there are considerable divergences in their theological standpoint. Lucian, for instance, from the teaching of Paul of Samosata, departed from him in affirming (with Origen) the personal and pre-existent character of the Logos, who was united with the man Jesus. The later Antiochene school, which began with Diodorus, was further under the influence of Lucian by the acceptance of the full Nicene teaching upon the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father (in place of the subordinate created Logos of Lucian; cf. above, I.). In other respects, however, this later school, represented by Diodorus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, still retained the essential characteristics of the earlier Antiochenes.

Diodorus and Theodore represent the more fully developed form of this teaching. Chrysostom is more practical and less scientific, though in his cases, too, the underlying conceptions show the influence of his Antiochene training. Theodoret, in his criticism of Cyril's anathemas, exhibits the Antiochene standpoint, though later on he expressed himself more nearly in accord with the position of Alexandria.

The Christological language of the Antiochenes was influenced partly by their desire to avoid the suggestion of a confusion of nature by the traditional usage derived from the developed theology of an earlier period. It has, however, been thought to show an 'Adorianism' bias. Thus (1) they commonly spoke of the teaching in Christ (as 'God', 'Theotokos', 'Son of God', 'Theodoret, Nestorius, Theodore'). Such language, however, finds occasional parallels in Athanasian and the Cappodocians (see art. CappodociAN THEOLOGY, v. vi.). (4) Side by side with these phrases, however, they use impersonal expressions to denote the human nature (δι' ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπως ἀνθρώπινος, δί' ἀνθρώπου, δί' ἀνθρώπου, δί' ἀνθρώπου; 50 Eustath., Did., Theodore, Nestorius, Theodore). Such language, however, finds occasional parallels in Athanasian and the Cappodocians (see art. CappodociAN THEOLOGY, v. vi.). (5) They approach more nearly to the language of Athanasian and Cyril when they speak of the Divine personal subject as 'assuming' (ἐπιλαμβάνει, ἐπιθέλεται, Eustath., Did., Theodore, Nestorius) man (or human nature), as 'bearing' (χαράγηται, Eustath., Nest.) man, or, lastly, as 'becoming man' (ἐπιλαμβάνει, Did., Theodore). These expressions, however, do not denote 'human deum ferae,' quoted from Eustathius by Gelasius (Hist. PG xviii. 694), are probably due to a misunderstanding of the original διήθεσθαι (for ἐπιλαμβάνει). If διήθεσθαι were the original, the phrases would be parallel to the language quoted above (ἐπιλαμβάνει, διήθεσθαι). See Bethune-Baker, Capp., p. 797 (1). On the state of Christological speculation before the rise of Apollinarism, see Athanasian, Ep. ad Epirutum.

Against the influences of their training, the Antiochenes were largely affected by the controversy with Apollinarism, which led them to affirm the reality and completeness of the human nature assumed by Christ, to emphasize especially His possession of free-will, and to guard against any idea of the confusion of the two natures or of a transformation of the human nature into the Divine nature.

Our chief sources of information about the Christology of Diodorus and Theodore are the fragments of his work against Apollinaris (cf. above, n. 3), found in Athanasian, and in Leontius of Byzantium, c. Nest. et Eutych. (iii. 43). For Theodore we have the fragments of his works, de Incarnatione, contra Apollinaris, collection of the Acts of the Fifth General Council, the works of Paulus and Leontius, and the Syriac MSS translated into Latin by Sachau. The works are: Migne, PG lxvi.; Swete, Theodore of Mops., on the Epp. of St. Paul, vol. ii.; Appendix; Sachau, Theodore Mops., fragmenta Syriaca. Of special value is Theodore’s confession of the faith contained in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus in a Latin form in Marius Mercator (see Hahn, Bibliothek der Symbolen, i. 181).

The teaching of Diodorus and Theodore may be summarized as follows:—

(1) Against Apollinaris, Theodore asserted the completeness of the manhood of Christ and His possession of a reasonable soul as well as human flesh (see ‘Credo’ in Hahn, p. 302f., and Sachau, p. 38). Especially important is his insistence on the freedom of the human will in Christ (on his conception of freedom, cf. above, § 3). As freedom cannot, according to his view, be ready-made, it involves a process of spiritual development, which, the former life, is a ‘work’ of Christ, the latter, ‘being born again’ (νωπότροπος, or ‘moral advance’ of Paul of Samosata). Further, in accordance with Theodore’s conception of two stages in the history of created intelligent beings (cf. above, § 3), it was necessary that Christ should assume humanity in its mutable state, subject to bodily weakness and the passions of the soul. Christ submitted to the assaults of the Tempter, and underwent the moral struggle between the higher and lower impulses (Migne, PG lxvi. 720, 999, 981). By this struggle He manifested sin in His flesh and tamed its lusts (68, 720). Theodore further admitted a real ignorance in Christ, and an advance in human knowledge (ib. 977, 981). Similarly, Diodorus asserts that the Godhead did not impart to the manhood of Christ all wisdom at the moment of birth, but bestowed it gradually (Marius Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 349). Cf. CAPPODOCIAN THEOLOGY, vi. (2).

(2) But it is in their conception of the relations of the human and Divine natures that the teaching of Diodorus and Theodore exhibited a tendency of which finds its extreme expression in Nestorianism. It is here, too, that the traditional ‘Adorianism’ of Antiochene teaching appears. Both Diodorus and Theodore drew a sharp distinction between the human and Divine elements in Christ, and thus exposed the danger of their teaching the existence of two persons in Christ. Thus Diodorus distinguished (Leontius, c. Nest. et Eutych. iii. 43) in Christ two sons: one by nature, God the Word; the other by grace, the man who was born of Mary. God the Word is not to be supposed the son of Mary. He may, however, be called καταρχησις, ‘Son of David,’ because of the shrine of God the Word which came from David, just as he who was the seed of David may be called ‘Son of God’ by grace, not by nature. Similarly, Theodore denied the human nature of Mary (Migne, p. 997); though elsewhere he asserts that Mary may be called both θεοτόκος and ἀνθρώπωσις (‘God-bearing’ and ‘man-bearing’), the latter in a natural sense, the former because God was in Him who was born (Migne, PG 62, c. Nestorius in Loofs’ Nestorius contra Eutych. p. 167, 301). When it is said that ‘the Word became flesh,’ this must be understood of appearance only, for the Word was not changed into flesh (Migne, 981). The object of both writers in these statements is jealously to guard against any idea that the ‘two persons’ of the two natures. But, apart from this negative aim, both Diodorus and Theodore exhibit a positive tendency to regard the human nature as possessed of an independent personality. This led them to conceive of the union of the two natures as a moral
union of grace (whereas Cyril started from the conception of One Divine Person, who has become incarnate, and maintained a hypostatic [καθ οὐσίαν] union).

The nature of the union is discussed most fully by Theodore in the De Incarnationes (Migne, p. 979 f.). He distinguishes three possible modes of the Divine indwelling. The first is by 'essence' or 'being' (ἐστία). But in Scripture the Divine indwelling is spoken of as a special privilege of the saints (Rev 2:12; 3:21). This excludes therefore an 'essential' indwelling since the ἐστία of a 'being' of God is not circumscribed by place. A second mode of indwelling is by the operation or energy (ἐνέργεια) of God. But this is common to all created things. Accordingly the only remaining mode in which the Divine indwelling is possible is by the Divine approval or complacency (ἐκκυρία), the moral union by which God dwells in those who are pleasing to Him. How then did the union of God with the man Christ differ from His union with His saints? The answer is that He dwelt in Christ as in a Son (Migne, p. 976). Christ received the whole grace of the Spirit, whereas in other men the participation in the Spirit was partial (ib. p. 980; cf. Diodorus ap. Marius Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 390). This indwelling of Christ began with His formation in the womb of the Virgin, and was a result of the Divine foreknowledge of what Christ would be (Migne, pp. 974, 980, 984). At His baptism Christ further exhibited a much greater degree of grace (ib. p. 982). He was preserved by the Spirit from the baptismal charge of His supernatural birth, His inseparable union with the Word, and His union by the Holy Spirit, with His holy body, His humanity, and His grace. He thus proved Himself worthy of the union, and became our example and way, until after the Ascension. He exhibited the union with the Word in its final completeness (ib. 977).

(3) in its treatment of the unity of Christ's Person, the teaching of Diodorus and Theodore evinces a lack of precision. As we have seen, they tended to view the two natures apart, and to conceive of their union as a moral union of grace. Moreover, their idea of a complete human nature involved the notion of a human person with human properties. Thus, while 'we distinguish the natures,' says Theodore, 'we maintain that the nature of God the Word is perfect, perfect too the person (φύσις) — for it is not possible to speak of a distinct existence (ὑπόστασις) which is impersonal (ἀφύσις) — perfect too the nature of the man, and the person (φύσις) likewise. But when we look to the conjunction of the two, then we say that there is one person (φύσις)' (Migne, p. 981). The nature of what is thus 'person' and 'union' is compared by Theodore to that of marriage. As the Lord said of the man and the woman, 'They are no longer twain, but one flesh' (Mt 19), so it may be said of the union that there are no longer two persons (φύσεως) but one, the natures, of course, being kept distinct (Migne, p. 981). Elsewhere he compares the unity to that of the rational soul and flesh in man (ἀπὸ ἀποστ. a. Facund. i. 3; 4). Theodore employs the terms θυσία ('union') and συνόμωσις ('conjunction') to denote the union of the natures. In his interpretation of this union he uses phrases which imply that it consisted in the harmonious relation of the human and Divine wills in Christ (cf. the phrase ὁ θυσιών ἀνήκου ἐνεμποδίζον τῇ σχέσει τῆς γνώμης; Migne, p. 989). Theodore, however, was conscious that the charge of teaching two sons might be brought against him, and he repudiated it. 'The Son,' he says, 'is rightly confided to be one, since the distinction ought of necessity to remain, and the unity of person (ὁμοσύναξις) ought to be guarded without interruption' (Migne, p. 985; see the 'Credo' in Hahn, op. cit. p. 305; cf. Nestorius, Loofs, p. 218). For Theodore, the charge of teaching two sons by saying that he neither affirms that there are two sons of David, nor that there are two sons of God according to substance, but that the Word of God dwelt in Him who came from the seed of David (Marius Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 350).

For a fuller discussion of the question, see Dorner, Person of Christ, n. i. 471. Theodore has points of contact with the mystical theology when he emphasizes love as the source of which brings the humanity of Christ into harmony with the Word. 'The thought and volition of the man Jesus were, in point of contents, the thought and volition of the Logos.' The 'form in which the mind of Jesus actually expressed itself was determined by the Logos; though, in consonance with his theory of freedom, he represented this determination as a mere influence of the Logos' (Dorner, Le.).

(4) Both Diodorus and Theodore assert the unique character and privileges of the sonship acquired by the man Christ. They both apply the words spoken at the baptism, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,' to Christ and not to the Word (ib. p. 350; Theodore, in Mt iii, ed. de Incarn., Migne, p. 980). The title Son is applied both to God the Word and to the nature assumed by Him, by reason of its union with Him (Theodore, de Incarn., p. 985; Migne, p. 991 f.; Nestorius, Loofs, p. 362). This teaching of Diodorus and Theodore, which was expressed in their own language, attained public notoriety through Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople. Nestorius merely popularized the teaching of his master, Theodore, without exhibiting the same fundamental depth of insight into the nature of the Person of Nestorianism as a system of Christology is Theodore. See, further, art. NESTORIANISM.

The Christology of three other representatives of the school of Antioch calls for notice here. Theodoretus of Antioch is an important link between the earlier and later stages of the school. His works exhibit some of the characteristic Antiochene features. He sacrifices to Christ a true human development, and speaks of the human nature as the temple of the Deity. The Divine nature is dissociated from the experiences of the human nature. 'Was the latter alone which was anointed and glorified. He further implies that Christ acquired the Divine nature and grace and glory of the Word (Person of Christ, i. ii. 250) says that with Him, as with the later Antiochenes, 'the deity and humanity remain separate and distinct, and do not constitute a living unity, which affirms the closeness of the union between the humanity of Christ and the Logos (Migne, xviii. p. 599, συνωσμός τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἔνωσις). Yet he has become man of a woman, even He who was formed in the womb of the Virgin' (Migne, xxxii. p. 90; cf. fragments mena collection in Galland, Bibliotheca apoc. xiv. p. 47, ed. Mercator, script. vet. Nova col. 1332 vi. 339; 340; Callender, S. Basilii in Lateran Hym., Apolog. i. 4. fragment. 9.

Chrysostom approaches Christological questions from the practical rather than from the speculative side. Like all the Antiochenes, he endows the union of Christ, Christ shared our mortal nature, but without sin, and is subject to the physical needs, human emotions, and the sufferings of our humanity. He exhibits the characteristic Antiochene spirit when he asserts that Christ did all that He did in a human manner, not only to teach the reality of His human nature, but as a pattern or ideal of human virtue. But the idea of Theodore, that the human nature was gradually moulded by the
influence of the Word finds no place in his teaching. Chrysostom further shows signs of Antiochene influence in dealing with the union of the two natures. He repudiates the idea that the Incarnation was a descent into the flesh of Christ. He interprets the humiliation of Christ (Phil 2) as a humiliation of mind. Again, he distinguishes, after the manner of the Antiochenes, the essence of the humanity from those of the Godhead, and, like Eutychian, ascribes to Him humanity, and not the Godhead, which was annointed and exalted. Lastly, he speaks of the humanity as the temple of the Word. On the other hand, he does not give the two natures, but explains the passages which suggest Christ's dependence on the Father as the language of accommodation (anבלעאש). But nowhere clearly defines the union of the two natures, and much of the language quoted above suggests a merely static and a dynamical relationship rather than a full personal union.

The Antiochene Christology, in fact, exhibits a undeveloped character. He is content to put side by side the affirmation of the two natures and the assertion of their union. Though he shares to some extent the Antiochene point of view, the more fully developed conclusions of the school were, in his case, held in check by his position upon other forms of Church teaching. See, further, Förster, Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältnis zur antiochenischen Schule, p. 101 ff.

Theodore occupies a mediating position in the Christological controversy of his time. On the appearance of Cyril, the adversaries of Nestorius, he published a refutation in which he charged Cyril with Apollinarism. (The Reprehensio Antioch. AD 500 in Pseudo-Mahe's edition of Theodore, p. 119.) In this work he exhibits the same tendency to accentuate the distinction of the two natures which characterized Theodore and Diodorus, and the same inability to conceive of a complete nature. He denies that God the Word was naturally (φύσις) conceived of the Virgin and prefers to say that 'He fashioned for Himself a temple in the Virgin's womb, and being formed in the likeness of man.' Similarly, he maintains that the weakness of the humanity cannot be attributed to God the Word. Lastly, it was not the Christ (i.e. the Word) who suffered, but the man who was God, He maintains, however, that 'the form of the servant' was confessed to be God on account of the 'form of God' united to it. The Formula of Concord (Art. 128), by which the differences of Cyril and the Antiochenes were reconciled, was largely modelled on Theodore, and represents a compromise between the two points of view. In place of Cyril's phrase, 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' (μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ υπὸ έναν), he speaks of the unified or unconfused union of the two natures (μία φύσις Φωτούς κοινώς). At the same time it admits the term φύσις, while carefully explaining it (Hahn, Hist. der Symbolik, p. 218). In the Brromata (Bals. II., Migne, xxxiii. p. 145.), written in A.D. 447, he states the idea of a communicatio idiomata in a way which is quite in accord with the later theology of the Church. Though we may not attribute to one nature what belongs to the other, we may attribute to one Person the unity of the other. Theodore nowhere goes so far as Theodore in affirming that the human natures were a moral union (πνευματική). He maintains that in Christ there was one undivided Person (ενί άνθρωπω), though he does not anywhere acknowledge (έν άνθρωπω), or employ Cyril's phrase, or even φύσις κοινώς ("hypostatic union"). Finally, at the Council of Chalcedon, Theodore made an orthodox confession.

The Antiochene controversy is based on the doctrine of a mutable (πρόνοια) human nature, which was subject to human passions, though it was kept free from sin. He experienced the temptations arising from the natural, human, but not the sinful, nature to which they commonly give rise (Repr. Anthanom, 10), he maintains that Christ attained perfection by efforts of virtue, and learnt obedience by experience, 'though before His experience He was ignorant of it.' In these elements we see the true Antiochene spirit, though Theodore is far removed from the more extreme continuum. For a fuller account of Theodore's Christology, see Bertram, Theodore Ep. 'Cyprianae Doctrinae Christologicæ'; J. Mahé in Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, viii. (1898). Theodore speaks of Saint Cyril of Alexandria as one of the exégeses or exégetes du patriarchat d'Antioche.'

The Christology of the Antiochenes was the outcome partly of their training, and partly of their opposition to Apollinarism. The historical study of Scripture, and the high conception entertained by them (esp. Theodore) of the dignity and destiny of humanity, led them to emphasize to the fullest extent the humanity of the Lord. Their ideas of free-will and the moral development of man impelled them to oppose any teaching which impaired the reality of our Lord's human experiences, or tended (like Apollinarism) towards a docetic view of His humanity. The Alexandrian school, on the other hand, started from the Divine aspect of Christ's Person. It was the truth that God Himself was revealed in Christ which from the days of Athanasius had been emphasized in Alexandrian teaching. Hence Cyril of Alexandria was led to lay stress upon the unity of the Word Incarnate. The humanity of Christ does not belong to Him merely in so far as it is the humanity of an individual and independent mind, but as the Word. The human element was subordinated to the Divine. The Word has taken human nature into the unity of His Divine Person, which remains one and the same after as well as before the Incarnation. The Antiochenes emphasized the problem as it presented itself to Cyril. They had affirmed the integrity of the two natures, and they had asserted their ineffable union. But the nature of this union and the exact relations of the two natures had not been considered by them. Hence arise the apparently inconsistent statements of Theodore that the humanity is personal (φύσις), yet Christ is one Person (πρόνοια). Much of the misunderstanding between Cyril and the Antiochenes arose out of the undeveloped stage of doctrine at the time, and the absence of any clear definitions of the words πρόνοια ("person"), ιδιότης ("individuality"), and φύσις ("nature") Nor had the union of the natures been clearly defined. The terms "mixture," "blending," "connection" (ανάλογος, κοινωνία), which was formed and begun by Cyril, were used indifferently by earlier writers to denote this union (see art. CAPPADECIAN THEOLOGY, § vi. (3)). The Antiochenes, from traditional habit, attributed to each of the natures that which befitted it, when regarded as independent. Cyril, on the other hand, referred everything to the personal subject, who is the Word. When brought face to face, both schools of thought admitted the unity of Person, and both asserted the integrity and distinction of the two natures. The difference between them was exaggerated by misunderstanding and controversy. The unguarded language of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius was, doubtless, largely responsible for this, but the Formula of Concord agreed in regarding Cyril and the Antiochenes exhibits the fundamental agreement in retaining the two Christologies. The Antiochenes accepted and explained the word ιδιότης, the unity of the two natures was affirmed, and Cyril's misunderstanding of expressions, φωτόν κόσμου, έν άνθρωπω, πρόνοια, etc., was correctly interpreted as Cyril's "personal union," 'one incarnate nature of God the Word'), were dropped. See, further, Mahé in Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, referred to above; for Nestorius see Toul, Nestoriana (1908), and Bethune-Baker, J.A.S. viii. p. 119f.

While Cyril affirmed a truth of vital importance to Catholic theology,—the truth that He who assumed human nature was personally God, and took human nature into vital union with Himself, we are justified in attaching the importance of the stand made by the Antiochenes in defence of the reality and completeness of Christ's human experiences. It was a valuable protest against an almost docetic tendency which had already appeared in Apollinarism, which was latent in Alexandrian theology (even in Athanasius), and which reappeared in Monophysitism. If the Church was finally enabled to overcome the latter, it was largely due to what it had learnt from the teaching of the Antiochenes.
than the restitution of humanity. Christ is the new creation, who exhibits God's plan in its final completeness. In Him there is set forth that image of God which man was meant to attain, but which he failed to attain. The work of Christ was not only to restore the broken order of the universe and man's fallen nature, but as the new Adam, to inaugurate that new stage (νεωτέρος; cf. above, § 3) in the life of man, in which he should be free from the mutability and mortality of his present state. As a result of His struggle and victory, according to the exhortation of His free-will and through the union with the Word, Christ overcame the mutability of human nature, which was crucified with Him and rose with Him (in Rom. 6). The deliverances which He has won for men is already potentially theirs, though it is only in the future that it fully takes effect.

The omissions in this presentation are significant. The concepts of guilt and responsibility, and the close connection of the atonement with the future, are absent. Death is but a necessary stage, through which Christ passes to the Resurrection and inaugurates the higher and final stage of man's development. The necessity of the Incarnation is thus seen in the light of the fallen, not of the new, conception of the Divine purpose for man, which required that he should be delivered from his present state of mortality. There are points of contact in this teaching with the teaching of Irenaeus, Athanasius, and the Cappadocians, especially in the emphasis laid upon death and mortality. But we miss in Theodore the strong interest in the redemptive side of Christ's work which characterizes Athanasius, and the deeper teaching upon death and the Fathers. Theodore, again, Theodore's emphasis on man's free-will led him to assert, as Dornert says (Person of Christ, II. i. 51), not so much "the thorough reality of the incarnation of God," as "the reality of the freedom of the human aspect of Christ's Person." The purpose of Christ's work was to exhibit the development of human nature in its completeness. And in this development the thought of the forgiveness of sins and the work of grace is subordinate to that of the new moral order. See further, Dornert, I.c.; cf. above, § 5, and below § 5.

Chrysostom and Theodore are much nearer to the general tradition of the Church in their teaching upon Christ's work. The doctrine of Christ as the "first-fruits" (ἐρήμως) of human nature, which is consecrated in Him, was suggested to them, as to Theodore, by their exegesis of Scripture. But it was not peculiar to the Antiochene. More characteristic of Antiochene teaching is Chrysostom's picture of Christ as the original pattern or ideal of human virtue, to exhibit which was the purpose of His human life and experiences (in Joh. hom. 43). In their conception of the Atonement, Chrysostom and Theodore echo much of the current teaching of their time (e.g. the deception of Satan, Christ's contest with him and overthrow of his dominion over mankind), but they exhibit nothing characteristic of the Antiochene standpoint. The same is true of the idea found in Theodoret (de Præsidentia, Or. x, Migne, xxxvii. pp. 763, 764). The Christ of Chrysostom and Theodore is thus transformed and endued the chastised Adam and his fallen nature, and penalty due to us for our sins. Chrysostom, though he emphasizes the importance of the Resurrection, does not, like Theodoret, stress the idea that Christ is the "first-fruits" of human nature. He appeals to the language of St. John (6th) and St. Paul (1 Co 1120), and urges that it is the "flesh," and not the Godhead, which is spoken of as "eaten." He says, "This is my body," not "This is my Godhead." St. Paul speaks of that which is eaten as "bread," and, adds Nestorius, it is bread "of which the body is the antitype." The Antiochene, in his emphasis upon the Church as the body of Christ, and the Eucharist as the body of Christ, is perhaps related to the Apollinarian confusion of the two natures. He appeals to the language of St. John (6th) and St. Paul (1 Cor. 1120), and urges that it is the "flesh," and not the Godhead, which is spoken of as "eaten." He says, "This is my body," not "This is my Godhead." St. Paul speaks of that which is eaten as "bread," and, adds Nestorius, it is bread "of which the body is the antitype." The Church is the "memorial" of the death of the Lord, i.e. of the Son of Man (not the Word). See passages in 1 Peter, 4th, Nestorius, Rom. 12, 19-20, c. Nest. 35. 202. Moreover, the faith of which he speaks is different in character from that of St. Paul, being directed rather to the future resurrection life, which man shares at present, through his incorporation in Christ, only potentially (cf. 2 Cor. 5). Chrysostom's teaching is practical. In some passages he emphasizes the act of will by which man turns from evil and inclines to good, and in others he maintains the importance of faith, and attributes all to grace. But the two ideas are not clearly brought into relation with one another (see Förster, Chrysostomus, p. 162 f.).

(3) From what has been said above, it will appear that the Antiochene attitude towards the question of the relation of grace and free-will resembles that of the Semi-Felagians (on the relations of Theodore and Julian of Eclanum, cf. above, § 5). In the teaching of both Theodore and Chrysostom the initiative lies with the individual, will, and free-will (Chrys. in Joh. hom. 17, in Rom. hom. 18, 19; Theodore, in Marc. 49, n., in 1 Cor. 114, in Heb. 4-7).

9. The Sacraments.—There is no formal treatment of the Sacraments in the Antiochene Fathers. They accept the traditional Church teaching and practice, and assign a real value to the Sacraments in the furtherance of the spiritual life (Theodore, in Cor. 114, in 1 Tim. 3). In Baptism, according to Theodore, man receives the gift of union with Christ through the Eucharist, and the pledge of the immortality which he is destined to share hereafter with Christ (in Eph. 172). In speaking of the Eucharist, Theodore and Chrysostom use the current language of their time. Thus Theodore, in commenting on Mt 26,20 speaks of the words of institution in terms which recall the language of Cyril of Jerusalem, and says that Christ teaches us that we are not to regard the nature of that which lies before us, but to consider that, by the thanksgiving pronounced over it, it is changed into flesh and blood (Theodore in Mt 10,2. However, he speaks of the change as spiritual. Chrysostom uses the emotional and rhetorical language of popular devotion, and goes much further in asserting a conversion of the elements (see His. Eclesiast. 2, 5, 6; dogmat 2, 15. 5, 1, 4; dogmatologie positive, 2éme série, p. 268 f.). But the two most characteristic contributions to the doctrine of the Eucharist from the Antiochene standpoint are to be found in the writings of Nestorius and Theodore. Both writers approach the subject in connexion with the Christological disputes. In reply to Cyril of Alexandria, who had affirmed that the flesh of Christ given in the Eucharist is the "bread," and not the Godhead, which is spoken of as "eaten." Theodore, in commenting on the words, "This is my body," adds: "This is my Godhead." St. Paul speaks of that which is eaten as "bread," and, adds Nestorius, it is bread "of which the body is the antitype." The Eucharist is the "memorial" of the death of the Lord, i.e. of the Son of Man (not the Word). See passages in 1 Peter, 4th, Nestorius, Rom. 12, 19-20, c. Nest. 35. 202. Moreover, the faith of which he speaks is different in character from that of St. Paul, being directed rather to the future resurrection life, which man shares at present, through his incorporation in Christ, only potentially (cf. 2 Cor. 5). Chrysostom's teaching is practical. In some passages he emphasizes the act of will by which man turns from evil and inclines to good, and in others he maintains the importance of faith, and attributes all to grace. But the two ideas are not clearly brought into relation with one another (see Förster, Chrysostomus, p. 162 f.).
But probably the real difference between Cyril and Nestorius as to the nature and efficacy of the Sacrament was less than Cyril allows, and was due rather to the difference in their Christological theories. There is a fine recognition of the religious value of the Eucharist in Nestorius' sermon on Heb. 5 (Loc. cit. Nestoriana, p. 244 f.).

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In the Eironiates (Dial. i. p. 56, Migne; Dial. ii. p. 165 f., ib.), where he is arguing with a Monophysite opponent, he introduces an analogy from the Eucharist to show that the two natures in Christ are both present in His body. He has a scene of the appellation of the elements as 'types' or 'symbols' of the body of Christ, the orthodox disputation maintains that Christ still possesses a real body. The Monophysite opponent rejoins by a counter-assertion that just as the elements after the invocation undergo a change, so the Lord's body after the union with the Divinity is changed into the Divine substance. This the orthodox speaker denies. 'Even after the consecration the mystical symbols are not deprived of their own nature; they remain in the vessels, Ibas and form; they are visible and tangible as they were before. But they are regarded as what they have become, and believed so to be, and are worshipped as what they are believed to be.' And again he says (Dial. i. p. 66): 'Christ has handed the visible symbols by the appellation of body and blood not because He had changed their nature, but because He had added grace to their nature.' In this presentation (which resembles that of Pope Gelasius in the de Duabus Naturis) Theodoret exhibits a view of the Eucharist which has been called 'monophysitic' (Batiffol), and which, while preserving the reality of the outward and inward parts of the Sacrament, guards against those theories of a conversion of the elements which, from the 4th cent. onwards, gained ground in the Eastern Church. The change, according to Theodoret, is in the region of grace (xarà χαρα), not in the natural sphere. See, further, art. Eucharist.

10. Eschatology.—The Antiochene conception of man's history and of the world as a whole culminates, as we have seen, in the hope of Immortality. Hence the Antiochenes were profoundly interested in eschatology. From Eph 1st Theodore drew the conclusion that all men and all rational creatures will finally look to Christ and attain perfect harmony with Him. Theodore had always been a friend of Diodorus, and Theodore is one of the few points of agreement between them and Origen (see also Cappadocian Theology, 8 x. (3)). Both Diodorus and Theodore express, like Origen, the hope that, though the wicked will suffer just punishment for their sins, this punishment will not be everlasting. Diodorus protests against the idea that the punishment of the wicked will be unending, on the ground that it would render useless the immortality promised to those who look to God beyond their deserts. So, too, the extent of His mercy exceeds the debt of punishment which the wicked have to pay (Assemani, Bibl. Orient. III. i. p. 332 f.). Similarly, Theodore asks what would be the benefit of the resurrection to the wicked, if their punishment were unending (Marius Mercator, ed. Baluze, p. 346). When the wicked have been led through punishment to see the evil of sin and to fear God, they will at length enjoy His bounty. So he sees in Mt 5: 45, and Mk 12: 36, and Lk 17: 37; and 18: 25-27, the hope that the whole of punishment may be paid, and the wicked finally delivered (Assemani, l.c.).

III. LATER HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH

The condemnation of Nestorianism by the Church in A.D. 451 was fatal to the development of the school of Antioch and to the reputation of its great representatives. Marius Mercator about 431 maintained that Theodore was the real author of Pelagianism, and later on called attention to the Nestorian tendency of his teaching. The use made by the Nestorians of Theodore's writings further increased this animosity. Rabbanus, bishop of Edessa, and later on Cyril of Alexandria, condemned the teaching of the 'great preacher' of Theodore's school, and condemned the whole of his predecessor Diodorus. In the 6th cent., amid the Monophysite controversy, the Emperor Justinian issued the edict of the Three Chapters (564), in which the writings of Theodore, the treatises of Cyril and the letters of Ibas to Maris were condemned; and this condemnation was repeated by the Fifth General Council in 553, which by an irony of fate also condemned the works of Origen, the representative of the rival school of Alexandria. The same Council likewise condemned Theodore's methods of Biblical interpretation. But, while the proscription of Nestorianism was fatal to the school of Antioch and led to its decline, its teaching was carried on under Nestorian influence in the schools of Edessa and Syrian Antioch. Theodore himself (546), translated the works of Diodorus and Theodore into Syriac, and when finally the school at Edessa was broken up in 489 through the proscription of Nestorianism by the Emperor Zeno, the refugees found a home in the school of Nisibis, which was founded by Barsamius. Here, by the Biblical studies to which the Antiochenes had given so great an impetus were renewed, Theodore's memory was held in the highest reverence, and he came to be regarded as 'the Interpreter of the excellence among East Syrian Christians.' In these schools the study of Theodore's, also inherited from the school of Antioch, was carried on and transmitted by the East Syrian Church in later times to the Muhammadians, by whom it was brought back to Europe in the days of Muslim civilization. Lastly, these East Syrian Christians became a centre for a wide field of missionary activity in the far East, extending as far as India and China.

In the Greek Empire, though the fame of Diodorus and Theodore became obscured through the controversies which gathered around their memories, the exegesis of the Antiochenes continued to exercise a wide influence through the works of Chrysostom, whose orthodoxy was not exposed to the attacks which the school of Theodore had paid to the members of the school. Isidore, Nilus, and Victor of Antioch took Chrysostom as their guide in the commentaries which they wrote, while a long line of Greek catenists and commentators from the 6th to the 11th cent. show the greatness of their debt to the Antiochene expositors. Even in the West their influence was not unrecognized. Jerome had points of contact with the school and was influenced by its exegesis (Kihm, Die Bedeutung der antioch. Schule, pp. 88, 194; Hergenröther, Die antioch. Schule, p. 89). Cassian, who sometimes follows Chrysostom, carried on the teaching of his master in the Church of Southern Gaul. The controversies about the Three Chapters aroused interest in the writings of Theodore, and it is probable that to this period that we owe the Latin translation of some at least of Theodore's commentaries on St. Paul, which, passing into currency under the name of St. Ambrose, secured a place in the works of the later Western compilers (Swete, Theodore of Mops. in the Minor Epp. of St. Paul, i. pp. xlv., lxxvii.). Two other famous works produced in the West show the influence of Theodore's teaching. The first is the Institutia regularia of Junilius Africanus (c. 550), an introduction to the study of the Scriptures, which, if the author tells us, was derived from Paul of Nisibis, and which reproduces all the
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essential features of Theodore's principles of Biblical interpretation as well as of his doctrinal teaching. This work of Junilius, whom later ages transformed into a bishop, was widely popular in the West. The de Institutionibus divinarum literarum of a few years later shows a similar connexion with the East Syrian schools, and exhibits the influence of methods and principles which had been derived from the Antiochenes (Kihn, Theodor v. Mops. und Julianus Afric. s., pp. 210 ff.; 215 f.).

Nor was the West wholly uninfluenced by the doctrinal teaching of the Antiochenes. As has already been indicated (see II. 5), Theodore was brought into contact in his later years with several of the Pelagian leaders. Julian of Eclanum, one of the most prominent of these, was an admirer of Theodore's writings, while another, the deacon Anianus, has been claimed as the translator of some of Chrysostom's homilies, his object being to uphold, by appealing to Chrysostom, the cause of man's free-will (Swete, op. cit., vol. ii. p. 311.). The Christological teaching of Leporis, a monk in the monastery of Marseilles, who is spoken of by Cassian as a Pelagian, shows clear points of contact with that of Theodore. In North Africa, during the later controversy upon the Two Chapters, the works of Theodore found many defenders, and the language of Facundus of Hermiane has been thought to suggest that they had already been translated into Latin. Finally, the Spanish Adoptionist edition of the New Testament, when translated into Spanish, presented Theodore's teachings to a new public. The Christological teaching of Theodore, and Neander has suggested that Felix of Urgel was indebted to the writings of Theodore, possibly through a Latin translation made in Africa (Swete, op. cit., vol. i. pp. 111 ff.; Neander, Hist. v. Dogma, v. 281 f.).

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY.—The permanent service of the Antiochene school lies in its effort to correct a one-sided view of the factors and methods of revelation. To the emotional, mystical religion, which tended to lose the human element in the Divine, whether in inspiration, or the Person of Christ, or the relations of grace and free-will, it opposed conceptions which endeavoured to do justice to the dignity and worth of human nature. While the Alexandria theology started from the Divine side, and deduced all its conclusions from that as its source, the Antiochenes followed the inductive and rationalistic method, which consisted in deducing conceptions from the examination of human nature and experience. The philosophical basis of the one was Platonist, while that of the other was Aristotelian. In Christology the school of Antioch centred attention upon the historical Christ; in its doctrine of inspiration it affirmed the immediate and historical reference of Scripture; in anthropo-

logy it insisted upon the reality of human freedom. It regarded the purpose of the Incarnation as the accomplishment of man's destiny rather than as the salvation of humanity as a sin. The struggle and conflict provoked by the commandment became a means of educating man to realize his freedom of choice and his weakness, and so of raising him out of the stage of subjection to the passions and mortality into the higher life of immorality and sinlessness which has been won for him by Christ. The two standpoints, the Alexandrian and the Antiochenes, represent complementary aspects of Christian theology. If the Alexandrian and mystical standpoint has found full play in the later development of Christendom, the problems of modern thought, and the evolutionary view of the Universe, have once more called attention to the point of view which underlies the teaching of the Antiochenes.


(2) BIOGRAPHICAL AND LITERARY: on Paul of Samosata see Harnack, Hist. v. Dogma, vol. iii., and art. v. PRB; on the controversy between Chrysostom and Origen, see Harnack, Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur, vol. ii. (1893); on Lucian of Antioch see Harnack, Gesch. d. altchristl. Lit., vol. i. (1897); on Origen see Harnack, Der Bibelkommentar, vol. ii. (1898); on the Minor Epis. of St. Paul, vol. iv. (1899), "K. Mops. und Julianus Africaeus als Exegeten" (1899); on Polychronius see Bardenhewer, Polychronius Bruder Theodore v. Mops. und Bischof v. Apamea (1879); on Theodore see arts. in DCB and PRB, vol. iv. (1897); also N. Gubko, "Theologie Theodore; Bischof von Cyrus"; sein Leben und sein schrifstellerisches Thätigkeit (in Roscher, DCB, 1900).


(4) THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ANTIOCHENES: (a) General: Neander, Church History, iv. 1 (1897); Harnack, Hist. v. Dogma, vol. iii. and iv.; Dörner, Doer. v. Person v. Christ, v. 1 (1885); L. Duthie-Baker, Introd. to Early Church History (1890). (b) Special treatises: on Paul of Samosata see a. Réville, "La Christologie de Paul de Samosata" in Études de critique et d'histoire d'église (1889); Harnack, "Paul von Samosata" in Acta diss. Thüringen d. naturw. und philosoph. Ges. (1890); also Harnack, "Paul und Modern Thought" in Ch. v. Theod. (1876); on Chrysostom see a. Forster, Chrysostomus in seinem Verhältnis zur antioch. Schule (1890); on Theodore see Bertram, Theodoredoctrina christologia (1893); J. Maleh, art. "Les anathématiques de Theodore" in Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, v. 44 (1903).


ANTIPATHY.—Antipathy is a state of mind or feeling expressing some sort of dislike or hatred of an object or person. Its proper reference is to persons, and it is often a milder or more polite term for hostility. Its analogue is found in the repulsion which exists between states of human condition; and, as sympathy has its analogue in attraction or affinity between them, an aesthetic man may have an antipathy or aversion towards an unesthetic or vulgar person; and an unbeliever may have an antipathy towards a religious believer. Anything that excites our dislike creates antipathy. It is a state of mind quite consistent with morality, and may actually be essential to it in certain stages of development; but it does not imply anything more than a rather moral or sentimental repugnance to or disapproval of mind making certain moralities effective. Anger and hatred are closely associated with ethical implications, but antipathy has no such associations, but rather connotes the fact of mental or emotional antagonism without regard to ethical considerations.

JAMES H. BYELOP.

ANTI-SEMITISM.—I. Historical.—The expression 'Anti-Semitism,' which was coined about thirty years ago, signifies no opposition to Semites in general, but in the literal and technical meaning of the word, a disposition on the part of Aryans towards Jews, both socially and commercially.

The expression 'Semitic languages' was used for the first time in the year 1781 (contemporaneously by the two Gottingen professors, August Ludvig
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von Schlözer and Johann Gottfried Eichhorn) as a comprehensive designation for those related languages which were spoken by peoples brought into connexion with Sem, in the table of peoples in G 10. The Bonn professor, Christian Lassen, was the first to give expression to the view that these peoples, the 'Semites,' were in many respects different from Aryans and other races. (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. i. pp. 414–417, Bonn, 1847.)

Lassen ascribes to the Indo-Germanic race a 'higher and more complete mental endowment.' Of the Semites he speaks of 'language and character.' The Indo-German race is subjective and egoistic; its poetry is lyrical, and therefore subjective. In his religion he is self-seeking and exclusive. The characteristic features of the Semitic Disposition, the obstinate will, the firm belief in their exclusive rights, in fact the whole 'egoistic trend of mind, must have in the highest degree fitted them for the conquest of the world. A bold spirit of enterprise, an energetic and persevering courage, great skill, and a fine discernment how to take advantage of favourable circumstances, are the means of helping strangers, characterising first the Phoenicians, and later the Arabs. As soldiers, sailors, and merchants they are not only able to place themselves in a par with Indo-German peoples, but they have to some extent excelled their contemporaries of this race and been their predecessors.'

Ernest Renan has expressed himself in similar terms in Hist. gén. des lang., sém. i, Paris, 1855, and in Études d'hist. relig., 1857. The Anti-Semites extracted from Renan many catch-words and epithets, although his intention did not lie in this direction. What he had said about Semites in general, they applied specially to the Jews. The influence of Renan's judgment of the Semites comes clearly to the front, e.g., in an article which received much notice in its time, published, but written by the very well-known ethnologist Friedrich von Hellwald, 'Zur Charakteristik des jüdischen Volkes' in Das Ausland, 1872 (Stuttgart), Nos. 38 and 40. We shall quote a few sentences here.

'In the case of the Jews, we have to do with an entirely different ethnic group. . . . This people, scattered and settled in various countries, is partly separate, partly independent in a national sense, but in point of view, the Jew who lives in our midst stands quite as far apart from us as the Arab; and the emphatic contrast between the two, usually insisted on by the opposites, Christian and Jew, is for the most part exactly the same as the existing opposition between Asians and Semitists. The European feels, so to speak, in the Jew, the foreigner who has immigrated from Asia. . . . From the time of Constantine the Jews have to boast of the almost exclusive national type, which has persisted with remarkable purity to the present day. . . . A further specific feature of Judaism is its extraordinary biological extent, and its remarkable power of adaptation. . . . All over the world, in all climates, Jews live in content and prosperity, in spite of harsh treatment and very hard civil and social pressure. . . . In the east of Europe the Jew is sharply distinguished from the other elements of the population; he is an object of hate, but still an almost indispensable component of social life. Quasi as rough and ignorant as the non-Jewish peasant, but in character 'rigible and mean, while possessed of that cunning which is a natural endowment of the Semitic race, the Jew has understood how to make himself in economic relations master of the Christian population, which stands far below him in keenness of intellect, and whose hate he repays by heering them in every conceivable direction. The Jews, like most of the Semites, possess a spirit of the very beginning of a cunning exceedingly valuable for all purposes of trade, a cunning which has been increased by further development from the oppression to which they were subjected. . . . We cannot do otherwise than designate the Jews the very banker from which the foundations of Eastern Europe are supported. No means (propositions) are too violent, for everything for which personal courage is demanded is opposed in general to the Semitic, and especially to the Jewish, character) are too violent. In order to secure a material advantage, . . . In the civilized world there were few kings who, when they wished to massacre the Jews from his Aryan or Semitic enemies, were not it that nature has inscribed with indelible characters his certificate of birth on his countenance. . . . The difference of the Jewish race, thanks to the free development which was possible, has been still more clearly emphasized by their economic conditions, comes, too, from their excessive zeal for learning. Dark spots in the Jewish racial character are a consciousness of their own merits, often ridiculously exaggerated, a boundless egotism, from which they take a liberty of country are conceptions foreign to the Jewish mind. The Jew everywhere feels himself a cosmopolit. . . . The extreme efficiency of Jewish effort can be expressed in one word, 'exploitation.' Thanks to this method, instinctively and naturally applied, the Jews have actually managed to set up an engine which enables them to control the rest of the population. . . . They have succeeded in concentrating in their hands an enormous wealth. . . . Recognising the fact, teachers of the people, accessible to every influence which suggests possibilities of gain, they have found a focus of corruption more devastating than can well be imagined.'

These extracts from F. v. Hellwald, although they contain many false along with some correct opinions, are given here because many 'Anti-Semites' of the present day express themselves in exactly similar terms. He was one of the first to bring to clear expression what many at that time felt only in a vague way, and consequently his writing made so deep an impression and exerted so great an influence.

The expression 'Anti-Semite,' as will be clear from what has been said, is, so far as the present writer is aware, scarcely three decades old. In the year 1880, W. Marr published, as Semniten, under the general title 'Judenfrage,' a series of essays, 'Der Judenkrieg,' 'Offenheit die Augen, ihr deutschen Zeitungsausleger,' and 'Goldene Ratten und rothe Mausse.'

Anti-Semitism, however, is more than two thousand years old. Cf. Est 3:8 And Haman said unto king Ahasuerus. There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people of all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws; therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them.'

But, leaving this passage out of account, we may regard Egypt, and especially Alexandria, as the seat of Anti-Semitism.


As early as the times of the first Ptolemys many Jews resided in Alexandria. Their number increased especially during the time of the persecution of the Jewish religion by Antiochus Epiphanes. This persecution was becoming more exclusive than ever in relation to adherents of other religions. Hateful accusations and bitter taunts, both to a large extent resting on ignorance, formed the answer of the heathen. Unfortunately the work of Pseudo-Josephus, Against Apion, is almost the only source of information we have. The earliest 'Anti-Semitic' author was the Egyptian priest Manetho (b.c. 270–250). Apion the grammarian (a contemporary of Christ) is best known to us from the still extant work of Josephus just referred to. In addition to them we may mention Tacitus (Hist. v. 2 ff.) and the poets Horace, Juvenal, and Martial. The mockery of these writers was directed against circumcision, against abstinence from swine's flesh, and against the celebration of the Sabbath. The chief accusations brought against the Jews (apart from the assertion that the Jewish race was of late origin and had done nothing for culture) were: firstly, ἀδορώματος, i.e. that the Jews rejected all Divine worship but their own, and consequently, secondly, ἄνδραμνοι, i.e. the social exclusiveness connected with the laws of food and the Levitical laws of purity, which was interpreted for the Jews as 'adversus omnes aliis hostis odio liberum' (Tacitus, Hist. v. 8).

After Christianity obtained the supremacy over
heathenism in the Roman Empire, the Emperors (at a later date the Churches) of the separate lands, and many rulers regarded it as their duty to oppose Jewish influence, in order that the heathen, who had been newly won to Christianity, should remain Christians, and that the number of adherents might be more easily increased (cf. e.g. Fried. Wiegand, Agobard von Lyon and die Judenfrage, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1901). At a later date the wealth of many of the Jews, acquired for the most part by money-lending, attracted the cupidity of Christians. This was the case, e.g., at the first Crusade (1096), and at the expulsion of the Jews from France by Philip IV. the Fair (1306). Religious motives were operative in the Jewish persecutions in the beginning of the second Crusade (1148; Abbot Peter of Cluny in France, the monk Rudolph of Mainz in Germany), as well as in the exclusion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497. In England, as early as the 12th cent. the maxim 'ipsi Judaei et omnia sua regis sunt' held as law (Hovenden's Annales, ed. Stubbs, ii. 231). The Jews were regarded as the milk cow of kings; and as enormous sums of money were repeatedly demanded from them, they were almost compelled to procure them by usury or by the sale of a 'Christian way'. This was called down the hate of the people upon themselves. Stories, some true, many fabricated, of acts of vengeance on the part of the Jews (murder or crucifixion of Christian children at the time of the Easter Festival) were spread, and were actually used, to rouse this hatred to uncontrollable passion. It was in the 13th cent. that the 'blood accusation' first came to the front in its latest and most objectionable form, viz. that the Jews regaled Jesus with a meal of animals forbidden to Christians (cf. H. Strack, Das Blut*, pp. 126, 194). In the same century attacks on the Talmud became very violent (cf. H. Strack, Einleit. in den Talmud*, p. 68). The charge that Jews poisoned wells occurs probably for the first time in the 12th cent. in Bohemia; often in the 14th cent., in Switzerland and France, but especially in Germany. In the whole history of the Jews we find all too frequent proofs of hostile disposition and outbreaks of hatred, occasioned by persecution and prejudice.

The French Revolution forms an important epoch in the history of the Jews. On the 27th of September 1791, the National Assembly declared the repeal of all exclusive measures directed against the Jews; and of the year II (1793) recognized the Jews as possessing equal rights. The following legislation, as well as the Restoration, brought the Jews some restrictions, but these were set aside by the Revolution of July 1830. The Jews of Alsace, however, obtained this emancipation later, by means of the exertions of Adolphe Crémieux.

The course of events in France was not without influence in Germany. From 1799 onwards a great number of Jews, mostly of moderate or of the lower class, and some against them, made their appearance.


H. E. von Paulus, the well-known representative of rationalism, demanded that the Jews should give up their ritual law as the condition of obtaining equal political rights (Jidische Nationalabänderung); a similar view was maintained by Carl Streckfuss in his Uber das Verhältniss der Juden zu den christlichen Staaten, Halle, 1833 (a second pamphlet with the same title appeared in Berlin, 1843). The Rostock Orientalist, Anton Theodor Hartmann, who was well read in the Jewish literature, demanded that the Jews should expressly renounce the principles of injustice to the non-Jews in the Talmud and the Shulhān Ārabī (i.e. those principles which, in the view of Hartmann and many others, allowed injustice against non-Jews or were otherwise opposed to morality). He demanded, further, that they should refrain themselves from all disparaging statements with regard to Jesus and those who were not Jews.

His writings on this subject are the following: Joh. Andr. Blumenmesser, Parchim, 1834; Der erste Gottlieb Georg Christian in staatlichen Rechten sämtlicher Juden schon jetzt bewilligt werden! in the Archives für die neuzeitige Gesetzgebung des christlichen und des israelitischen Staats, Minden, 1843; and Grundsatze des orthodoxen Judentums, Rostock, 1835 (a reply to Salomon's former letter). Hartmann's views were keenly and in many respects cleverly attacked in two pamphlets by the Jewish preacher of Hamburg, Gotthold Salomon: Brief an Herrn Anton Theodor Hartmann, Altona, 1836; and Anhang zu Theodor Hartmann's neueste Schrif! Grundsatze des orthodoxen Judentums' in ihrem wahren Lichte dargestellt, Altona, 1886.

The commencement of the reign of the Prussian king Frederick William IV., who cherished the nationalistic views of the Zeitgeist, led to the following writings on the Jewish question. Among those who opposed the granting of equal civil rights to the Jews we have the following writers: H. E. Marcard, Über die Monarchie der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin, 1836, and Die Magdeburger und die christlich-germanischen Staat. Minden, 1843; and the well-known radical theologian, Bruno Bauer (died 1882), Die Judenfrage, Brunswick, 1843. By the law of 3rd July 1859, absolute religious equality was granted within the North German Confederation, and so far as the law was extended to the whole of the German Empire. Modern Anti-Semitism arose in Germany in the eighth decade of last century (cf. J. de la Roë, Geschichten, i. pp. 258-272; A. Leroy-Beaulieu, Israel et la France, Paris, 1888). An important external cause was the daring attack made by many newspapers, possessed or edited by Jews, and appearing for the most part in Berlin, on many Christian topics (faith, constitution, recent events, ecclesiastical and patriotic), connected with these; e.g., F. Deltitsch, Christentum und judische Presse, Erlangen, 1882. As reasons for the rise and speedy spread of the Anti-Semitic movement, we may further mention, Secondly, the great bulk of the Jews, who had acquired public opinion in public affairs—to a large extent, of course, owing to the carelessness of the Christians. Thirdly, in newspaper writings, in the theatre, in some branches of art (music, e.g., cf. Rich. Wagner, Das Judenthum in der Musik, Leipzig, 1869), in trade, and in several branches of industry (e.g. manufacture of ready-made articles of dress), the influence of the Jews appeared to many unreasonably great. Fourthly, the proud and numerous portion of the middle class in Germany, who had acquired sudden wealth by speculation on the Stock Exchange, excited hatred. The same effect was produced, Fifthly, by the economic dependence on the Jews into which many districts and occupations had fallen; e.g. a portion of the peasant population of the Hanseatic League dependent on cattle- and grain-merchants, while dress-makers and needlewomen were in the power of Jewish merchants; Sixthly, by the support given to the Social Democratic party by Jewish leaders and Jewish money; and, Seventhly, by the numerous Jews of the whole world, e.g. Alliance Israelite Universelle; and Eightly, by the exaggerated sensibility to every criticism and exposure of weaknesses on the part of Jews. Ninthly, there was a wide-spread feeling that the Jews were foreigners.
among the Germans: the stricter Jews not only rejected intermarriage with Christians, but they also kept themselves socially separate from them, e.g. on account of the laws of food. Many Jews, particularly the Zionists, openly avow Palestine as their real fatherland, although for the time being it is beyond their reach.

Further, how exactly far these reasons, taken individually, justify opposition to the Jews, seeing that the conditions are widely different in the many lands where the Jews are numerous. An unprejudiced mind, examining the matter directly, will, in England and in France, feel justified to recognize on the one hand that there are reasons for opposition, and on the other hand that jealousy of the wealth amassed by some Jews has enormous influence with great numbers.


A very great influence was exerted by two speeches delivered before the Christian Social Labor Party by Adolf Stocker in Berlin in Sept. 1879: 'What do we demand from modern Judaism?' and 'Defence against modern Judaism' (both are printed together in the above-mentioned pamphlet on modern Judaism). In them Stocker demands three things: a little more modesty, a little more tolerance, and a little more equality.' Hein. von Treitschke is the author of the phrases, frequently used since then, 'trousers-peddling young Poles' (hoseverkaufende polnische Junglinge), and 'the Jews are our misfortune,' as well as the sentences: 'We do not wish that on the thousands of years of Teutonic civilization there should follow an age of a mixed German-Jewish culture,' and: 'We Germans are a Christian people, and the Jewish question in Germany will not be settled till our fellow-citizens of the Jewish race are persuaded that we are and will remain a Christian people.' An equally decided attitude has been taken, as is well-known, by Catholics in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy (cf. Deutsch in JB I. 643).

The irritation increased, and the conditions were made worse owing to the enormous emigration of Jews from the lands of Eastern Europe to the West, especially since 1881, from Russia and Roumania, at first to Germany and then to America and England. The prejudices used on the part of the German Government were: firstly, restriction, and later almost entire refusal, of naturalization to Jews coming from the East; secondly, regulations by means of which a rapid passage of the migrating Jews through Germany was assured; thirdly, the appointment of special local police for the temporary sojourn of emigrants at the great centres of commerce on the route (Ruhleben near Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, etc.); thirdly, turning out by the police authorities of persons without means or the appointment of special local police, for the temporary sojourn of emigrants at the great centres of commerce on the route (Ruhleben near Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, etc.).

The first measure of prevention adopted in England was the Aliens Bill. In the United States every immigrant is not required to show a small sum of money, in order to prevent the immigration of persons entirely destitute of means of support.

Only a few years later than in Germany, the flame of Anti-Semitism was kindled in Austria and in Hungary, by Istöeci in the Hungarian Parliament, and by Georg von Schonerer in the Austrian Imperial Assembly in Vienna (1882). In France a loud and successful agitator was found in the person of Ed. Drumont, whose book, La France juive (1st ed., Paris, 1889), has more than 100 editions. Since 1892 he has edited the Anti-Semitic journal La libre Parole. The case of Albert Dreyfus was long used, from 1894 onwards, as a means of rousing the passion of the Anti-Semitic parties, especially of the federation in the year 1906 with the rehabilitation of Dreyfus and with his reappointment as Major in the French army. At the Berlin Congress of 1878 a resolution was passed that in Roumania all citizens, without distinction of religious belief, should enjoy equal rights. The Roumanian Government, however, supported by the Anti-Semitic majority in Parliament, devised a means of rendering this provision worthless. The Constitution declared that no one should be prevented by his religion from possessing civil and political rights. Roumania immediately declared that the Jews were foreigners, and not Roumanians—a breach of trust unworthy of a government and a people professing to be Christian. Besides, good school education and admission to public hospitals were made almost impossible for Jews, and the latter was, by means of a series of new laws, regulations, and police restrictions, to make it unbearable for Jews to remain in Roumania.

For the Jews of the Russian Empire, the death of Alexander II. in 1881 was fraught with grave significance. Soon after the accession of Alexander III., fearful persecutions of the Jews (pogrom, pl. pogromy) were begun, and by the laws passed in May, 1882, the freedom of movement of the Jews in the 18 provinces of the territory for settlement, already small enough, was still further limited. The chief attacks on the Jews took place in the years 1903 (at Easter in Kishenev; see H. Strack's remarks in his periodical Nathanael, 1903, pp. 78-80, and 1904, pp. 62-64; L. Erero, Les Roumasses de Kishinef, Brussels, 1903; L. Erero, The Bar of the American People, New York, 1904; C. Adler, The Voice of America on Kishinef, Philadelphia, 1904, 1905 (in October at Odessa and many other towns), and 1906 (at Bialystok and other places). In the years 1906, the Seventh International Jewish Missionary Conference, held at Amsterdam, April 20th, 1906, carried unanimously the following motion, brought forward by the present writer and the Rev. Louis Meyer of Chicago (now of Cincinnati):

'The Seventh International Jewish Missionary Conference hereby records its deepest sympathy with the poor sufferers from the latest persecutions of the Jews in Russia. One hundred and fifty villages, towns, and cities of Russia where Jews dwell have been devastated, many hundreds of thousands of Jews have been deprived of all their possessions, and even of the possibility of maintaining a livelihood. Though there may have been incidents upon the Jewish side, no human or divine right permitted Russian officials of Government and Police to incite the lower classes against the Jewish race. In the persecution of the Jews these lower classes should forget their own sufferings, caused by bureaucratic maladministration and by refusal of liberty of thought and religion, which we condemn, because it necessarily must close the hearts of the Jews to the gospel call still more than heretofore.'

Those chiefly responsible for the anti-Jewish attacks in Kishenev were the Minister of the Interior, von Pichle, and the vice-governor, Ustrugov. The latter had refused to grant protection from plundering and murderous bands to defenceless Jews who implored his help, because he himself was an Anti-Semite, and because he was certain that his inactivity would not be cen-
sured by the Minister. The former used the Jews as a lightning-conductor, by means of which the dissatisfaction of the population with regard to the arbitrariness of the police and the organs of Government might be directed into another channel. He could do this all the more easily than before, since the Jews had to a great extent been driven away from the Russian peasants, and have thereby aroused hatred. It is true that in Jewish persecutions, and, in general, in every disturbance, the Jewish drink-shops are often the first to be plundered. That, however, is easily understood without ascribing any special guilt to the possessors of these shops.

Unfortunately, it is by no means improbable that the extension of Anti-Semitism will still continue. The repetition of such outbreaks as have taken place in Russia in recent years will, indeed, be more difficult if a Government binding itself, or bound to, a constitution actually comes into existence. It is, however, quite possible that at no distant date serious Jewish persecutions will arise in the United States, in Hungary, or in France. And in Prussia there has at least been no lack of sinister attempts to incite the population to acts of violence, since for years Count Puckler (of Klein-Tschirme, Silesia) has dared in public assemblies in Berlin and elsewhere to summon the masses to a ‘fresh joyous war’ against the ‘cursed Jewish band.’

2. Arguments of the Anti-Semites, and attempts to refute them. — The means made use of by almost all Anti-Semites to agitate popular feeling are very materialistic, and have contributed to the fact that Anti-Semitism has not only not extended to the widest circles, but has also been turned into a slanderous malignity and a wild passion for persecution (cf. M. C. Peters, *Justice to the Jew*, New York, 1890).

(a) The most dangerous of these means since the 13th cent. has been the ‘blood accusation’ mentioned above (p. 589). The most influential propagator of this accusation was the canon August Hilsner, who lived in the years 1883-1892 (vgl. Strack, *Das Blut*, pp. 109-120). Only the most important instances of modern times can be mentioned here.

On April 1st, 1892, a maid-servant, Esther Polymy, fourteen years old, was murdered in Tzen, Eschat, district of Tarnopol. The evidence of the Crown witness Moritz Scharf, who had asserted that he saw the murder of the girl through the keyhole, was by the judicial investigation to be impossible; the suspected Jew obtained a verdict of not guilty (see P. Nathan, *Der Prozess von Tzen Eschat*, Berlin, 1892; S. Bannstetter in *JE* xii. 149-150). The eight-year-old girl murdered in Korniu in the night between 11th and 12th April 1891 was not a Christian, Maria Deyala (there was no such person there at the time), but a Jewess, Rubina Sarda. The Jewish butcher Adolf Buschoff, in Xanten, in the Rhine province, was accused of murdering, on July 14th, 1891, a 41-year-old boy, Johann Raggmann. The public prosecutor, however, stated: ‘In my long experience of cases, I have never seen a clearer case, where so convincing and connected a proof was brought forward, that the accused did not commit the crime in question.’ Every suspicion that the murder was committed with a view to obtaining the blood of the victim was removed by the post-mortem examination (vgl. Der Xantener Kreisbrief vom dam Schonverdacht des verwendeten Menschen wurde, in einem Verwaltungs–untersuchung bericht, Berlin, 1893; Deutsch in *JE* xii. 674). The Jewish shoemaker Leopold Hilsner was pronounced guilty of murdering Agnes Hrusa on March 29th, 1890, in Polna, Bohemia. However, Arthur Nussbaum (of Der Polnisch-Russisches Pflanzen, Eine Untersuchung auf alterdings Grundlage, mit einem Vorwort von Franz von Lass, Berlin, 1890) has convincingly proved: (1) that the throat wound in Agnes’s body was inflicted before the actual murder, and that the amount of blood which could reasonably be expected in the circumstances was produced only for the food of the Guilt of Hilsner; (2) that it is utterly worthless, that the statements of the accusing witnesses attained to definiteness only in the course of time; (3) that the destruction of each other or incredibility of themselves; and (4) that the accused never asked whether Hilsner should murder Agnes which had even a shade of proba-

(b) Another important means of attack used by the Anti-Semites is the agitation against the killing of animals according to the Jewish rites, if the Jews are refused the exercise of the form of slaughter appointed by their religious laws in any town, permanent residence in that place is made very difficult for them. If the prohibition is extended over a whole country, life there is made almost impossible for Jews.

More detailed statements on the history of the blood-accusation is given by the present writer in *Das Blut im Glasen und Uberfluteten der Menschheit, mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der Juden* (in: *BS*, 13, Munich, 1900; see also the work of the Roman Catholic priest Fr. Franz, *Der Anti-Semit, vor dem Justizwesen und der Gerechtigkeit, Regensburg, 1901*; *Duchesdon, Die Blutklage und sonstige midelalterliche Verordnung* the *Juden* (alias dem Russischen übersetzt), Frankfurt a-M., 1901; *JE* III. 160-267.

Among other objects of attack on the part of the Anti-Semites we may mention here (cf. above, p. 605):—

(c) The Talmud. There is no truth whatever in the assertions that the Jews seek by every conceivable means to keep the Talmud secret, that they fear lest its contents may become known, and that they declare it a crime worthy of death for a Jew to reveal its contents. The writings on the Talmud (translations, commentaries, translations of whole treatises, etc.) by Jews themselves are very numerous in all European languages. As a practical proof that Christians are not dependent for a scientific judgment regarding what a Jew may think fit to communicate, it may be mentioned that the present writer in 1887 wrote an introduction to the Talmud without having asked or received the slightest detail of information from Jews or Jewish Christians. The Talmud contains no report or statement which the expert Christian scholar cannot discover.

(d) The *Shulhan Arukh* (Ezk 220 † table prepared), the ritual code of Joseph Karo (+ 1575 in Venice, in the first time in Palestine in 1564-5. A fanatical and sanguinary attack was made by the proselyte, ‘Dr. Justus’ (pseudo-
donomy = Aaron Brimmann), in *Judenspiegel oder 100 neuenthulte, heutzutage noch geltende, den Verkehr der Juden mit den Christen beytragen*.)
Evil motives have often without proof been ascribed to opponents, who have been covered with hateful calumny. They have been scoffed at in an exaggerated way on account of single mistakes, as if thereby all other accusations and reasons were demonstrated to be false. Jewish apologists have often sought to put a favorable construction on something done by a Jew simply because a Jew did it, although the act could not be seriously defended. The non-Jewish majority has more than once been irritated by stupid aspersions (cf., to name only a single instance, P. P. Grünfeld's Der Strahl der Radikalen Sätze für A.-B.-C.-Kinder, Stuttgart, 1880).

The most important literature from the Jewish side has been mentioned above at various points. A very useful collection of materials is supplied by Josef Bloch, Antisemitismus in dem Prozesse Rolih in Bloh, Vienna, 1890; cf. also Antisemitismus-Spiegel: Die Antisemiten im Lichte des Christentums, des Rechts und der Wissenschaft, Dantzig, 1900. The most largely circulated book on the side of the Anti-Semites against antisemitic Jews, together with the learned and suggestive treatise, but coloured somewhat with polemic, and written by G. Marx (= G. Dalman), Jüdisches Fremdenrecht, antisemitische Polemik und jüdische Apologetik, Leipzig, 1886.

(c) The alleged existence of Jewish secret writings and secret sects. As early as 1800 the present writer and several other learned and highly respected scholars believed that there were no secret Jewish writings. Of course, to those who do not understand Latin, Cesar's Gallic War is a secret writing, especially if they are not acquainted with any of the numerous translations in English, German, etc. Judaism has always been tolerant of the faith and practice of the individual, but it has always persecuted sects, recognizing quite correctly that sects would be very dangerous to the existence of Judaism itself. The most important sect in Judaism is that of the Karaites, who arose in the 8th century A.D., and of which remnants, even at the present day, are to be found living in the Crimea, in Poland, and in Cairo, with a few in Jerusalem. Karaites and Talmudists have always been most bitterly opposed, and at the present day hate each other. If the Talmudist Jews, either as a whole or in sections, had a 'blood-rite' or other ordinance, which Christians would regard as abominable or destructive of the common good, the Karaites would not have failed to point expressly to it; and it is just as little likely that the Talmudist Jews would have kept silent if it had been possible for them to accuse the Karaites of observing a 'blood-rite' or other repulsive law.

(f) The condon formula kol nidre, 'all vows,' by means of which the Jews on the eve of the Great Day of Atonement in the synagogue declare all vows which they may make in the next year to be non-binding, does not refer to oaths which are made to others, but only to obligations which one lays upon oneself. It is absurd to suppose that this custom was cast doubt on the good faith of the Jews in taking oaths in general (cf. the present writer's art. 'Kol Nidre' in PREP x. 649-653; M. Schlossinger in JEV iv. 529-540).

(g) A very distasteful, but in Western Germany and Bavaria, widely credited accusation is that the Jews, before selling meat to non-Jews, must defile it (Lit. 'mingers') in the most loathsome manner (see the present writer's article 'Sind die Juden Verbrecher von Religionswegen?' Leipzig, 1900).

The assertion is often made that a comparatively large percentage of Jews are punished as criminals (see, e.g., W. Giese, Die Juden und die deutsche Kriminalstatistik, Leipzig, 1923). On the other hand, the Berlin Committee for answering Anti-Semitic attacks has published Die Kriminalität der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin, 1896. For a criticism of both writings by F. Nonnenmann cf. Nathanael, 1896, pp. 44-78 (cf. also H. Lux, Die Juden als Verbrecher, Munich, 1894; Deutsch in JEV iv. 362 f.).

(i) A publication by the same Committee, Die Juden als Soldaten, Berlin, 1896, with copious statistical tables, has in a thoroughly honest manner sought to meet the assertion which is frequently made, that the Jews are cowards (cf. also S. Wolf, The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier, and Citizen, Washington, 1894; M. C. Peters, The Jew as a Patriot, New York, 1901).

Conclusion. The Jews have undoubtedly suffered great and just wrongs. On the other hand, justice must recognize that Jewish apologists have frequently failed to observe due moderation.
violence and exclusive legislation will not lead to
the removal of such evil conditions, but will simply
replace them by still greater evils. But every non-
Jew who is convinced that the Jews in any place
exist too great an influence on their non-Jewish
surroundings, must with double faithfulness per-
fuse a subject to their own state (e.g. to the Briton or as German) and as citizen (e.g. in London
or in Berlin), and stimulate other non-Jews to a
like faithful fulfilment of their duty. Here also
the maxin holds: if we are dissatisfied with our
environment, we must first ask what our fault is.
Let us become better ourselves, and the state of
affairs will improve.

HERMANN L. STRACK.

ANURADHAPURA.—Anuradhapura was the
capital of Ceylon for nearly 1500 years. It was
founded, according to the tradition handed down
in the earliest sources, *by a chieftain named
Anurádha (so called after the constellation Anu-
rádha) in the 6th cent. B.C. on the bank of the
Kadantha River. Nearly a century afterwards
king Panâkâbîhaa removed the capital, which
had been at Upatissa, to Anuradhapura; and
there it remained down to the reign of Aggabodhi
IV. in the 5th cent. A.D. It was again the capital
112 of the country in the 11th cent., and was then finally deserted.
The name Anurádha as the name of a man fell out of use;
and we find in a work of the 10th cent. (Mahâvamsa, p. 37), it was explained as 'the city of the
happy people' from Anurádha, 'satisfaction.' The Sinhalese
peasantry of the present day habitually pronounce the name
Anurâru-pura, and explain it as 'the city of the ninety kings,'
anu meaning 'ninety, and râja meaning 'king.' The ancient
interpretation of the name—Anurâdha's city—is the only correct one.
The second is little more than a play upon words, and the
third is a Võkertyoomejoi founded on a mistake. English
writers on Ceylon often spell the name Ana-viâ-pura, or Anna-
rapùra.
The exact site of Anurádha's original settlement has not been re-discovered. Panâkâbîhaa con-
structed a magnificent artificial lake, the Vîhan Lake, Jaya Vâpi, more usually called, after
the king's own name (Abhâya, 'sans peur'), the Abhâya Vâpi. It still exists, but in a half-runded
state, about two miles in circuit. Its southern shore is rather less than a mile north of the Bodhi
Tree. It was on the shores of this lake that the king laid out his city, with its four suburbs, its
cemetery, its special villages for huntsmen and scavengers, its temples to various pagan deities the,
its residences for Jotiyas (the emperor's engineer) and the other officials. There were
also abodes for devotees of various sects—Jains, Ajivikas, and others. North of all lay another
artificial lake, the Gâmiî Lake, also still existing, and now called the Vîhan Lake. Apart from the
two lakes, nothing has been discovered of the remains of what must have been even then, to
judge from the description in the 10th chapter of the Great Chronicle, a considerable city.

But the foundations of the fame and beauty of the place were laid by king Tissa (so called after
the constellation Tissa), who flourished in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., and was therefore
contemporary with the Buddhist emperor of India,
Aşoka the Great. The friendship of these two
monarchs, who never met, had momentous conse-
quences. Tissa, with his nobles and people,
embraced the Buddhist faith; and, no doubt in
imitation of Aşoka, erected many beautiful build-
ings in support of his new religion. Those at Anu-
râdha are described ten, the most famous of them being the Thûparâma, still, even in ruins, a
beautiful and striking object. It is a solid dome,
70 feet high, rising from a decorated plinth in the
centre of a square terrace, and surrounded by a
number of beautiful granite pillars in two rows.
It is not known what these pillars were intended

* Dipavâriyana, ix. 35; and Mahâvamsa, pp. 59, 60, 62.
to support. It would seem to appear from Mahâ-
vamsa, ch. xxxvi. (p. 222, ed. Turnour), that they
supported a canopy over the top; but it is difficult
to see how that can have been done. Perhaps
each of them had, as its capital, some symbol of
the faith. Such pillars, surmounted by symbols, was put up by Aşoka in various parts of India, still
survive. But in that case they are always soli-
dary pillars. Bold flights of steps led up to the
terrace from the park-like enclosure in which it
stood; and the dome was supposed to contain
the relics of the Buddha. It was, in fact, a magni-
cent, highly decorated, and finely placed burial
mound.

Another still existing building of this time is the
Issara Muni Vihara, a hermitage constructed
by king Tissa on the side of a granite hill, for
those of his nobles (isara) who entered the
Buddhist Order. Naturally only the stonework
has survived; but this includes caves cut in the
solid rock, bas-reliefs on the face of the granite,
and terraces (one half-way up, one on the top
of the rock), a small but beautiful artificial tank,
and a small dâgaba. It is a beautiful spot, and
must have been a charming residence in the days of its

Of the rest of the ten buildings no remains have
been found; and it is very doubtful whether any
of Tissa's enclosure round the Bodhi Tree has
survived. The tree itself, now nearly 2200 years old,
still survives. The soil has been heaped up round
its base whenever it showed any signs of decay.
Planted originally on a terrace raised but little
above the level of the ground, it now springs up in
deep detached branches from the summit of a
mound that has reached to the dimensions of a small hill. The tree planted on the basis of the
original Bodhi Tree at Gâya in India was sent as a
present by the Emperor Aşoka the Great.

The auspicious event was celebrated in two bas-reliefs
on the eastern gateway of the Sânti Tree,* probably
put up by Aşoka himself.

The capital was taken by the Tamils not long
after Tissa's death, and was re-captured, about a
century afterwards, by Dushâ Gâmiî Abhayâ, the
hero of the Great Chronicle. He occupies in
Ceylon tradition very much the place occupied in
English history and legend by King Arthur,
and have information about the buildings he erected in
his capital. Undoubtedly the most splendid was the
so-called Bronze Palace. This was built on a
square platform supported by a thousand granite
pillars, which still remain, and from which the
square was 150 feet long. On the platform
were erected nine storeys, each square in form and
less than the one beneath it, and the total height
from the platform was 150 feet. The general
effect was therefore pyramidal, the greatest possible
contrast to the dome-shaped dâgabas in the vicinity,
just as the bronze tiles which covered it contrasted
with the dazzling white of the polished chunam
which formed the covering of the domes. The building
was almost certainly made of wood throughout, and its cost is given in the Chronicle
as 30 kotis, equivalent in our money to about
£300,000.

The other great work of this king was the
Dâgaba of the Golden Sand; but this he did not
live to complete. According to the Chronicle
(ed. Turnour, p. 195), it cost one thousand kotis,
equivalent to a million sterling. It is still one of
the monuments most revered by all Buddhists;
and even in ruin it stood, in 1830, 189 feet above
the platform on which it rested. It is a

* Reproduced in Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, pp. 201-303.
+ For fuller details see Boole, where the question of the evolu-
tion and meaning of the Wisdom-Tree conception will be more
appropriately treated.
† Mahâvamsa, ch. xxvii
usually simply Mahā Thūpa, 'Great Tope,' the name given above being a rendering of its distinctive title Hemavati in Pali, Rūvan Wati Dāgaba in Sinhalese. Five chapters in the Great Chronicle (ch. xxviii.-xxxii.) are devoted to a detailed account of the construction and dedication of this tope; and of the artistic embellishment of its central cell. In the Thevetium, never, it is believed, been disturbed; and as the exterior has, quite recently, been restored, there is now little chance of the historical secrets there buried being revealed.

Five generations after these great events the city enjoyed peace. But in B.C. 100 the Tamils, with their vastly superior numbers, again broke in, and took Anurādhapura. It was not till B.C. 89 that the Sinhalese were able to issue from their fastnesses in the mountains, and drive the Tamils out. Their victorious leader, Waṭṭa Ḍāmīni, celebrated the recovery of the capital by the erection of a still greater tope than all the former ones—the Abbaya Giri Dāgaba. This immense dome-shaped pile was 405 feet high from ground to summit, except the relic chamber, of solid brick. Its ruin is still one of the landmarks of all the country round. The Vihāra attached to this tope, and built on the site of the garden residences given by Pandukabhaya to the Jains, obtained a curious circumstance. The principal of the college, though appointed by, and a great favourite of, the king, incurred censure at an ecclesiastical court composed mainly of residents at the older Vihāra, the Great Minster, close to the Bodhi Tree. There ensued a long-continued rivalry between the two establishments, usually confined to personal questions, but occasionally branching off into matters of doctrine. For five centuries and more this rivalry had an important influence on the civil and religious history of the island.

With the completion of these buildings, the city assumed very much the appearance which it preserved throughout its long history. The Chronicle records how subsequent kings repaired, added to, and beautified the existing monuments. It tells us also how they and their nobles built palaces for themselves and residences for the clergy. These have all completely vanished. The only new building of importance that still survives is the Vāravaiya, another huge dome-shaped pile, built about two miles due north of the Bodhi Tree at the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D.

It is at the beginning of the next century that we have the earliest mention of Anurādhapura from outside sources. Fa Hian, the Buddhist pilgrim from China, stayed there for the two years A.D. 411-412. He gives a glowing account of its beauty, the grandeur of the public buildings and private residences, the magnificence of the processions, the culture of the Bhikshus, and the piety of the kings and nobles. The reason for Fa Hian's long stay in the city was his desire to study and to obtain copies, on palm leaf, of the books studied. For Anurādhapura was at that time the seat of a great university rivalling in the South the fame, in the North of India, of the University of Nalanda. Books were kept on the banks of the Ganges. Among the laity, law, medicine, astrology, irrigation, poetry, and literature were the main subjects. The Bhikshus handed down from teacher to pupil the words of the sacred books in Pali, and in the Bihār language, a dead language, and the substance of the commentaries upon them, exegetical, historical, and philological, preserved in their own tongue. They had handbooks and classes for the study of the grammar and lexicography of Pali; of the ethics, psychology, and philosophy of their sacred books; and of the problems in canon law arising out of the interpretation of the Rules of the Order. And they found time to take a considerable interest in folklore and popular and ballad literature, much of which has been preserved to us by their indefatigable and self-denying industry. All this involved not only method, but much intellectual effort. Students flocked to the great centre of learning, not only from all parts of the island, but from South India, and occasionally from the far North. Of the latter the most famous was the great commentator, Buddhaghosa (q.v.), who came from Gayā, in Behar, to get the information he could not obtain in the North.

* For there, in that beautiful land, the most fruitful of any in India or its confines in continuous and successful literary work and effort, there have never been wanting, from Boowa's time to our own, the requisite number of earnest and devoted teachers and students to keep alive, and to hand down to their successors and to us, that invaluable literature which has taught us so much of the history of religion, not only in Ceylon, but also in India itself."

The Chroniclers were not, therefore, very far wrong in emphasizing this side of the life of Anurādhapura. To it the city owed the most magnificent and the most abiding of its monuments, surpassed in historical value only by its intellectual achievements.

When Buddhaghosa was in Ceylon, the water supply of the city was being re-organized. The artificial lakes in the vicinity, which added so much to its beauty, were found insufficient; and King Dhātu Sena, in A.D. 290, 50 miles away, the great reservoir called the Black Lake (Kāla Viḍā). The giant arms of its embankment still stretch for 14 miles through the forest. It was 50 miles in circumference; and the canals for irrigation on the route, and for conducting the water to the capital, are still in fair preservation. A breach in the bank has lately been restored at great expense. This reservoir was, no doubt, at the time of its construction, the most stupendous irrigation scheme in the world.

This was the last great work undertaken at Anurādhapura. There ensued a series of dynamic intrigues and civil wars of a character similar to the Wars of the Roses in England. Each party fell into the habit of appointing chiefs to rule the Tamils on the mainland, whether the defeated were wont to flee for refuge. The northern part of the island, in which Anurādhapura lay, became more and more overruled with Tamil freebooters and free lances, more and more difficult to defend. Finally, in A.D. 700, it was abandoned as a residence, and an important fort in the south (Kala Viḍā) was built on the island, from 50 miles north to 50 miles south of Anurādhapura, became a kind of no man's land, and relapsed rapidly into jungle. Neither the Tamil kings of Jaffna in the north, nor the Sinhalese kings in the south, were able to exercise any real sovereignty over it. The once beautiful and populous city dwindled away to a few huts round the Bodhi Tree, now left in the charge of two or three solitary monks. The earliest notice of the ruins received in Europe was in Knox's Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon (1881), p. 10. Held a captive for twenty years in the mountains, Knox escaped in 1679 through the jungle near Anurādhapura, and his naïve words vividly portray the utter desolation of the place.
Here is a world of hewn stone pillars, standing upright, and other hewn stones, which I suppose formerly... of dryness and the to oste, or water-bottle. As the baskets are built on coils, and sewn with willow and other splints.

The English Government has now made good roads, and a railway has been opened through to Jaffna. Several officials are resident at the station, and a settlement is growing up. Some distance to the east of this settlement the undergrowth has been cut away, and there is now grass and growing under growth trees. The ruins are being cleared, and some of them preserved from further injury; and some excavation has been carried out.

**APACHES**

The Apaches are the southernmost group of the American Indians, who originally covered the territory from the Arctic Coast to New Mexico, and from the Pacific to Hudson Bay, their kinship being plainly traceable through their language. However, the name Apache is a misnomer, apparently from the Zuñi apache, 'enemy', and not found in their vocabulary, as they are known among themselves, not as 'Apaches', but as 'Inde' (N'da, Diné, Timde), or 'People'.

The Jicarilla Apaches, who live adjacent to the Zuñi, are a major group among the Apache tribes. They live in the northwestern part of New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, and are known for their distinctive culture and traditions.

**The Apaches**, by T. W. Rhys Davids, published in 1900, provides a detailed account of the Apache culture and way of life.

**Literature**


**T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.**

Among Apache games are tossing arrows or darts at an arrow or dart already on the ground, so that they cross; the hoop and pole game (the primitive version of which has the hoop hurled through the rolling hoop; 'hide the button' (jicarilla); 'that's cradle' (White Mountain), fastened to the women's game (Culin, *R.E.B.W.* pp. 385, 449-457, 846, 762, 805, 80-91). The hoop and pole game, in which, amongst the White Mountain Apaches, the red pole is worn by the male, yellow is male, has an esoteric religious meaning, which is jealously guarded by the male pole ("medic-men"). It is said to have been taught first by one of the minor deities called Ghona; but the Jicarilla custom describes it as having been made by Khazatzin, the White-bead woman, who received it from her of the Sun and the Moon. She told him not to roll the wheel toward the north. They played for three days, when the Sun's son rolled them under the east, south, and west. The old man then persuaded him to roll it toward the north. An adventure with an owl followed, and the two boys were sent to perform a succession of dangerous feats, which they had to do. When they went to live in the western ocean." (Culin, op. cit. p. 449).

The *principal Apache handicrafts*, in the course of time, there are several forms, the conical shape for carrying gourds, the bowl shape, and the oars, or water-bottle. All the baskets are built on coils, and sewn with willow and other splints.
woven in geometric or figured designs of black, and made from the pod of a species of Martynia.

A close study and intimate knowledge of the various Apache tribes reveal no religious organization, but there are many forms of worship, not as the white man recognizes worship, but in the form of sacrifice, prayers, fasts, and physical penance, for the appeasement of the evil spirits. Perhaps the nearest approach to one of the classified forms of worship of the Apaches is the elemental, or nature-worship, though there are traces of animism as well as of animal-worship in their religion. The elderly, bearing a yew root, less snake, etc., through which they offer the sacrifice of hoddentin (see below).

The number four is sacred, as among the American Indians generally; and so is eight, though to a minor degree. As far back as the 16th and 17th centuries, the Jesuits and Franciscans formed missions, and worked with their accustomed zeal, but with little success. After years of toil and sacrifice, the field was wholly abandoned, and, apart from the various signs of the cross and sacred cords that might be traced to the rosary, no influence has been on account of these earlier teachings. And as these symbols were so common among the aborigines, it is doubtful whether even these are relics of former Christian influence. The belief in spirits both good and bad, and in the necessity of their worship, is preserved, as will be seen by their offering of hoddentin to appease every known spirit on every occasion.

To be properly understood, however, the beliefs and superstitions of the Apaches must be studied through their medicine-men and women, who wield a most wonderful influence in curing them on their belief in the occult, an influence little understood or appreciated by the civil authorities. Through this lack of understanding, the Apache Indians have been much maltreated and injured, in the present has arisen through not taking into consideration their superstitions and methods of reasoning. Great freedom exists as to the selection of the shaman or medicine-man. Any man, woman, or child who seems to be endowed with spiritual or occult powers and able to interpret omens, is free to follow his own inclinations and invent his own symbols. It is customary, however, for them to place themselves as assistants to some medicine-man who has gained power and influence, paying him liberally for his tuition, a year or more being the usual length of time given to study.

The Apache believes that all ills of the body are caused by evil spirits, which must be expelled or subdued. When any one is sick, he sends for his favourite medicine-man. If the patient is wealthy, the medicine-man will have the assistance of several others, often bringing his family along with him, and camping near the patient. The family and friends of the sick supply the medicine-man and his helpers with food and bedding. When the medicine-man arrives, the sick one's family generally prepares as many cans of tis win as they can afford; and when he arrives, a corner of the camp is reserved for his use, the best blankets are given for him to rest on, and the choicest food is placed before him. When he has finished his rest, large cans of tis win are placed before him, and he drinks and calls from among his friends those whom he wishes to drink with him.

Working on, the medicine-man begins to bargain his service; and if everything is satisfactory, he proceeds to arrange a programme for his patient's care. If there is but one person sick in the camp, the exercises consist of singing, chanting, and drumming; but if there are more sick, or an epidemic is raging in the settlement, dancing takes place, prayers are recited, the women and children joining in the weird and monotonous cadence. Hoddentin is sprinkled round the concs of the sick, and applied to his forehead, tongue, and, in the form of a cross, to his breast, the medicine-men placing this same powder on their own tongues to give strength and divination. The singing and dancing are often continued till the sun sets. All the while they mutter a sort of gibberish that they claim to be understood only by themselves, and to possess the magic that is a part of their individual power.

The Apache materia medica consists mainly of a vegetable and medicinal nature, with the application of hoddentin. Hoddentin is the pollen of the fuls, a species of cat-tail rush, and is gathered without any special ceremony. A small bag of it is carried by every man, woman, and child, even the infant in its cradle having a small bag attached to it. No undertaking, compact, or agreement is entered into without the sacrifice of some of this powder; a small portion of it is blown into the air at dawn and darkness; it is blown toward the sun to appease its heat and to bring the winds. Every part of the Apaches is surrounded by superstition and magic, over which the medicine-men have control. Like the fraternity of physicians of more scientific learning, they specialize, one being a sun-worshiper, another a rain, and one recovers stolen property, another for sickness, etc.

In addition to this sacrificial powder, there are many other sacred emblems that are much relied on by the Apaches. The izze-kloth, or sacred cord, which is worn by leaders as well as by the medicine-men, the bull-roarer, the medicine-hat, and the medicine-shirt are all firmly believed to possess certain special properties. The bull-roarer is an oblong piece of wood, about 12 in. wide and 9 in. long, made with a round head through which a cord is passed, while on the main body are irregular furrows. It is usually of pine or fir, and if obtained from the mountain heights, and previously struck by lightning, it possesses special qualities in controlling the elements. This bull-roarer the medicine-man twirls easily, it makes the sound of a sudden rush of wind, and exerts a compelling influence on the bringing of rain to the crops. The izze-kloth, used by leaders and liaite alike, is the most sacred emblem the Apache possesses, so much so that it must be hidden from sight and protected from the rain. The izze-kloth and the medicine-hat losing their efficacy when in any way handled by an unbeliever.

The Apaches worship and sacrifice to the sun, moon, and other planets, as well as to the lightning, wind, etc.; and hold various dances, such as spirit-, ghost-, sun-, and snake-dances, though the snake-dances are not so common or so regular as among the Hopis and other neighboring tribes.

Regarding the success of the medicine-men, it is with them in the main a twirl easy. If it may lose too many patients; but when unsuccessful, they generally claim that there is some other influence at work overcoming or counteracting their own. The present writer has seen numerous instances where the medicine-man managed to shift the responsibility to another, knowing that the relatives of the deceased were dissatisfied with his work. While the body was still warm, the medicine-man drew from his medicine-bag a flake of flint, with which he made an incision in the side of the deceased where he had suffered most, the blood from the incision and began to moan, and in a short time turned around and spat on the ground a mouthful of blood, and with it a small stone, which he claimed had been fired into the deceased by an old woman living forty miles away. That night a large party went to the old woman's camp and killed her.
as a witch. The individual interpretation given to each one's beliefs and imaginations precludes any set form of worship; but in a general way they all centre round those symbolic influences and superstitions that debar progress and hold them effectively to the faith of their fathers.

The characteristic Apache burial is in natural rock shelters in cliffs and crevices, either on the rocky sides of mountains or in the earth and talus at the base of the hills. Nooks in small unfrequented coves are also utilized. After the removal of the earth and talus, the body is laid on the resulting platform and covered with a frame of poles and brush, over which rocks are heaped, the mound being from 4 to 10 ft. broad, 6 to 15 ft. long, and 2 to 4 ft. high. No coffin is used, but the corpse is clothed and well wrapped up. A shroud (and sometimes an axe, or, in the case of a woman, a carrying basket), is frequently left on the grave, of which no subsequent care is taken. Among the White Mountain Apaches tree-burying occurs.


The Apadana—The name of one of the books in the Pali Canon. It contains 550 biographies of members of the tribe, and 40 biographies of female members of the Buddhist Order in the time of the Buddha. The book is therefore a Buddhist Vita Sanctorum. It has not yet been edited, but copious extracts from the 40 biographies are given in Edward Muller's edition of the commentary on the Theragatha (PTS, 1893). One of these extracts (p. 135) mentions the Kâthâ Vattu, and apparently refers to the book so named, which was composed by Tissa about the middle of the 3rd century B.C. If this was the case, the Apadana may be looked upon as the very latest books in the Canon. Other considerations point to a similar conclusion. Thus the number of Buddhavas previous to the historical Buddha is given in the Digha Nikaya as six; in later books, such as the Mahavastu, the number is nine. Of course, the Apadana (see Ed. Müller's article, 'Les Apadânas du Sud', in THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS AT GENOA (1894), p. 167) mentions eleven more, bringing the number up to thirty-five. It is very probable that the different legends contained in this collection are of different dates; but the above facts tend to show that they were brought together as we now have them after the date of the composition of most of the other books in the Canon.

There exists a commentary on the Apadana called the Visuddha-jana-vilâsini. In two passages of the Gandhi Varisâ (JPTS, 1886), pp. 59, 69, the authorship of this commentary is ascribed to Buddhaghosa.

According to the Sumangala Vilasini, p. 15 (cf. p. 23), the repeaters of the Digha maintained that the Apadana had been included in the Abhidhamma Pitaka, while the repeaters of the Majjhima said it was included in the Suttanta Pitaka. This doubt as to its place in the Canon has been raised again by the Suttanta Pitaka. This doubt as to its place in the Canon has been raised again by the

The word Apadana means 'pure action,' 'heroic action;' and each of the Apadanas gives us first the life of its hero or heroine in one or more previous births, with especial reference to the good actions that were the cause of his or her distinguished position among the early Buddhists. There then follows the account of his or her life now. An Apadana therefore, like a Jataka, has both a 'story of the past' and a 'story of the present,' but it differs from a Jataka in that it does not deal always to the past life of a Buddha, whereas an Apadana deals usually, not always, with that of an Arhat (q.v.).

When the Buddhists, in the first century of our era, began to write in Sanskrit, these stories lost some of their popularity. The name was Sanskritized into Avadana; and several collections of Avadanas are extant in Sanskrit, or in Tibetan or Chinese translations. Of these the best known are the Avadana-Sataka, or The Century of Avadanas,' edited (in part only as yet) by J. S. Speyer, and translated by Léon Feer; and the Divyavadana, edited by Cowell and Neil, not yet translated. As a general rule, these later books do not reproduce the stories in the older Apadanas. They write new ones, more in accordance, in spirit and implication, with the later doctrines than prevalent. Most of these Avadanas are on the lives of Arhats. But the main subject of the longest of all the Avadana books, the Mahâvastu-avadana, is a series of the previous lives of the Buddha, that of the Buddha, that includes a few of the old Apadana in new versions.


T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

APATHY.—The Greek doctrine of apathy (ἀθετος) is usually regarded as a leading characteristic of the Stoic School, but it undoubtedly belongs to an earlier date. This is the view of the anonymous commentator on Aristotle's Ethics (Comment. in Aristot. et greco pa. 128, 5: ἄθετον δὲ θετικά καὶ νόμιμον συνεχεῖ, ὑπὸ δίδα καὶ αἴρεσιν). There are certainly marked tendencies towards it in the Cynic School, with its doctrine of renunciation of all pleasure and its glorification of work. If it is the case that Aristotle's Nic. Eth. ii. 2, 1104b, 24 (δῆ καὶ φόρμα τα ἀγαθά ἀθανάτων ταῦτα καὶ ἀρεταῖς) alludes to the Cynics, the latter must already have made use of the expression 'ἀθετος' in its Stoic sense. In recent years, Prof. E. Bury has demonstrated that the Stoics referred the expression to the Megarian, who found happiness in the animus imparatus (Seneca, Epist. i. i.), and seems to have used the word ἀθανάτως (Alex. de Anim. 150, 34, Bruns). Zeno, the founder of the School, however, was influenced by the Megarian as well as by the Cynic philosophy.

On the other hand, Democritus described ἀθανάτως, the human happiness consisting in μετρητήν τεθνός καὶ θεών ζωποιαγον (frag. 191, Diels), in the same way as apos means. In this apathy is described later, as it has been in Latin, to have used the term ἀθανάτως, which appears again among later Sceptics. His doctrine, through the medium of Anaxarchus of Abdera (Diog. Laert. i. 60), surnamed ἀθανασιακός and celebrated especially on account of his ἀθανάτως, had an influence on Pyrrho, the founder of Scepticism, who taught ἀδιάκριτη, probably even under this name (Cic. Acad. ii. 130; Plut. de Prof. in Virt. ii. 128 f.). His disciple Timon praises his constant cheerfulness (ταυχὴν, frag. 66, Diels) and his freedom from ὄνειρον (frag. 66, Diels). On the other passage of this character (Diog. Laert. i. 66, 68), which results from the withholding of judgment (ἐπικεφαλέα) on all the events incident to human life: he who ventures no opinion about the worth of a thing may regard it as either good or evil, and so his tranquillity of mind cannot
be disturbed thereby. It is true that Epicurus did not advocate the extermination of the emotions (φθάνον), yet he occasionally depicts the imperturbable tranquility of mind of the wise man in such colours that he approaches the Stoic standpoint.

Of the statement from the third epistle (Euripides, ed. Vetter, p. 252) which occurs in the passages cited above, commenting, "Μετὰ τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναγκαῖον μὲν τὰ μάτη τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἤτοι, ὡς ἁμαρτόλοι ἀναπτύξαι ταύτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἄσημα τοῖς ἢ ἐπί τοῦ ἠμέραν γενόμενα, ἐνεπλείων τούτων τού πολλοῦ, οὕτως οὖν ἀναμέρειν." Thus for the effect of Epicurus on the Stoics, and the sources of Epicurus, see also Farnell, *CulXi of the Greek Statu*, Oxford, 1896, ii. 619 ff. For an examination of this question of origin, consult Farnell's *CulXi of the Greek Statu*, Oxford, 1896, ii. 619 ff.

Such ideas are in accordance with the general feeling of the Hellenistic period, which was quite willing to recognize the happiness of the individual in a kind of quietism.

Entire freedom from the emotions was now demanded of the Stoic sage (Frag. 207, Arnim) by Zeno, who, however, made to the healthy human intellect the concession that even the sage, although unaware of the emotions themselves, is nevertheless conscious of a shadow of them (Frag. 215). This doctrine was more clearly expounded by his pupil Dionysius in his separate treatise *Peri dikaion animon* (Diog. laert. vii. 186), and more especially by Chrysippus (e.g. in peri dikaion animou kai peri dromou), whose fragments on this subject are collected in Arnim, *Stoic. vet. Fragm.* iii. 443-455. The emotions belong to the irrational and immoderate (πλατέων) class of impulses (σήμα), which, however, with the wise man, is the mind of nature, and, as the wise man is the soul, and therein consists his happiness (Diog. laert. vii. 117; *Cic. Tusci. iv. 37*).

It was inevitable that against this extreme doctrine lively opposition should arise. Plato had already asked *whether* the *soul* is of the body (φτάνει), pp. 21 D, 60 E, 65 E: ἄλλα δὲ την ἁγίαν αἱρέσιν καὶ καθάρτη εἶναι, σχεδόν ολικες ὁμοίαν εἴρημι, καὶ πάντα διατείς ταμ μοῦ ὄργανα καὶ τοῦ σώματος, and his disciples had, therefore, taken up their position almost on the standpoint of Aristotle and the Peripatetics, who strove after *meteores* τοῦ τοῦ σώματος (Nicom. Eth. ii. 1108 a, 30; the later writers call it *meteores*), and could not approve of apathy. No more could Epicurus, whose ἰδιωτικὸς was actually regarded by the Stoics as one of the chief passions (Stob. ii. 41). Cassius summed up this contradiction in his successful attack upon the Stoic exaggerations. He started from the fact that man is not only soul, but also body; that, consequently, certain bodily impulses are inevitable, among which the first place is taken by the *soul* since it cannot be an evil, apathy is impossible (Gell. xii. 5, 7). This opposition resulted in the yielding of the Middle Stoas (Schmelck, *Philos. mittl. Stoas*, p. 364); Fananius after the fashion of the Peripatetics views nature in the avoidance of extremes, and allows the ἰδιωτικὸ as legitimate in themselves. For him bodily pleasure is something natural, and therefore not to be exterminated; grief, on the other hand, is contrary to human nature, therefore human nature is justified in avoiding it. Posidonius laid stress on the contrast between body and soul, and held that only the soul, so far as it remains pure, can be ἰδιωτικὸ, but not the body; he admitted, besides, a *καταρακτικὸ μὲν* τῆς *ψυχῆς* (Plut. de Virt. Mor. 3, p. 411; *Galen. de Hipp. et Plat. plac.* p. 408 M). He thus abandoned the old Stoic attitude on principle, although in some single statements he approached very near (e.g. *Cic. Tusc. ii. 61*). The later philosophers are strongly influenced by this more worldly and practical attitude. Epicetus is the only one who returns to the old rigorism; his wise man must again be ἰδιωτικὸ καὶ ἀναπάθεια, δίχα ἁρπαξάμενος καὶ εκκλίνομαι, and he fought expressly against *μετεορίζεσθαι* (iv. 1, 175; cf. Fh. des. Sch., Ethik des Epicurus, p. 113; Bonhoffer, *Ethik des Epicurus*, p. 118 ff.); he also opposes it in one of his writings (Epsit. 85), but otherwise he assumes Posidonius’ point of view. This view occasionally persists in the later philosophy, and Neo-Platonism, with its withdrawal from this world and its mortification of the flesh, is decidedly in its favour. Thus Philo resolutely demands apathy (Zeller, v. 4, p. 449), and so also with Porphyry it appears as the highest stage of contemplation, while metriopthesis receives a lower place (op. cit. p. 711).


W. KROLL.

APHRODISIA (Ἀφροδίσια).—The general name of festivals in honour of Aphrodite. The cult of Aphrodisia may be regarded as having been universal in one form or another in the Mediterranean lands. In all the great centres of Hellenic life it occupied an important place, prevailing from Naucratis in Egypt to Phanagoria in the Black Sea, and from the Troad to Italy and Sicily (see the long list, with the evidence, in Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Aphrodite*). The Αἴγεια islands were among its most famous centres, notably Cythera, Crete, and Cyprus. There is, however, no real ground for regarding the cult, in its later specialized form as the cult of a goddess of physical beauty, as having been aboriginal in Greek lands. Probably Aphrodisia was originally an Oriental nature-dvination, and she retained many Oriental traits in her local cult as a specialized divinity in Greece.† The more refined cult of the goddess as the personage of married life is probably a general development, for this aspect of her is either altogether lacking or at least is not prominent in its Eastern forms. Contrary to a very general but erroneous conception, originating in Plato’s well-known distinction between Garian Aphrodisia who personifies the intellectual love of the soul, and Aphrodisia Pandemos who personifies the sensual love of the body (Plat. *Symposium*, 180 D), it is precisely this title of Ὀφρακία, ‘Heavenly,’ that is the clearest sign of her Eastern origin: the Platonic distinction was not recognized in the State religion, and the moral and spiritual meaning of the title is of late growth (Farnell, op. cit. 629 ff., 659 ff.). In the same way, that aspect of Aphrodisia under which she was worshipped at Athens and elsewhere as Pandemos, ‘Goddess of the body politic,’ was not an independent Hellenic development, but a survival and development of an Oriental conception (Farnell, p. 663).

With regard to the nature of the cult, ethnically considered, it is to be observed that much of the modern conception is based upon a radically false notion, and the unguarded application to Hellenic practice of ill-understood Oriental phenomena.

*A as a ‘departmental goddess, having for her sphere one human passion’ (J. K. Harrison, *Prolegomena for the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 800) she is depicted in the Homeric Hymn.

† For an examination of this question of origin, consult Farnell’s *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896, ii. 191 ff.*
Until the decline of Greek civilization, the cult of Aphrodite, so far as we know it from our literary or monumental sources, was indistinguishable in point of purity and austerity from that of Zeus or Athena, and was in this respect, in fact, on a higher plane than that of Artemis. Rules of chastity, for example, were in some cases imposed upon her priestesses (Paus. ii. 10. 4). It was at Corinth alone in Greece, and there in connexion with the worship of the 'Heavenly' Aphrodite, that impure practices were found established as part and parcel of the ritual of worship. The fact is that a careful distinction must be drawn between Greek religion and ritual, which is upon the whole pure, and the mythological stories, which are often the reverse, and are, moreover, conveyed to us largely through the impure medium of degenerate poetry. De-generacy did indeed exist itself in the cultus, as in other domains of Greek life and practice—a symptom of the loosening of the moral bonds in the Hellenistic period,—and later in the erection of altars and temples, and the conduct of festivals under the name of Aphrodite to the mistresses of the successors of Alexander and others (Atheneaus, 253, 556).

Probably the festival of Paphos was the most celebrated of these, and held in honour of the goddess, and there also in all probability many features that had no parallel in Greece, save perhaps at Corinth, to be seen. Great crowds assembled at the temple from all parts (Strabo, 683 : καὶ παντογράφως διὰ τοῦτο ταύτα πρός τοῦτο ἐβρέθη ἡμῖν σωματικός καὶ τῶν θαλάσσων πλῆθος). The title Ἀγίωρος borne by the high priest at Paphos would probably indicate his conduct of the vast sacrifice. Sacrifices of blood were not offered, the law of purity preventing even the thought of such a course of divination: or there may have been two altars, one for incense, the other for sacrifice (cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 3: 'Hostiae, ut quique voluit, sed mares delegatur: certissima fides hadorum fribus. Sanguinem are obliterantur: praeciscus et quo puro alicia adeuntem'). A ritual bath and mimetic dance probably formed part of certain mysteries which were celebrated (Harrison, op. cit. pp. 283, 312; cf. Farnell, op. cit. p. 561: 'In Cyprus, in some regions, a certain solemn scene, some sort of a rite of the Adonis, perhaps the image of the dead goddess was exposed, and then after due performance of certain rites she was supposed to be restored to life'). Those who desired to be initiated in ἐν τῷ τέγμα μετωπώτου, on entering the temple, washed themselves in a lave and a lump of salt, and gave a piece of money to the temple treasury. *

Most Oriental in character of all the Greek cities was Corinth. Euripides celebrates Aecorecrathos as the holy hill of Aphrodite (Pind. in Strabo, 372: ἢκα πέρικλεον προστάτου 'Ἀκροερεθοπόν, ἵππος δορικά, πόλιν Ἀφροδίτα), al. Alciph. iii. 60). The most unhellenic of the elements of the Aphrodite cult was the practice of religious prostitution (Strabo, 375), however. But under the influence of the Adonis, perhaps, the image of the dead goddess was exposed, and then after due performance of certain rites she was supposed to be restored to life. Those who desired to be initiated in ἐν τῷ τέγμα μετωπώτου, on entering the temple, washed themselves in a lave and a lump of salt, and gave a piece of money to the temple treasury.

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APOLLINARISM.—Apollinaris, the younger, of Laodicea (+ c. 390), was the founder of a heresy which forms the connecting link between Arianism in the 4th and Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the 5th century.

1. Life of Apollinaris.—Of the events of his life not very much is known. His father, who was also named Apollinaris, was a grammarian from Alexandria who came to Berytus (Beirut). Apollinaris, the younger, of Laodicea (in Phoenicia) in Asia Minor, was born there.

He married and had a son, Apollinaris the younger, the future heretic (Socrates, H.E. ii. 46). Socrates says that the father was the best friend of Gregory the Sophist, the younger, who was named Epiphanius, and that he distinguished the carnal from the spiritual man (1 Co 2: 14, cf. 3: 15; 1 St 3: 19; in Co 2: 19). Socrates says that he was excommunicated with his son, the younger Apollinaris, together with his father by the bishop, he must have been more than a child before that bishop died (355). Socrates says that he was excommunicated, not because of his teaching, but because he had been a teacher of rhetoric (H.E. ii. 46). All his contemporaries speak of his great learning, and the connection from the Orthodox Fathers he still wrote of him with much more respect than they usually give to heretics, and even with a certain affection. He was known in science (Phil. xviii.); 'skilled in all knowledge and learning, a man of manifold erudition and accomplishments' (Socr. v. 18). Epiphanius says that he himself, as well as St. Gregory the Sophist, loved the 'illustrious, venerable old man, Apollinaris of Laodicea,' and that when they first met he said they could not believe that so great a man had fallen into such an error (I.E.E. ii. 2).

In this first period, before he had proclaimed his heresy, when he was with the bishops of Asia, and was known to some of the Greek and Latin scholars, his teaching is 'always dear' (I.E.E. ii. 2). St. Basil says that he had once corresponded freely with him (Ep. cxxxii.); years afterwards, when he had written on all questions with the heretic, he still wrote in regard of the man 'whom we had expected always to find our all' (Ep. ep. octav. 14), and he still doubts whether all the harm that is told of him by his friend can be true (Ep. cxxxii. 8). Apollinaris at first distinguished himself as a defender of the faith of Nicea, a Manichaean, and a Nestorian with his semi-Arianism. It was only possible for him that he had been excommunicated by his bishop. And then, according to Sozomen, he, having asked in vain to be received back into communion, being conquered by his grief, began to disturb the Church with his new doctrine (H.E. ii. 25). It seems true that he first conceived his theory as a defence of Homousianism.

We hear of him next as bishop, apparently of Laodicea. It is true that neither St. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Epiphanius, Sozomen, nor other historians mention him as a bishop, and that Lactantius of Sardis speaks of him only as 'Apollinaris the presbyter of Africa' (In Sem. xxiv. 10). And Philostratus doubts whether he had been bishop in (ep. Phil. xviii. 15). On the other hand, St. Athanasius makes of certain monks who had been sent to Alexandria by Apollinaris the bishop of Laodicea (Tom. ad Antioch. ix.), Philostorgius relates the fact as having been 'told by some people' (H.E. viii. 14). Theodore says that he generally lived at Laodicea (I.E.E. iv. 4), and St. Jerome, who had known him well, calls him 'Bishop of Laodicea in Syria' (Ep. lxi. 1). The Paellogi, however, call him a bishop of the same city about the year 383 (Lequein, Or. Christ. ii. 794), so that Athanasius does not mention him because he was excommunicated and had joined the heretics. It must have been about 380 that he began to be commonly known as the teacher of Apollinaris of Alexandria (Soz. iii. 25), who was known and rejected his idea. It 'confessed that the Saviour did not assume an immanent or insensible body. . . . Not only is the human soul invisible, but also the man who receives salvation from the Word of God is not so (Ath. Tom. ad Ant. 7). But it does not mention his name. In the year 378 all the Orthodox Fathers speak of him as a heretic. St. Basil makes of him the year 378: 'I have no communion with Apollinaris' (Ep. cxxi. 2, etc.). He denounces him to the 'Westerners' (Ep. cxxii. 4), and rejoices later that they have condemned him (Ep. cxxvi. 2). This condemnation is that of the Roman Synod in 374 (Mansi, iii. 470). Apollinaris is not mentioned in any of its ten canons, but they are plainly drawn up as condemnations of his theory. The Synod of Antioch, held in 358 under Melitians, anathematized the word of God dwelling in human flesh in the place of a human soul and a divine body (Mansi, iii. 495). The first canon of the Synod of Constantinople in 381 condemned him as a heretic, of whom the last are the 'Apollinarists.' Its seventh canon states that if Apollinaris and his adherents publicly deny the faith of Nicea and Athanasius, whereas the bishop was a semi-Arian (65).

2. The Apollinaris heresy.—Apollinaris began as a zealous defender of the doctrine of the Arians. Sooner or later the question was bound to arise: How could the Logos be joined to a human nature? It was around this question that the later Nestorian and Monophysite disputes turned. Apollinaris' solution, in which his heresy consisted, was to become a teaching of Christ's Person at the expense of His human nature.

In this way he was a sort of forerunner of Eutyches. He is certain that God Himself became man in Christ. He is also certain that the whole Divine nature cannot be joined to the whole nature of a man. He maintains this by the same arguments as were afterwards used by the Monophysites. Two perfect natures always remain two separate persons; 'two perfect beings cannot become one.' This axiom, quoted by Athanasius as one of his 'sophisms' (contra Apoll. i. 2), was the starting-point of his system. It illustrates it by various examples. We may not adore a man, we must adore God. So it would follow that Christ must be both adored and not adored. Moreover, a perfect man is necessarily sinful; where there is a perfect man, there is sin (ib.); but Christ could not become sinful. And He would be neither really God nor really man, but a man-God (μορφον νεωτερον), a monstrous and impossible hybrid of two incompatible natures, a nature of taints, dragons, and other mythological absurdities (Greg. Nyss. Antir. 49). He goes on to argue that he would certainly not be a man, for all men consist essentially of three parts, body, soul, and spirit, whereas He would have four parts, adding to these His Divinity. In short, 'a person, being one, cannot be combined of two' (ib.). He finds the solution of the difficulty in the application of a general principle of philosophy. The Neo-Platonic school taught that human nature is the composition of three elements: body, soul, and spirit. The body is a soul that actuates and informs the body (to use the later mediaval term), thus making us living beings, and the mind, or spirit, that makes us reasonable beings, which spirit is the special characteristic of Christ, the Saviour of the world.

Apollinaris thinks that the doctrine of the three elements of man, body, soul, and spirit (σαρκος, ψυχη, πνευμα or νοος), is confirmed by Scripture. He quotes the text: 'Bless the Lord, O ye spirits and souls of the just' (Ps. 104: 4). He compares them to the Thessalians: 'Gospeled' (Greg. Nyss. Antir. 48). We are told to serve God in spirit and to adore Him in spirit and truth (Ro 15; Antir. 49); St. Paul prays that the Thessalonians may be sanctified in spirit, soul, and body (1 Th 5: 23); and he distinguishes the carnal (ψυχος) from the spiritual (πνευματικος) man (1 Co 2: 14, cf. 3: 15).
APOLLINARISM

Antir. 49). Of these three elements the body and the soul make up the 'natural' (φυσικὸς) being (the machine, Plato would have said), which is ruled and guided by the mind.

But the guiding principle in man is changeable, fallible, sinful. It cannot be so in Christ. Therefore in Christ the Divinity, the Logos, takes the place of a human mind. He is a natural man (i.e. body and soul) made up of three elements: the body, the soul, and the spirit. That is, in the Logos, the human, the natural, is not human but Divine. That is at any rate the eventual and fully developed form of Apollinarianism. It has been suggested (Lietzmann), and some answers of his opponents seem to suppose, that its author did not at first trouble about a subtle distinction between soul and spirit, but simply said that the Logos instead of a human soul was joined to Christ's body. However, the stress of controversy soon made him adopt the Neo-Platonic theory as the basis of his theology, and he and his school then made so much of it that all through the Middle Ages the psychology of the three elements was associated with one name only, that of Apollinaris. He thinks that he has found texts to prove his own theory of the hypostatic union by the absence of a human soul, or, later, of a spirit in Christ. St. Paul, for instance, says that the first Adam was made a living soul, the second a life-giving (therefore Divine, not human) spirit; the first was 'sinful' (παραπόνοος), the second is joined to the Logos. The incarnation is described as the Logos, not of a whole man but of a physical body only. It is the 'mystery that appeared in the flesh' (σάρα ἐκ τοῦ σωμάτος), not man, but flesh (Jn 14; Antir. 16, etc.).

The contemporary orthodox Fathers who reject this theory are not much concerned about the truth or falsehood of the statement that human nature is comprised of three elements: the body, the soul, and the spirit. But the first proponents of Apollinarism are offended chiefly by the assertion that Christ lacked an element of complete human nature. They quote against it the texts in which He is said to be like us in everything except sin (He 4:14, to be really and completely man), to be free from the sin of all soul but also a spirit (Lk 22:47; Antir. 17, Jn 11:8; Athan. contra Apoll. i 15, Jn 19:36, ii 16). They also undertake to refute Apollinaris' arguments. If the quotation I Co 10:28 proved anything in this question, it would follow that Adam had no spirit at all (Antir. 12), and that the word 'flesh' in Jn 14, as elsewhere, stands for the whole human nature (Antir. 27); and they insist on the conclusion which Apollinaris himself would not admit, namely, that if the Logos had become one of the elements of Christ's human nature, the Logos too would have suffered and died (Antir. 30, etc.).

3. The Apollinarist sect.—In spite of the opposition of a long list of Fathers (Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, and many others), Apollinarism outlived its author for many years. He had set up a hiersy all over Syria, and his sect existed and carried on his teaching till it seems to have been gradually absorbed by the far more important Monophysite movement. Vitalis was Apollinarist Bishop of Antioch. We hear of one Timothy of Beirut, who wrote a History of the Church, and who 'had no other object in so great a work but to commend Apollinaris, inasmuch as from him and to him an endless number of letters were written and written back' (Leontius Byz. c. Nestor, et Evagri, iii 40, PG lxxxvi, who proceeds to point out that a man's greatness is not to be measured by the size of his correspondence). A certain Valentine wrote a defence of Apollinarism, called 'Against those who accuse us of saying that the body is of the same substance as God' (adv. Fraudes Apollinaristarum, among the works of Leontius Byz. PG lxxxvi. ii. 1947-1976; some passages from both Timothy and Valentine are quoted in this treatise). It seems that the unknown interpolator of St. Ignatius' letters (a Syrian in the beginning of the 5th cent.) was an Apollinarist. He twice (Philipp. v 2 and Philad. vi. 6) expressly denies that Christ had a human mind.

Although the movement gradually disappears as its place is taken by Syrian Monophysitism, one still occasionally hears of Apollinarism in the ever-growing list of heresies; and as late as 691 the Quinisextum Synod in its first canon does not forget to condemn Spiritual Apollinaris, a heresy of weak-mindedness, who impiously declared that the Lord did not assume a body endowed with both soul and mind' (Mansi, Collectio, 1759-1798, xi. 936).

4. Writings of Apollinaris.—There is the most complete agreement that Apollinaris was a learned as well as a very prolific writer. St. Jerome says that he had written 'countless volumes about Holy Scripture,' and that his thirty books against Porphyrius were greatly esteemed (de Vir. Ill. 104). Philostorgius tells us that his arguments against Porphyrius were superior to those of Eusebius (HE viii. 14). St. Basil says that 'as he had great facility in writing on any subject, he filled the world with his books' (Ep. cclxiii.) and we even get a long list of his poems, and mentions a work 'Concerning Truth' (Τινας Ἀλήθειας), an apology against Julian and the Greek philosophers, in which 'he shewed their errors concerning God without using texts from Scripture' (HE viii. 12). The he also has a refutation of Eusebius (de Vir. Ill. 104), Philostr. HE viii. 12) and of a book against Marcellus of Ancyra (de Vir. Ill. 86). Epiphanius, too, writes with great appreciation of his learning and talents (Har. iii. 24).

Of all these works scarcely anything is left. Of the poetic versions of the Bible written either by him or by his father, one volume remains, the Paraphrase of the Psalms (PG xxxiii. 1315-1558; it includes the 151st Psalm). It cannot be described as a success; it is written in hexameters, into which the author has crowded every possible reminiscence, allusion, and idiom from the pagan classics, must obviously lose all the feeling and quality of the Bible without becoming more than a veritable imitation of the real classics. So it is not wonderful that after Julian's death, as soon as Christians were allowed to return to the real thing, Apollinaris' substitutes were soon forgotten. Socrates says that in his time these Biblical poems had disappeared as completely as if they had never been written (HE iii. 16).

There is, however, a constant tradition that after the death of Apollinaris his followers published their master's works under the names of
orthodox Fathers. Leontius of Byzantium (or whoever the real author of the treatise 'Against the Frauds of the Apollinarians' was) begins his work by saying: 'Some of the followers of Apollinaris, or Eutyches, or Dioscorus, in order to confirm their heresy, have ascribed (ἐπηγάζοντες) certain works to Gregory Thaumaturgus, or Athanasius, or Julius, in order to deceive the simple'; and the whole of this little work is a compilation of texts which the author thinks to be cases in point. Its full title is, 'Against those who offer us certain works of Apollinaris, having falsely inscribed them with the names of holy Fathers'.

So one of the chief problems concerning Apollinaris has always been the discovery of any of his writings which may be hidden under other names. In the case of some such works the matter may be said to be now definitely lost. Leontius (ib.) had already declared that the little treatise called The Partial Faith (ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις) among the works of Gregory Thaumaturgus (the text is published by Dräseke and Lietzmann; see below) was written by Apollinaris; this is now admitted by everyone. Other works also commonly acknowledged to be by him are: pseudo-Athanasius, Of the Incarnation of the Word of God (Περὶ τῆς σωρείας τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου, Dräseke, pp. 341-343); pseudo-Julius of Rome's Letters to Dionysius of Alexandria (Apol. xcix. 284-361), and, very probably at least, the tract, Of the union in Christ of the body to the Divinity (Περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ συμμετείχος τοῦ σώματος πρὸ τῆς θεότητος, ib. 343-347), also under the name of Julius. Lastly, there are fragments of Apollinaris' writings in various Greek Catena (cf. Krumbacher, Byzant. Literatur, Munich, 1897, pp. 206, 211) and in the quotations from him made by his adversaries (Athanasius, Gregory Naz. and Gregory Nyss.).

Dräseke (Apol. v. Laod.) pays him a number of workers, all pseudo-Justinian, including the Cohortatio ad gentes, which he thinks to be Apollinaris' book 'Concerning Truth'; the third and fourth books of St. Basil against Eunomius (which would then be his work against Eunomius mentioned by Jerome and Philagorius); the first three dialogues of Theodorus of Cyrrhus on the Trinitas; some sermons of Gregory Thaumaturgus; pseudo-Athanasian Dialogues on the Holy Trinity; as well as almost any more or less contemporary anonymous works, including the poem Christ Suffered (Χριστὸς πάθως, cf. J.P. 1844, pp. 657-704), which is really a mystery play of the 11th or 12th cent. (Krumbacher, Byzant. Litt. pp. 748-749). These identifications are now generally considered to have been premature and mistaken (Bardenhewer, Patrologie, 1894, pp. 224-225; Krüger in P.R.E., art. 'Apol. v. Laod.'; Harnack, Lehrb. der Dogmengesch., 1895, pp. 309-321). Lietzmann (Apol. Laod.) suggests a more reasonable list.

**LITERATURE.—**The first sources for a knowledge of Apollinaris and his life and ideas, after the fragments of his own works and those of his earliest opponents. These are: Athanasius (but there is some doubt about the authorship). Two books concerning the Incarnation of our Lord and the Holy Trinity have been ascribed to Athanasius (Περὶ σωρείων τοῦ κυρίου ὁμογενῶς ἔσχατος Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς θεότητος τῶν ἱερών [ib. 390-1110], Gregory of Nyssa, A.D. aE. 1001). The texts of the things said by Apollinaris are attested by a fragment of a letter of Gregory, of Alexandria, PG xiv. 1123-1209 and his Letter to Theophilus of Alexandria, 1966-1977. Theodore of Monemusa wrote a work against Apollinaris, of which fragments remain (PG IX. 935-936). All these contain quotations from his writings, and some of them even contain whole sections from his works. He speaks of him also in his homilies in several letters (cf. ib., to Cleidom, PG XXII. 294, and, to Maximus of Constantinople, ib. 939-933). St. Basil's letter (PG xxiv. 168) contains passages from Apollinaris (by mistake or from some reference, and Leontius of Byzantium in the beginning of the 7th cent. (or another writer of that time) says that Basil was a people) is doubted) wrote the treatise, Against the Frauds of the Apollinaris (PG xli. 303-156). (Modern literature: G. Caspari, Arbeit und neue Quellen, etc. (Christiania, 1879, pp. 65-148); A. Ludwisch, Apollinaris Metaphysiæ parnassii, 1-111 (Königshof, 1880); J. Dräseke, Apollinaris von Laodicca, sein Leben und seine Schriften, Appendix: Apollinaris. Laod. Quaerentur dogmatica (Leipzig, 1885, in Gebhardt and Harnack's Texte u. Untersuchungen; 4th ed. Laod. v. Laod. Schrift wider Eunomius; ('Ztschr. für Ichonographie, 1899, 22-31); E. Friede, 'Apollinaris'in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten, H. Lietzmann, 'Apollinaris' in der Geschichte und seinen Schriften, Thucydid. Sto. 1891, 20-45 published; J. F. Bethune-Baker, Intrud. to Early Hist. of Christ. Doctrine (London, 1893), p. 239 f. ADRONIUS. ARIEL.
every ninth year. At Delphi there was a feast on his birthday on the 7th of Busios, the first spring-month, and this seems to have been identical with the Thesophania (Herod. i. 61; Plut. Quest. Grac. 9, p. 292 F; BCH, 1885, p. 11).

The more purely agrarian festivals may be distinguished those in which the artistic character is more prominent. The former are festivals of first-fruits, or harvest-festivals, presenting many analogies to the peasant festivals of other lands. Examples of this type are the Karneia of Laconia, falling on the tenth of the month Karneios = Attic Metaateignion (Aug.), and the Byakhntia celebrated in May-June at Sparta (Paus. iii. 10. 3; Wide, Lokomische Kulte [Leipzig, 1895], 259 ff.; Xen. Hell. iv. 5. 11).† Above all, the Thargelia of Athens, falling in the latter end of May, a harvest-festival, for that at Delos the first cereals and fruits are ripe.† The Thargelia is a combination of a primitive harvest-festival with a rite of purification (the curious ceremony of the Pharmacos) which may have been enged originally to the Earth-goddesses and was afterwards appropriated to Apollo. The Attic Pyanopis or Pyanepis, the only recorded Apolline festival that fell in late autumn, was also an agrarian festival—perhaps to the music of flutes, and the sacred laurel they brought served to fashion the crowns for the Pythian victors (see Farnell, op. cit. 293 ff.). This festival is closely connected with the cathartic or purificatory function of Apollo, a function which more and more received fuller public sanction in Athens, especially in connexion with homicide. Such cathartic ceremonies were, however, probably a late development of Apolline ritual.

**APOLLONIUS OF TYANA**

J. W. J. WOODHOUSE.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA in Cosmopon, is in several respects a notable figure in the history of religion. Apart from the fact that he was a religious reformer of no little fame, he gave rise, as early as the time of Eusebius of Cesarea, to a considerable discovery which is to this day still of present day. The details of his life are to be found in a work by Philostratus the elder (3rd cent.), which was written at the request of Julia Domna († 217), 'the patroness of every art, and the friend of every man of genius' (Gibbon). Septimius Severus was a passionate student of magic and divination, and had chosen Julia Domna as his second wife on account of her 'royal nativity.' Philostratus' patroness, who was also a collector of books, had been made acquainted with some of his discourses already, and he left in her possession before his death a manuscript of them.† These were not well written, and Philostratus was requested to copy them, improve the style, and in fact to compile as complete a biography as possible. He tells us himself that several Lives of Apollonius were in circulation, and that to some of them—those of Maximus of Egget and Marraenes—he had access. He also used letters of Apollonius.† Moreover, he himself travelled into most parts of the known world, and everywhere heard the 'inspired sayings' of Apollonius. The biography, however, which Philostratus composed is of a romantic character.§ It is clear that the story of Apollonius, though much of it may be regarded as more or less true, has been greatly embellished. Many of the embellishments are of

* Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Duddy's ed. vol. i. p. 136.

† Philost. i. 8. 'Damis the Assyrian' has been regarded as purely a literary device by P. C. Baur and Fr. Dibelius. But although his character seems to have been intentionally drawn in such a way as to illustrate the moral and intellectual superiority of his master, there is no reason to doubt his existence. Boswell, with whom he has been compared, has made his own character appear so absurd, op. cit. that his connexion with Apollonius and Damis has also been compared with Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. See A. Réville, p. 52; G. B. S. Mead, p. 112.

§ The so-called 'Letters of Apollonius, which have come down to us are generally regarded as spurious. See Hercher, in Epitolaogia Graecia, Paris, 1878.

† It has been described as a 'Tendrermön' or 'Märchenbuch.' F. Ueberweg (Hist. of Philos., London, 1875, vol. i. p. 239) speaks of it as 'a philosophico-religious romance.' Julius Jessen thinks the work was composed with the help of a Greek romance. See also Rohde, pp. 438-442.

**Letters of Apollonius**

G. B. S. MEAD.
such a nature as to suggest that they were made to the taste of Julia Domna, which was, of course, well known to Philostratus. Besides this, the compiler of the biography, in the manner of ancient writers, has added in the text many notes or glosses of his own without distinguishing them from the information derived from his original sources. He has composed a number of speeches and put them in the mouth of his hero; and it has been noted by F. C. Baur and others that the Babylon of Apollonius is identical with that of Herodotus.

Apollonius, whose parents seem to have been wealthy, was born near Gaza. The country people said he was a son of Zeus, but he called himself the son of Apollonius. At an early age his father, the king of Babylon, gave him a manhood and a great power of application. He was also very beautiful. When he was 14, his father took him to Tarsus to study rhetoric with Euthydikes, and to determine to follow his strictest teaching (i. 7). He was not yet 16 when he became a scholar of the earth as pure, refused to touch wine, went barefoot, let his hair grow long, and wore only linen. At this period he spent much of his time in travels, and was also led to see the cures which were wrought there (i. 8). We are told that through him the temple became a Lyceum and Academy. When of his return to Tyana, he was still a youth; he gave his brother, who was a spendthrift, half his own inheritance, and devoted himself to learning. He acquired a great reputation among those of his relatives who needed money, and for his own part determined never to marry (i. 12). His father, Philostratus, when he was 72, said to him, 'I am going to the Nile, and will spend the rest of my days in silence, spending the time partly in Pamphylia and partly in Sicilia, and making himself understood by signs, or, when necessary, by words. These things, in their wisdom, have observed (i. 14.)' Afterwards he went to Antioch, where he visited various temples and suggested reforms in religious practice.

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he stayed two years (vill. 24). Here he insisted on visiting the care of Trophonius* at Lebadea in ... 30 f.; and J. M. Robertson, p. 285. Baltzer, writing in 1883, wondered that modern spiritualists had not claimed him.

VOLTAIRE 1906, regarded of (Hypnotism Lapponi T&e invisible. Lapponi, Christ. those however, have rightly maintained that there is no trace of any direct connexion between the two stories. In Philostratus the whole narrative bears a Greek stamp;† and his model for the life of Apollonius, if he had one, was Pythagoras.‡ As Julius Jensen further points out (p. 12), if Philostratus' work had had a polemical purpose, certain important miracles of healing would have been ascribed to Apollonius rather than to the Indians. Nor is it remarkable that two religious reformers should have lived about the same time and had somewhat similar experiences (cf. Ed. Baltzer, p. 388). It should be mentioned, in conclusion, that the newest view about Apollonius is that he was a kind of spiritualist.§ He is held by A. P. Sinnett, and to some extent by G. R. S. Mead. Mr. Sinnett, writing in 1898, says that "until the occult revival of the last twenty years, no modern students of philosophy were in possession of any clue by which it would have been possible for them to have understood Apollonius" (p. 4; cf. G. R. S. Mead, p. 116).


MAURICE A. CANNEY.

ACPOLOGETICS.—

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

1. Outline of a progressive Apology.

II. Methods of Apology and modern needs.

III. Arguments arranged according to the sphere in which they lie.

1. THE PHYSICAL REALM.

1. The evidence of nature.
2. The argument from matter, life, and mind.
3. The argument from design in nature.
4. The problems of nature.
5. Miracles.
7. Monism, true, and false.
8. Suffering.

* Baur and Réville (p. 64) also contend that Apollonius 'combines in his own person many of the characteristics of the Apostles.'

† So Petersch, p. 22; Max Wundt, p. 221. Baur's most important point is that the Greek and Roman literatures of the time are not familiar with the idea of the arising out of demoniacal possession as found in the story of Apollonius. But, as J. Robertson says (p. 280), this is 'so to make the idea possible that the superitions of Syria could enter the West only by Judaic or Christian channels.'


† Baltzer, writing in 1888, wondered that modern spiritualists had not claimed him.

Joseph Lapponi, Hypnotism and Spiritism, p. 131. A. P. Sinnett thinks it impossible for Apollonius to have made himself invisible. He would then have been able 'immediately afterwards to levitate himself and pass out, over the heads of the people assembled, from such a building as a Roman court, open to the view of many directions' (p. 26, cf. p. 5). The truth is, no doubt, that this is one of the touches introduced to suit the taste of Julia Domna.

* P. C. Baur compares this with the descent of Christ to Hell.

† The story is also told by Dio Cassius (xxvii. 18). Joseph Lapponi (Hypnotism and Spiritism, p. 132) refers to this as one of the early instances of clairvoyance or telepathy.

‡ He protected against gladiatorial shows, and against every form of cruelty by the care of his companions, regarded as part of his philosophic community (v. 4). Cf. Jean Réville, p. 2124.

§ He has been more particularly considered as a denotable apologist.

In 1898, Charles Blondt published, with a polemical purpose, Extracts of part of a work, with notes which have been attributed to Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Voltaire and others made a similar use of Apollonius.
612 APOLOGETICS

01.) The psychical realm.

1. Historical arguments.
(a) The Jews and OT prophecy.
(b) The historical Christ.
(d) The Resurrection of Christ.
(d) The history of Christianity and of the Church.

2. Apologetic arguments.
(a) The changed life of the disciples, and the conversion of St. Paul.
(b) The witness of Christian custom and institutions.
(c) The success of Christianity.
(d) The abiding unity of faith.
(e) The argument from the psychological nature of religion.

EXCURSION:—The general superiority of Christianity to other religions.

(a) The argument from intelligence, will, and conscience.
(b) The argument from consciousness.
(c) The argument from the idea of God.
(d) The Cosmological or Ontological argument.

EXCURSION:—The anthropological attack.

02.) The moral realm.

1. Arguments for theistic belief from the moral realm of thought.
(a) The universal idea of God and cultivation of religion.
(b) The moral sense in man, the conscience and the sense of sin.
(c) The moral course of the world's history.

2. Arguments for Christians from the moral realm of fact.
(a) The Christian Scriptures.
(b) The morality of Christianity.
(c) The Person of Christ, the moral ideal.

3. Arguments for non-Christians.
(a) The testimony of the spiritual faculty.
(b) The testimony to Christianity of the spiritual yearnings of men.
(c) The testimony of holy lives.
(d) The personal experience of the Christian.

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.—We define the term 'Apologetics' as the Christian defence against an attack by non-Christians. Facing outwards as it does, therefore need not include reference to the doctrine and theology which lie behind it. We may further limit this wide subject, in order to reduce it to the scope of an article by omitting its history altogether. As different ages have had to face different attacks, this would be altogether impossible, were it not that the results of centuries of assault and defence have in our own age been collected in an academic form, so as to be the basis of a science of Apologetics, as a regular branch of Christian literature and activity.

The need and use of Christian apologetics have existed from the beginning. All early Christian literature is in a sense an apologia, as is shown even in the first words of the first sermon onwards (Ac 2:14). With regard to the recognized 'Apologists' of the succeeding age, we shall note only two features. On the one hand, they found themselves called on to defend not so much the beliefs of Christianity as the behaviour of Christians; and, on the other hand, they developed the offensive as well as the defensive method of answer. Among the chief names are those of Justin Martyr, Aristides, Melito of Sardis, Minucius Felix, Tatian, and Tertullian.

From the 3rd cent. attacks became less personal and more doctrinal, and in the hands of such enemies as Celsus, the more hostile Neo-Platonists, and Julian, the Scriptures had become an object of ridicule. The later apologists are therefore of a somewhat provincial stamp, and we can only refer to such varied writers as Origen (against Celsus), Arnobius, Lactantius, Cyril of Alexandria (against Julian), Macarius Magnes, and Augustine (de Christo Dei). Gradually the need for such works ceased, and we pass to the later centuries. We find that apologists deal no longer with the faith generally, but with special problems in connexion with it. It is the philosophic aspect that the Middle Ages give us, and the works of chief importance are the Monologion and Prosligion of Anselm, the Dialogue Inter Philosophum Judaeum et Christianum of Abelard, and the Summa Theologiae contra Gentiles of Thomas Aquinas.

The work of Anselm is of the most abiding interest, for it was he who first formulated the famous a priori proof of the being of God known as the Ontological argument. A new era began with the rise of Deism in the 18th cent., when the effort was made to set up a 'religion of nature' in place of Christianity. In England the chief answer came from Bishop Butler, who saw that the deistical admissions as to the existence and supremacy of God, the sins of men, and the reality of judgment, were valuable premises on which to base an argument for the acceptance of the whole of the faith. Starting with natural religion, he showed in his Analogy, by an argument which will always remain a famous Christian apologia, that re-vealed religion is, if anything, more difficult and more incredible.

The next attack, as represented by David Hume, was upon the credibility of miracles, and Paley's Evidences of Christianity, in answer, remains a classic in the history of English apologetics. The 19th cent. saw a more determined assault on the supernatural, and the growth of Positivism, Agnosticism, and Scepticism has been such that it must still be reckoned with in discussing the apologetics of the present day, and count has still to be taken of the greater number of men as well as of Haeckel, in setting forth, as we now proceed to do, the present state of the problem.

See J. Donaldson, 'The Apologists' (cols. ii. and iii. of Hist. of Crit., 1884); J. Patrick, The Reason of the Christian, ed. to Cuthbert, 1890; C. M. Riggs, A. St. Anselm of Canterbury, 1890; J. Cairns, Unbelief in the 19th Century, 1880; W. A. Spooner, Bishop Butler, 1901.

B. APOLOGETICS OF TO-DAY.—Instead of giving the outline of any one present-day apologetic work, an attempt is made below to state in general terms the chief arguments that are being used to-day to defend the Christian faith. Naturally they will be given by way of statement and not by way of argument, and will be placed in an order which is meant to be scientific, rather than such as will make the most forcible appeal to readers.


First, it will be well to indicate the limitations in his arguments which the wise apologist is ready to concede. He does not claim that they afford irrefragable proof of his beliefs. To assert that Christianity can be conclusively demonstrated by merely intellectual proof is to stuffify the nature of a true revelation. If an essential of true religion be the exercise of faith, and if God has revealed Himself by appealing to a faculty in men which is not their reason, it will be impossible to make a man a Christian by mere argument. The final appeal is to the heart; the appeal to the mind must content itself with proving without a shadow of doubt that Christianity is rational, credible, and probable. This is specially true of the arguments for the being of God. None of them amounts to positive proof, and yet it must be forgotten that there are many of them, and that their cumulative force would enormously to their weight.

I. Outline of a progressive Apology.—We now proceed to give an outline of the successive stages by which the argument leads up from simple Theism to the Christian creed.

(a) NATURAL RELIGION.—God exists, and may be known apart from revelation. This is proved
by—(1) The argument from General Consent. That which is merely subjective when applied to the spiritual experience of the individual, and is therefore viewed with suspicion by opponents, becomes objective when it shows a 'consensus gentium' to belief in a God. (2) The Cosmological or 'Teleological' argument, which suggests the universe as an effect which must have a cause. (3) The Teleological or Design argument, which suggests that the order of nature implies a First Cause who is intelligent and free. (4) The Ontological argument, which points to God as the highest imaginable object of thought, and the ground of thought itself. (5) The Moral argument, which takes man's conscience as implying a lawgiver who inspires him without being identified with him. (6) The Historical argument, which points to the sense of purpose and design running through human history.

(5) Revealed Religion.—(1) Natural religion leads us to expect something further, and suggests a Deity who would be sure to make Himself known. (2) This further step necessarily involves the supernatural. The objections to a supernatural revelation must be faced, viz. (a) such inadequate theistic theories as Pantheism, Deism, and Modern Theism, (b) the old anti-theistic arguments of Atheism, Agnosticism, and Materialism. Miracle must be discussed in its relation to natural law and to the purpose of revelation. (3) The Christian revelation must be shown to be intrinsically superior to the rival religions—Polytheism, Buddhism, and Muhammadanism—and to be the successor and higher fulfilment of Judaism. (4) The argument is led to that around which all centres—the Person of Christ. The Christ of the Gospels and Epistles is to us the living Christ, to whom the power of the resurrection makes all other miracles possible, and Christ remains the moral miracle of the world. (5) This is naturally followed by the history and influence of Christianity, as educating and regenerating the world, and showing a superhuman power of recuperation and continued existence. (6) This leads to the dispensation of the Holy Spirit and the work of the Church. Christian institutions, such as the ministry, the Sacraments, and the Christian year, are seen to be witnesses both to Christ and Christianity.

II. Methods of Apology and modern needs.—The bitter attack upon miracles in the 19th cent. has caused recent apologists to seek some line of proof that should be independent of this confidant argument. It is stated that the chief stress is now laid. And the subject is no longer divided according to the old divisions of Natural and Revealed Religion. In the attempt to use every line of defence, it is preferable to marshal the evidence in accordance with the successive spheres in which they lie.

(1) Lowest stands the physical realm, but it is the arguments of science with which it is filled. The development of physical science during last century, and in particular, the connection between evolution in nature and the attacks of Huxley and of Herbert Spencer, and yet more recently of Haeckel, make this an important part of modern Apologetics. The question of miracles lies only partly within it, for Christian still adopts the attitude of Paley towards Hume, and refuses to admit that any Christian miracle is a merely physical occurrence. But the arguments in favour of a theistic religion, which, in the face of modern Materialism and Agnosticism, still stand the basis of a defence of Christianity, are many of them physical and physiological in form. Besides actual arguments found in the physical sphere, there are many problems connected with nature which need disamina.
yet it is of but little use in Apologetics. For a spiritual religion must be spiritually understood, and it is only to the spiritual that it can make its final appeal.

It may therefore be said that the moral argument from the Person of Christ forms the chief line of defence, and the separation of these higher realms of evidence from the physical is in itself a reply to those opponents who try to confine the entire issue to the latter.

III. Arguments arranged according to the sphere in which they lie.—(i) The Physical Realm.—The physical, as we have seen, is the foundation of life, mind, and matter. —We begin with the mystery of 'Being,' and a study of the objects of sense reveals that matter is the basis of them. But material substances are of different kinds, and some of them are marked off from the rest as self-acting, i.e., living. These are compound substances, capable of reduction to the same elementary substances as the rest, but possessed of the faculties of feeding, growing, and reproducing. But the life which they possess is far more than the sum-total of the substances of which they are composed; it is a mystery, with no explanation of its origin. And there is a further mystery, for connected with some of these living material beings is mind, which is not demonstrably derivable from life, and yet the life is thought of, which is the expression of mind, appears to be far more than simply a movement of matter. But there is an attribute of all being, known as force, which is an important factor throughout. As mental force, and as vital force, it must necessarily be conceived of as inherent in mind and life. But as physical force, in the lowest of the three stages, it has to be regarded, as Newton insisted, as exterior to matter, and acting upon it. Thus far, physical science can speak plainly. But what answer is to be given when the question is pushed a stage further back? How did these things come to be thus? How did matter originate? How is the gulf to be bridged that separates life from matter and mind from life? And whence comes the force that acts on us and upon them all?

Materialism and Agnosticism have their answer; but are they as reasonable as is the following Christian explanation? Force is derived from an eternal force. Matter has not always existed, but was created at the fiat of His will. This implies a personal Creator, a First Cause who is both single, as shown by the unity of nature, and supernatural, because all the laws and forces of nature do not contain Him, but show His work. This by no means denies the Atomic Theory, but explains how the 'favourable circumstances' for the new formations of atoms came about; and the theory of Evolution seen to be the method of His working, while there is no need of lame attempts to bridge the chasm between matter, life, and thought, and to make an argument to make certain preconceived ideas about religion fit in with science; rather is it the most reasonable induction from the facts of the physical realm. It lays no blame on science for getting no further back than matter and force; for it holds a true agnosticism which denies that it is the province of science to go further. Merely weighed by probabilities, it can claim to be the most rational and the least difficult explanation of the problem of being.


(ii) The Moral Realm.—This evidence, so keen a weapon in the days of Paley's Natural Theology, is said by opponents to have become blunted by the theories of modern science. The Romanes claimed that the place of supernatural design has been taken by natural selection, basing his claim upon the fact that all species of plants and animals were slowly evolved, and not separately and suddenly created. But creation by a God need not depend on the natural processes of evolution as so many examples of His method of working. Perhaps it is sufficient to insist that evolution is a process, not a cause. It serves only to push the evidence of design further back, and not to stop it. The popular objection is that the evidence of design lies in pointing to 'nature red in tooth and claw.' This opens the question of the problem of pain, which, as far as it relates to man, requires separate treatment. With regard to the sufferings of the animal world, some exaggregation of them seems to be made in these days, by attempting to lower creatures our own standard of sensibility. This is a department in which the apologist must be careful not to ignore the discoveries of modern Biology.

See Biology, Suffering.


2. The problems of nature.—(a) Miracles.—The apologist refuses to limit the discussion of miracles to the physical realm, claiming their explanation to be found in the history of man. But it is on the material side that the attack has come. The modern instinct revolts from miracles, and echoes Hume's assertion that no amount of testimony can render them credible. In our defence of them we must be careful where to begin. To one who does not believe in a God they are indeed incredible. He exalts certain so-called 'natural laws' into the supreme place, and rules out all that does not seem to agree with them. But if it be assumed that the world had a Creator not according to the foregoing arguments from nature, and those suggested by other lines of thought, miracles at once become possible. For a miracle may be defined as 'an act of God which visibly deviates from the ordinary working of His power, designed, while capable of serving other uses, to authenticate a Divine message.' If we begin with this assumption, we may still argue, as Paley did, that miracles have the same degree of probability as God's revelation of Himself to men.

Therefore, if we begin with the objection 'Miracles are impossible,' we must task the objector a stage further back, and discuss with him the belief in a God. But miracles are not always discredited by such reference to the main issue. The following are some of the objections levelled against them:—

(a) Miracles are inconsistent with the order of
nature. This argument not only ignores the working of a God who still has control over His creation, but also gives a rigid uniformity to certain so-called 'natural laws,' which after all are based only on the imperfect induction and limited experience of the human mind. If modern science has arrived at these laws by induction from a study of the universe, and not by the arbitrary assumption that these laws are uniform, all evidence must be taken into account. And as miracles lay claim to evidence, science must needs take them into consideration, or it will be distorting its own methods. Such evidence, however, lifts the question out of the physical realm.

(2) It is further objected that the admission of miracles implies a lax or unscientific conception of the course of nature. And it is, indeed, true that Christians sometimes speak as if only miracles were the signs of God's working, and as if they interfered with the course of nature by subverting its laws. But we must insist that in speaking of miracles as 'supernatural,' we do not refer them to any other agency than that of so-called 'natural' events. We claim only that, if both historical and moral reasons demand it, it is both credible and reasonable that God should occasionally do what is outside man's ordinary experience of the world. We do not pretend that a miracle would interrupt the ordinary course of nature, he must certainly expect that God will do the same.

(3) Perhaps the favourite attack on miracles today is the rationalizing of Biblical miracles one by one. It is claimed that such miracles may after all be brought into harmony with nature, for they are really to be referred to 'natural' causes. To have exalted them into more is the result of mistake or fraud. We reply that only a master in the science of this world can make use of the evidence. We have taken at once out of the physical realm into that of psychology and history.

(4) Attempts are continually made to discredit all miracles by pointing to those that Christians themselves do not accept. But we may confine the issue to those Biblical miracles which have their climax in the Resurrection. We are not called on to explain the work of Pharaoh's magicians, the many marvels of the Middle Ages, or the like. The real test is, are we justified in believing that such miracles actually happened, as an attestation of a Divine revelation?

See Mozley, Miracles (Hampton Lectures for 1886); Lord Grinthaorphs, Review of Ivan and Dixey on Miracles, 1883; A. B. Bruce, The Miraculous Element in the Gospels, 1886.

(b) Evolution.—The modern theory of Evolution touches the faith at many points. The sceptic uses it to discredit the design argument (see above), and to show that there is no room for the existence or working of a God; to explain the life of the one Perfect Man as due simply to natural causes in the evolutionary progress of the race; and to point to the origin and development of Christianity as an evolution from natural causes and previous sources. The agnostic refuses to hand over Evolution to be a mere weapon in the enemy's hand. He claims that it is also his own. He sees in it the visible processes (or rather, the theories about them which the human mind has tried to express) whereby God works. The evolution of Christ and Christianity he refuses to discuss merely in the physical realm, but applies the historical method to both, and finds that they can be shown to be evolved from natural causes only by appeal to divine pre-existing principles. The evolution of Evolution itself. But the Christian apostologist is not content merely to apply the theory of Evolution in the same sphere as his opponent. He claims that the principle may be extended more widely to embrace the moral world in the present as well as the physical world in the past, to strengthen the conviction and hope of the Christian with regard to the future. The following words will illustrate such a position (J. M. Wilson, Evolution and the Holy Scriptures [1893], p. 18):

'Most of those truths that we have grasped only in words, the Unity of Nature, the Divine Plan, the Omnipotence and Omnipresence of God. . . . It is, moreover, a marvellous help to faith and patient endurance, to believe that there has been an evolution in nature in the past, so there is such a process in man and in the moral world now going on.'


(c) Monism, true and pretended. The tendency of modern science has been to discover a closer unity in all things than had been imagined. Upon this the opponents of Christianity have not been slow to seize. They have never been able satisfactorily to bridge the gulf between matter and spirit. But if they have succeeded in raising a wall, their Monism has been discredited by recent research, and that all phenomena, whether material or spiritual, must be explained as essentially one, and that therefore the only rational theory of the universe is some form of Monism. But the wise apologist does not meet with this a denial. He is ready to listen to science as long as science retains its proper sphere; and if monistic belief seems the most rational, he does not reject it because it has been tried to controvert Christianity, but he applies it to matter, and then reconsiders his theistic position in the light of his conclusion. Therefore, the first question to be asked is what is meant by Monism, and the second what is its bearing on Christian belief.

(a) Monism is a word which is growing in popularity, but it certainly does not always mean the same thing. There is a naturalistic, or scientific, and there is a spiritual Monism. The case is like that of Evolution. To-day one aspect of the theory is said to overthrow Christianity, but another side is claimed as supporting it. There is no doubt that the Monism which makes itself most heard is that of the naturalistic kind, such as is identified with the name of Haeckel. But it does, in fact, turn out to be materialistic, and recognizes spirit as well as matter; but it refuses to allow a dualistic distinction between God and the world, and regards Force and Matter as only two sides of one reality or Substance, which does everything and is everything. There is an invariable 'Law of Substance' whereby this Substance is in a process of evolution which causes eternal motion throughout the Universe. Such evolution is succeeded in turn by dissolution, and thus new worlds are constantly being born and reborn. There is no place left for God, freedom, or immortality. The one single Substance operates of necessity and without ceasing, through all things, so that everything is determined by what has gone before; and when each individual has a claim upon the next, it gives way to another, and disappears. But there are modifications of such Monism which are not necessarily anti-theistic. Some allow that there is an underlying Source of all things, of which Force and Matter represent principles, and all phenomena,' and even the name of God may be admitted if 'stripped of its theological and anthropomorphic associations, and not opposed to or set above the principle of the unity of nature.'
But there is quite a different kind of Monism which the Christian may fearlessly accept and assert, and that is Spiritual Monism. The term has been explained (W. L. Walker, Christian Theism and a Spiritual Monism, 1906, p. 202) as 'adopted in order to set forth both agreement with Science in acceptance of its facts, and difference from the interpretation which some, or even most, of Science give to these facts. It acknowledges the two-sidedness that is everywhere manifested, and sees everything and every being in the world to be the result of the working or unfolding, or development in its form, of ideas or forces which are equally real, as both material and spiritual. But, instead of giving the predominance to the material side, or equal value merely to the two sides, or leaving them both unexplained, it regards the spiritual side as that which is logically first and deepest, the core of which the material side only expresses and serves—that which manifests its supremacy in our own consciousness.' And the claim that this form of Monism makes is this: 'So far as we are able to understand ourselves, and to look out upon the universe, the Monistic idea can be tolerated which does not both do us justice and transcend us. And certainly a monism which treats the world of phenomena as real, whilst regarding illusion, or as ultimately mechanical, the outer person, as sufficiently extraordinary, is a Spiritualistic Monism not likely of the latter, nor can it be denied that it fairly fulfils the former' (F. Ballard, Theismonism True, 1906, p. 378).

Before passing to our other question, we note the impossibility of trying to confine the issue to the merely physical realm.

(b) The bearing of Monism upon Christian belief can only be briefly indicated, and may perhaps be best expressed in the outline of the argument as given in the last-named work (pp. 380-400). (i.) There is no contradiction, or even collision, between Spiritual Monism and Theism. (ii.) It causes no weakening of preceding reasons for Theism. (iii.) It leads up to Divine Personality. (iv.) It renders, with Theism, the name of an automaton. (v.) It demands, however, the purification and enlargement of theistic phraseology. (vi.) A twofold development is involved, namely, a fuller recognition of Divine Immanence, and a blending of the Transcendence. It is in such directions as this that the greatest change is coming over Apologetics at the present moment.


(d) Suffering.—This is a problem which has perplexed mankind in every age. It has to be faced in relation to every system, and it has often been used in the attempt to discredit Christianity. The weakness of this is shown when it is argued that there is not a God who looks after the world as a Father, and the sufferings of the rest of creation are said to point to a 'nature red in tooth and claw' such as no beneficent Creator would allow. We have to admit that the problem still remains for us a perplexing one, but at the same time we claim that Christianity is the only system under which it may be viewed in a satisfactory and hopeful light. Taking physical pain as the simplest form of suffering, we may see in it a useful and benign purpose, as formal or 'danger signals' without which far more harm would follow. And then we may apply this to suffering of a more complex kind. In arguing with any but the mere hedonist, we may assume that the purpose of life is something other than enjoyment. If it be 'the growing development of our faculties through the discipline of life,' then it is easy to see how it is helped by suffering. And we may recognize in it a twofold use, partly for the education of the individual, and partly for the well-being of the race even at the cost of the suffering of the individual.

But what is the bearing of Christianity on the problem? (a) The belief in a re-adjustment of moral order implies that there is a basis of suffering in the present world. (b) The Fatherhood of God teaches that He is in sympathy with the sufferings of His creation, and the realization of such a sympathy has already proved 'the secret of endurance in the sufferings of others.' (c) The Cross of Christ, as not merely an isolated act of vicarious suffering, but the manifestation of the abiding union of the Divine in suffering, proves that the Divine sympathy is real. The deeds of Christ are inseparably linked with His words. His example with His precept, and the sufferer sees the problem wrapped in a new glory in the light of such echoes as 'Not my will but thine be done,' and 'He that loseth his life shall find it.' (d) Not only does Christianity throw light on the problem in the case of the sufferer, but the monistic faith is beneficent, and can be tolerated which does not both do us justice and transcend us. And certainly a monism which treats the world of phenomena as real, whilst regarding illusion, or as ultimately mechanical, the outer person, as sufficiently extraordinary, is a Spiritualistic Monism not likely of the latter, nor can it be denied that it fairly fulfils the former.' (F. Ballard, Theismonism True, 1906, p. 378).
must, therefore, be content to mention them, and
to refer to books where they are discussed.

(1) The authenticity of the four Gospels; the
claim that either they record facts, or else nothing
whatever can be said about Jesus of Nazareth;
the arbitrariness and unscientific nature of the attempt
to offer any objective history that of the Gospels;
the mutual relation of the Synoptic Gospels; the
strengthening of the evidence through their various
lines of testimony; the witness of the Fourth
Gospel in relation to them.

See B. Weiss, Intro. to the NT (tr. Davidson, 1897-4); Gore,
The Incarnation (Bampton Lectures, 1911); Westcott, St.
John, 1882; Bultmann, The Gospel according to St.
Mark, 1926; Sanday, The Life of Jesus in recent
Research, 1907; J. Orr, The Incarnation and recent
Criticism, 1907.

(2) The historical accuracy of Acts; the impossi-
bility that it is a sequel to anything but the history
of the Gospels; its witness to the historical Person
of Christ.

See Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller (1896); Harnack, Luke
the Physician (tr. Wilkinson, 1897), etc.

The Epistles: the earliest witness to the life of
Christ in the value of their incidental allusions;
the basis afforded by the four uncontroversial
Epistles of St. Paul.

See R. J. Knowling, The Witness of the Epistles, 1892,
and other works.

(3) The Resurrection of Christ.—This, of course,
is included in the proof of His historical Person
on the line indicated above. But from the beginning
it formed the central evidence of Christianity,
and, at the same time, as the supreme miracle
of revelation, it has been the centre of attack. It
must, therefore, receive separate treatment, owing
to its profound importance; for it is the very
centre of the Christian position. With it there
stand or fall both the claim of Christ to be
Divine and the Christian's hope in his own resur-
rection. At the same time, as the supreme miracle
of the Christian revelation, it will bear the weight
of all the other Gospel miracles. To have proved
it to be historic is to have routed the attack on
miracles, while isolated assaults on minor won-
ders must be brought to face this main issue. The
evidence for the Resurrection has been summed up
under the following heads:

(a) The evidence of St. Paul. Not only is the
risen Christ the mainspring of his changed life,
but he asserts that he, as well as certain others
whom he specifies, has seen Him with his own
eyes. This is the earliest written testimony we
have.

(b) The evidence of the other Apostles and NT
writers. Not only is this found all through their
writings, but it forms the text and centre of the
sermons recorded in Acts.

(c) The indirect evidence contained in the records,
which establishes the fact that the appearances
were under varied circumstances, to those in
different frames of mind, in the same country and
generation as they are said to have happened, and
the absence of a changed life to believers and of
bitter opposition from their enemies. The sudden
change from sorrow to joy in the first disciples is
incapable of any other explanation.*

(d) The evidence of the empty grave. Had
Christ's enemies in the city, or any other place,
produced it; had His followers possessed it,
Christianity would have been consciously founded

* See below, under Psychological arguments, (a) concerning
its changed life.

on a gigantic fraud. This view is now held by no
one.

(e) The evidence of Christ's life before the Crucifixion.
The records show that He fully expected this sequel, though His disciples were quite unable to
grasp it or to realize it when it had actually
happened.

(f) The evidence of the Church. Not only has the
Resurrection been the central belief of the
Church from those days until these, but such in-
situtions as Sunday and the Eucharist, and
the rite that is contained in them, cannot be explained
by any other means.

Such evidence is far stronger than that which
supports most of the accepted history of the ancient
world. Such objections as the absence of eye-
witnesses and the inconsistency of the accounts
would never have been raised, but for the stupendous
issue depending on the historic truth of the Resur-
rection.

Opponents are powerless to deny that the evi-
dence was sufficient, from their own point of view,
to enable every Christian absolutely to accept the
fact, and make it the centre of his belief and con-
duct.

(3) The History of the Resurrection.

1. The thief theory.—The disciples stole Christ's body, as
perhaps He had told them to, in order to make men believe in
the resurrection. Such a theory is not only historically
unfounded, but was universally discredited.

2. The swoon theory.—Christ did not really die, but revived,
escaped, and pretended to have risen. This view of Paulus
and Schiermacher has been refuted even by Strauss as inconsistent
with the character of such a moral reformer, while its practical
difficulties are insurmountable.

3. The vision theory.—Renan and Strauss assert that the
belief arose from the hallucination of several disciples, the first to sug-
pect it being Mary Magdalene, an excitable woman who had once
been possessed. But this directly negates the idea of the only
existing records, which show that excited expectation
was entirely absent. Nor is it possible to think, if the Resur-
rection was only subjective, that these visions suddenly gave
place after six weeks to the calm strength of the early Church.

4. The theory of objective visions, or telegram hypothesis.—This
is Keim's attempted compromise. The appearances were not
purely subjective, but the objective cause was not a risen body
of Christ, but His glorified Spirit comforting them by 'sending
telegrams from heaven.' But such a theory, without avoiding
the supernatural, does not free the disciples from hallucination,
for they certainly thought their Master was there in the flesh,
and not in heaven.

5. The mythical theory.—There were no appearances at all;
but the strong wish of the disciples to vindicate their crucified Master was misunderstood by the Apostolic Church. Hence arose the myth, which was later embodied in the legendary accounts contained in the
Gospels. Thus Weisszicker and Martineau would say that the
Church is accounted for as an evolution from the visionary
flash upon the disciples in their sorrow that 'Heroes die not,' and
after all their Master was not dead. The craving for something
more objective led to the invention of legendary
Christianities. We can only answer here, that there is no
time for the growth of a myth that would charge the human
Jesus into the Divine Christ of our Gospels, that it even demands
that such a change of belief should have taken place before Pente-
cost, and that such an explanation of the experience of the first
disciples cannot be made to fit with the only records we have
of their words and conduct. We thus turn back to the Chris-
tian theory as the only rational and historical explanation of the
facts. Any further discussion of the nature of the glorified body belongs to the province of theology. It is in vain to try to have assurance that the supreme miracle on which Christianity
is based is a historic fact.

See Bruce, Basle, pp. 333-398; W. Milligan, The Resurrection
of our Lord, 1851; H. Latham, The Risen Master, 1901;
Sparrow Simpson, Our Lord's Resurrection, 1905, and
S. Baur, W. Milligan, The Risen Master, 1901, in
DOG, 'Resurrection in DCG.'

(d) The history of Christianity and of the
Church.—Here, again, is involved, in the first
place, a study of Acts and the Epistles. Their early
development must be proved. Christianity is not
the creation of St. Paul. The early Church did not
develop as Baur suggested, but as indicated by
the early Fathers. The primitive existence of
Church order witnesses to the same effect.

* However, the theory must not be entirely discounted which
accepts the evidence of b, e, and y, as additions to a. See K.
Lake, The Historical Evidence for the Resur-
rection, 1907.
2. Psychological arguments. — We must explain that this term is used for convenience to denote that class of argument which is not strictly historical, but which deals with the desires and wishes of individuals, or with the inferences which may be drawn from Christian practices, or the relation of Christianity to other systems. The following are given as examples of such arguments:

(a) The Disciples, and the conversion of St. Paul. — Up to the death of Christ the disciples had shown themselves timid in their behaviour and earthly in their expectations. They suddenly became full of boldness and joy and a new spiritual force which nothing could resist. The psychological difficulty of such a change is enormous. It is overcome only by the explanation that their Master rose again, spiritualized their ideas, and gave them an abiding gift of the Holy Spirit. And even if these unlettered Galileans had failed, it is impossible that they could have in their turn deceived a cultured and expert Jewish Rabbi. The conversion and apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be true revelation.


(b) The witness of Christian customs and institutions. — Allusion has already been made to these in the special relation to the Resurrection. But there are other evidential uses to which may be put such recognized parts of Christianity as the Ministry, the Sacraments, and the Christian Year. They satisfy the cravings of human nature, its needs, tendencies, and aspirations, in a way that no other religion does. The ministry is founded on the theory that man is social, and needs organization, continuity, and authority in the guidance of life. The sacramental system takes into account the composite nature of man, using and welding into one both the material and the spiritual elements, and at the same time conveying in a definite form that communication of Divine grace which we should naturally expect to be the climax of any revelation which God makes of Himself to the individual. The Christian Year links us with the first centuries. Easter and the Lord's Day were already observed in NT times, the observance of Friday as the day of the Crucifixion is of early origin; and so the list might be continued. Not only do these things witness to the historicity of the facts which they commemorate, but, viewed from the sphere which is psychical rather than historical, they bring the whole question of Apologetics out of the past, into the present, and enable us to postulate the real life of those roots of Christianity which are hidden in the past, when we examine carefully those living and growing branches which are visible in the present.


(c) The success of Christianity. — Aside from the moral aspect of the question, an estimate of facts and their relation to mere human possibilities of explanation, suggests an evidence of the Divine origin of Christianity, and of the work of the Holy Spirit in the history of the Church. At the same time it has to be remembered that other religions may make the same claim, so that the claim of Christianity must be shown to be unique. The following are the chief points in the argument:

1. The early, wide, and, within certain limits, irresistible diffusion of Christianity. It required an enormous power to kill polytheism for ever, and to leave not a shrine of a heathen god behind; but this was what Christianity did.

2. Its power of revival and restoration after every declension and decay. This may be traced throughout history, through the Middle Ages, the Reformation, and more modern revivals, and Christianity may be shown to possess elements which Muhammadanism cannot claim.

3. The resistance which it has been able to offer to successive assaults. From the days of the earliest martyrs persecution has been powerless to crush it. All the forces of the ancient world were arrayed against it, but the only result was the decay and fall of Rome itself. And it has faced all objections of later days, and can point to a confusion among its opponents which makes one school of anti-Christian thought contradict another.

4. It is specially armed with means and motives for self-propagation. Its work of proselytizing, founded on the pure motives of the missionary spirit, is on a different plane from Buddhism and Muhammadanism. The rule of faith expressed in its creeds, the universal application of its sacred writings, the fact that they could be in their turn deceived a cultured and expert Jewish Rabbi. The conversion and apostleship of St. Paul alone, duly considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be true revelation.

See J. Cairns, The Success of Christianity and modern Explanations of it (Pres. Day Trac.).

(d) The abiding unity of faith. — In the face of the divisions of Christendom, and the misunderstandings which separate branches of the Catholic Church, it may seem bold to found an argument on the unity of Christendom. But when a wider view is taken, and Christianity is compared with other religions, a strong argument for the Divine origin and preservation of the Faith is found to lie in its continued acceptance. The Creeds themselves, handed on intact from age to age, present a remarkable phenomenon. Their silence on non-essentials combines with their insistence on fundamentals to prevent their ever being out of date. No other religion can point to so broad a unity. The unity of Muhammadanism or Buddhism is either local or at least Oriental, and can make no such appeal to the whole world. And the fundamentals upon which Christian belief has been based, quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus, are just those truths which are not shared by any people outside Christendom. Such are the spirituality and Fatherhood of God, the moral condition of man and the blackness of his sin, the possibilities of universal salvation by redemption through One Person, in whom a human and a Divine nature are combined, so that the claim of Christianity must be shown to be unique. The following are the chief points in the argument:

1. The early, wide, and, within certain limits, irresistible diffusion of Christianity. It required an enormous power to kill polytheism for ever,
resurrection of the body influences men in the present.

And this unity of faith is also manifested in the present.

It is a profound marvel that the Churches in different localities in the first days did not soon begin to show some cleavage of faith and the practices that result from it.

It is a still greater marvel that in recent generations the multiplication of sects, the revolt against authority, and the rise of free speculation within the Church, have not made more impression on the fundamental unity of the Faith. The most difficult explanation of such phenomena lies in the Divine origin and preservation of Christianity.


(e) The argument from the psychological nature of religion.—This is the result of a study of religion which is of comparatively recent growth.

Kant began the investigation of religion not merely by reflection on what was positive and objective, but by taking it as an internal and mental fact. Consciousness proves that religion is both subjective or mental state; but consciousness itself must be analyzed, in order to analyze religion. In this way a threefold division of mental phenomena has been established—into cognitions, emotions, and will.

Religion might be a state of intellect, sensibility, or will, or some combination of two or all of these factors. Hegel identified religion and thought. Yet no mere intellectual act constitutes religion, though the exercise of reason is an essential part of it. If religion has no rational foundation, it has no real foundation. Others resolve religion into feeling or sentiment. But every feeling requires an explanation, which can be found only in an exercise of intellect.

Hume traces religion to fear. Feuerbach to desire, Schleiermacher to a feeling of dependence, to which Mansel adds the conviction of moral obligation. Strauss combines all these. Kant identifies religion with morality. But it is not simply these things in religion, but it includes faith also.

(2) Buddhism.—This deserves a word of separate treatment, as its moral code is profoundly attractive, and it counts among almost as many adherents as Christianity. But really it is not so much a religion as a philosophy, an inherently atheistic system which does not offer a real Deity for worship, and suggests no hope for an after life.

The very fact that its followers have instinctively demanded an object for worship, has caused it to become corrupted and obscured by the introduction of pure pantheism.

See C. F. Alken, The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ, 1900.

(3) Muhammadanism.—Here it is its success which forms the chief recommendation of the religion; but this has been largely disturbed by the forebears of means of propagation which have been required. Its pure monotheism brings it into relation with Judaism and Christianity, but its God is as distant as He is sublime, and its theological outcome is simply awe and submission, not loving intercourse.' The lowness of its moral standard prevents it from having a civilizing influence, and the moral state of society under it may be judged by the painfully degraded position of women. In all the realms of science, art, and life but on a book, checks its powers of expansion and adaptation, and has reduced it to a code which is the enemy of all real progress.

(4) Judaism.—This is the one pure religion of the ancient world which seems to be a state of theism if the latter were obliged to treat it as false. But, on the contrary, it claims for itself all that is best and purest and most permanent in Judaism. Historically, the one religion grew out of the other; theology, however, to the germ of Christian doctrine is to be found in the OT doctrines of God and man, its progressive revelation, and its Messianic hope.

There is no desire to belittle the one pure religion of the ancient world, but there is much in it that is incomplete. Christianity simply claims to fulfill it, to answer its problems, and to carry it forward to finality.

The question of the position of the OT is here involved.


It must be noted that the general superiority of Christianity to these religions includes the fact that it sums up all that is best in them. We do not stigmatize them as utterly false, but we recognize them as a feeling truth. To embrace the Christianity claims to be the final expression (see Excursus at the end of the 'Psychical Realm', p. 620).

For the whole subject, see Fiiill, Theism, Lii. ii. (Baird Lectures, 1870); A. Bruce, Ancient Mysteries and Their Teachers, 1872; T. W. Best, The Introd. to Rhet. of Religion, 1859; LeRoy, Mahomedanism: its Strength and Weakness; Lidstone, Essays and Addresses, 1892, ps. 1-60; Eliot Howard, Non-Christian Religious Systems, 1906; Westcott, The Gospel of Life, 1891, esp. ch. v.; Marcus Dodd, Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ, 1877; Pan-Anglo-American Papers, i. 1908; J. E. Cadell, The Distinctive Missive of the Old Religions, 1892.

3. Metaphysical arguments.—(a) The argument from intelligence, will, and conscience, commonly called the Ontological argument.—In nature, because we are thinkers ourselves, we realize that what is before us is the result of thought. We grasp by our intelligence that intelligence is exhibited in all work in which there are parts which bear an ordered relation to each other, and in which the whole is something more than the mere sum of the individual parts. Therefore we infer that what the mind decides, mind has produced, and the causative intelligence underlies order in morality, the sense of a moral law, and the demand for ethical perfection, in the voluntary fulfillment of such non-natural requirements as the dictates of duty, imply a standard, a superhuman will, a Holy One, such as has been revealed to the world in Christ. In the realm of conscience, there
lies in the human mind an instinct which expresses itself in the conviction of a survival after death and of future retribution and reward. In the face of all ilks and miseries, man has continued to exist, and anticipates a re-adjusting of the balance which will not terminate until the full development of that moral law, of which conscience is the representative and antithesis has been met in full. The intelligence, the will, and the conscience thus combine in a threefold suggestion of an Intelligence which creates, of a Lawgiver who imposes a superhuman will, and a Judge who re-adjusts the balance. But in the personality of the universe, nature, and the unity with it of our human nature, that which lies behind all nature, and which the various parts of our human nature suggest, will in itself be One. We therefore arrive at a Personal God, as He has been revealed in Christ.


(b) The argument from consciousness.—We cannot stay to discuss that part of Herbert Spencer's philosophy which deals with the consciousness (see J. E. Bough, The Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer, examined (Rel. Tract Soc.)). But human consciousness or personality affords an argument which is indeed kindred to the foregoing, but has been put in a form of which the following is an outline.

From the consciousness of direct experience man discovers that he is possessed of a Permanent Personality, endowed with will, intelligence, moral and spiritual affections. 2. Through consciousness further developed by reflection on himself and the universe, he attains the conviction that over all is a Supreme Personality, endowed with omnipotent Will, infinite Intelligence, perfect Righteousness, and Love. It is contended that these results of consciousness rest on the same basis, and stand or fall together. The consciousness of a human soul is denied, all the rest vanish with it. On the other hand, if it is accepted, it carries all the rest in its train. Thus it is from the knowle of himself that man rises to the knowledge of God. Heism is the fruit of belief in man's real humanity; agnosticism the denial of this humanity.

See Brownlow Maitland, Theism or Agnosticism, 1878.

(c) The argument from the idea of God.—Whence does the idea of God come to us? It is not originated by any of the arguments we use, whether ontological, cosmological, or teleological. They help to verify it, but they postulate it as already existent in the mind. It cannot be traced to man's conscience, heart, or reason, though these faculties may verify and develop it. There is no place where the idea of God has not existed. Therefore God exists. Kant overthrew the original ontological argument by asserting that any cognition of things is impossible where there is no empirical matter to work upon. But we refuse to allow that God is merely known. Agnosticism really asserts not only that man cannot know God, but that God cannot make Himself known. And to say this is to deny His existence. But a flat denial of God's existence is possible only for the man who has passed through every sphere in his search for Him. In short, in order to be able to assert authoritatively that no God exists, a man must be omniscient and omnipresent, i.e. he must himself be God, and himself give the lie to himself.

The Cosmological or Aristotelian argument.—We have the idea of causality inherent in us. We attribute everything to some cause, but even though we feel ourselves on a higher level of causality than ordinary nature, we do not feel ourselves as a cause. Our notions fall back to a First Cause, which is the final cause of all, and itself uncaused itself. The study of the universe suggests that this cause must be, not mechanical, but full of order and intelligence, and the study of our own personality leads us further to think of this Cause as a personal God.

See, for the metaphysical and philosophic aspect, Caldecott, The Believing in God in the Light of Philosophy (Camb. Theol. Soc. Tracts); E. J. Ellsworth, Personality Human or Divine, 19th, and Reason and Revelation, 1908; and, for the influence of modern knowledge on the main theistic arguments, Ballard, Thesmomeon True, 1906, pp. 38-346.

EXCURSUS.—The anthropological attack.—The analogies between Christian beliefs and practices and those of some of the other great religions of the world, have long formed the basis of an attack upon the faith. In recent years the study of more primitive religions, and of anthropology generally, has suggested further analogies, and given rise to a fresh attack which has been met in full. The arguments and their refutation have been brought in full in the anthropological parallels afforded by recent discoveries. The facts collected in such books as Frazer's Golden Bough or Crawley's Mystic Rose or Robertson's Pagan Christ. must rather be claimed and used for the Christian argument. As illustrations of the hostile use of them we may mention the theory that Christ is to be connected with Eastern Sun-worship, the twelve Apostles being the signs of the zodiac, and that the Sacrament of Communion is merely an adaptation of the wide-spread primitive belief, with its degrading accompaniments, to particularities which inherit its virtues. And strange elaborations have followed, such as Frazer's theory of the Crucifixion, which suggests that the Jews had transferred to the feast of Purim the customs of a strange kind of Saturnalia, wherein a mock king was first pummeled and then killed, and that God in His only met 'the fate that annually befall the malefactor who played Haman' (see J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, iii. 190 ff.).

The Christian answer to which we would briefly point is that all religion is one, and that its primary function is to affirm and consecrate life (Ernest Crawley, The Tree of Life, 1905, p. 270). If Christianity is God's final answer to human needs, we shall expect to see those needs manifesting themselves elsewhere. 'We can see a deeper meaning in the parallelism which forms so remarkable a bond between Christianity and the lower religions. These analogies from savage culture show that religion, everywhere and always, is a direct outcome of elemental human nature, and that this elemental human nature remains practically unchanged. This it must continue to be so long as we are built up of flesh and blood. For instance, if a savage eats the flesh of a strong man or divine person, and a modern Christian partakes sacramentally of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, there is evidently a human need behind both acts which prompts them and is satisfied by them, and is responsible for their similarity. . . . Christianity is no survival from primitive religion, but a higher development from the same permanent sources' (E. Crawley, The Tree of Life, 1905, p. 261 f. See also J. R. Illingworth, Divine Immanence, 1898, ch. iv.).

(iii.) The moral realm.—It has been said that the moral element in our nature is as much higher than the mental as the mental is higher than the physical. The weight of moral arguments is therefore greater, and perhaps for this reason this sphere has been chosen by recent apologists for their main line of defence. It has already been mentioned that Christ Himself in His moral aspect is the supreme apologoetic of to-day; but there are other lines of moral argument which are placed first, owing to their priority in the sequence of thought.

1. Arguments for theistic belief from the moral realm of thought.—(a) The universal idea of God and cultivation of religion.—This argument is sometimes called 'the evidence of general consent.' Cicero witnessed long ago: 'There was never any nation so barbarous, or any people in the world so savage, as to be without some notion of
The belief in some form, and the expression of it in worship, are found in every system of ancient and modern religions. To ascribe this instinct to accident is to raise a moral difficulty which cannot easily be surmounted.

(b) The moral sense in man, the conscience and the sense of sin.—Kant, while rejecting other arguments, placed the whole weight of proof on this one. There is in our nature a sense of moral responsibility, a feeling of what we ought to do, regardless of our present wishes and the advantage or disadvantage that may result from our own actions or the will of the community, against the opinion of which it sometimes acts. The only explanation of its working is that in the existence of a perfect Being, independent of ourselves, a perfect Law giver and Judge, to whom conscience feels itself responsible. It is here that we are brought closest to the vast problem of evil and of sin. A discussion of it belongs to theology rather than to apologetics. But we may quote the saying of Leibniz, that ‘human nature consists in imperfection, physical in suffering, moral in sin.’ As we trace the development of the race, we find that just where the sense of individual personality comes to the front, a conflict begins to be realized between the claims of others and those of self. Man is unique as placed in a position from which he may either rise higher or fall lower. He has a consciousness of something higher; if he willfully chooses that which is lower, it is sin. But since he realizes the choice, struggling upward to the higher, in spite of the certainty that he will never fully reach it, and filled with humiliation when he has failed in the struggle and acquiesced in the sin, we are pointed to a perfect moral sense as a change to sin, and to whom the moral sense in man knows itself to be responsible.


(c) The moral course of the world’s history.—The tangled skein of human history is found, when unravelled, to exhibit a continual progress towards a more and more perfect exhibition of righteousness and goodness. There is a purpose running through history, indicating a moral governance. This may be studied in the development of the various sides of human institutions, as the life of nations, science, art, law, and religion. But such a moral government of the world, and such an education of the human race, imply a moral Government and Educator; for it is impossible that such tendencies should be unconscious and impersonal.


2. Arguments for Christianity from the moral realm of fact.—(a) The Christian Scriptures.—As the study of nature suggests an intelligence behind, and a study of history suggests a moral Governor, so the study of the Bible suggests a power higher than that of the men who contributed to this great literature which contains so many varied elements. Stress must be laid on (1) its organic unity, manifested in an OT and a NT fitting into each other exactly in spite of the changes of time and thought, in its claims of others and the growth of the two, and in the advancing moral character which may be traced in their pages; (2) its authority, the moral force and power of conviction that its writers possess in an absolutely unique degree, its tone of certainty and genuine ring as the authoritative voice of God; and (3) its exact correspondence with the deepest instincts of human nature, so that conscience welcomes its words as the highest expression of morality and religion.
the Gospel portrait. The only explanation of their works lies in there having been an original to be painted.

(2) May we, then, retain the moral part of the portrait, and take it out of its miraculous surroundings? It will be found that the two are so interwoven that separation is impossible. Take away the supernatural, and nothing but a shadow is left. For the miracles are not interspersed amid the various indications of the character; they are the outward manifestation of it. They are not wrought, except on rare occasions, with an evident purpose, but simply as the natural acts of so exalted a character.

(2) And what of the Divine claim of Christ? Is it possible to regard it either as interwoven in the tale by His mistaken followers, or as an individual mistake owing to a wrong estimate of His own Person? Both alternatives seem incredible, in view of the fact that this claim is the only key to His life, His words, and His work. Take such a public declaration as 'I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life' (Jn. 8:12). If anything in the record is true, surely that solemn utterance, in the presence of His enemies and before the multitudes who had thronged to the feast, is not a figment of after years. And if He made the solemn assumption that He could have not only from a Galilean carpenter, but from the holiest of men, what must we say if it were not true? That He was either an impostor or a deluded enthusiast. No one nowadays dare assert the former, and to do so would only make it a greater miracle how the highest moral ideals of humanity have for eighteen centuries been linked with such a man. And if the latter alternative be chosen, it is absolutely impossible to reconcile the self-sacrificing devotion and utter humility of His whole life and work with a distorted moral obliquity and infatuated self-assertion which could make so preposterous a claim. The familiar dilemma, 'Art Deus aut homo non bonus,' has not yet been avoided by those who would hold such views. If the moral ideal which His Person presents forbids the latter, the former is the only rational explanation which remains.

(3) But is not Evolution to be allowed to enter and explain? Is it not simply that in Christ the unsearched reached its climax, and in Him we see the moral sense of the highest race reach its perfection? But it is the reverse of true that such a character can be explained by its antecedents and environment. The arguments of Paley are still true of 'the originality of Christ's character.' He assumed a part which in many ways is the direct opposite of the Messiah of popular expectation. And the one Catholic Man, whose teaching is adapted to all nations and all ages, sprang from the narrowest and most bigoted nation of antiquity. And those who deny His Divinity change the virgin birth into an illegitimate one. They rob themselves of the argument that He was only evolved as the purer son of a pure virgin. They assert in effect that 'the most marked and mighty incident of the past towards all that is purest, worthiest, loftiest, in the evolution of human nature, emanated spontaneously from the untutored, peasant-bred son of an adulteress' (Ballard, Miracles of Unbelief, p. 275). Such things are a denial of the first principles of evolution, and constitute a moral and supernatural fact more difficult to accept than that a pure virgin 'was found with child of the Holy Ghost.' This line of defence is thus seen to lead to a direct attack on the enemy's position.


(iv.) The Spiritual Realm.—We here reach the highest form of Christian evidences, and the most difficult to convince, for this kind is brought within the range of personal experience. But, at the same time, they are useless in arguing with an opponent. We can do no more than point out to him that it is wholly rational that spiritual things should be spiritually discerned, and that in a spiritual religion like Christianity there must be a spiritual one, while the cumulative arguments that lead up to it do not in themselves amount to absolute proof, but are as high as an outsider is capable of rising. It is true that God leaves not Himself without witness in the natural sphere, and that there is abundant testimony in the mental and ethical realms; but man approaches Him most closely in that which is least material, and therefore the spiritual faculty of faith is not to be mocked as contrary to reason, but accepted as transcending it. We must therefore take into account—

(a) The testimony of the spiritual faculty.—The spiritual faculty mentioned above may be simply spoken of as 'faith,' and we claim that it is distinct from the other organs of knowledge. It must be added to the senses and reason in order to complete our cognitive being. Often the testimony of the senses is contradicted by reason, and in the case of such a word as 'finite' it is positive and real to reason, though wholly imperceptible to the senses. And in the same way faith may sometimes contradict the conclusions which have been arrived at by the reason. To reason the word 'Infinite' is purely negative, but to faith it is entirely real and positive. So we claim that faith is that faculty or organ of knowledge whereby we know the Infinite. Other religions may contain the knowledge of the presence of the Infinite, but Christianity is unique in not only telling men that their duty is to know God, but in giving them the successive steps whereby they may do so. Though he has arrived at his conclusion neither by the senses nor by the reason, the Christian has arrived at a real and legitimate form of human knowledge when he can say, 'I know whom I have believed.'

See Miller, The Idea of God, in Topics of the Times (S.P.G.K., 1900).

(b) The testimony to Christianity of the spiritual yearnings of men.—Perhaps the two plainest of these yearnings are friendship and the hope of immortality, both of which are practically universal. The former opens the whole question of prayer, and the latter the wide subject of eschatology. Neither can be discussed here, but the argument must lead on to the fact that both are satisfied in a unique degree by the practice and belief of Christianity.

See F. Ballard, Miracles of Unbelief, pp. 280-310.

(c) The testimony of holy lives.—It has always been realised, from the days of the early Apologists, that one of the most telling of evidences lies in the spiritual life of Christians. Few men are argued into a belief in Christianity. They may verify their acceptance of it by its appeal to reason and the senses, but the real motive power consists in a touching of their hearts. And this is done by the words, but by the life of Christians. Apologists may be exalted into a science, but the work of turning men is but little due to the professed apologist. Every Christ-like life is in itself a powerful apologetic, and often succeeds where all else fails.

(d) The personal experience of the Christian.—This can be the only final proof. The Christian can test all he has been told, in the sphere of his own spirit, and its relation to God as revealed in Christ. And this experience has been multiplying
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in the lives of millions for nearly 2000 years. If we are charged with undue bias, it can be answered that 'initial unbelief is a prepossession as much as faith.' Thus do we pass upwards out of the region of Apologetics. We must be content to add the various arguments together, and claim that their sum-total raises so great a probability in favour of the Christian religion that there are far greater difficulties about any other explanation of the facts of the case. And the nature of our faith is such that the rest must be done in the region of the Spirit, wherein alone the possibility can pass upward into certainty.

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APOSTASY (Jewish and Christian).—The deliberate abandonment of one religion for another, e.g. Judaism for Christianity or vice versa, made voluntarily or under compulsion. The word ἀπόστασις is used in classical Greek of a revolt or desertion, as of a nation's breach of the LXX, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In the LXX these words, with their kindred forms, ἀνισότης, ἀνισοτερία, ἀνισοτέρία, ἀνισοτέρωσις, ἀνισοτερίωσις, ἀνισοτερεία, ἀνισοτέρεια, are employed to translate the Hebrew word חזרה (Ch 293:9); and in 1 K 21:2 'men of Belial' is rendered ἀγάλματος ἀνισότηται. In 1 Mac. the word ἀνισότης is applied to a modern sensus (2:7 ἀνισοτέρωσαν ἀγάλματα τὴν ἁγιασμόν) and ἀνίσοτερον is used by a foreigner of ἀγάλματα τῆς ἁγιασμοῦ. In the NT, St. Paul is accused of teaching 'an apostasy from Moses' (10:31), and he speaks in 2 Th 2:3 of the great apostasy at the end of all things, before the revelation of the Man of Sin (see below). Augustine calls the 'Fall of Man' the apostasy of the human race from God (c. Jul. lib. iii. 1), and he uses this term because the absolute freedom of our first parents, unhindered by original sin, to choose between obedience and rebellion, made there a voluntary defection (Conf. iv. 20, 21; De libero arbitrio, ii. 148 E.). St. Thomas Aquinas (Q 12, Art. 1. says of disobedience: 'apostasiam videtur omni peccato praeeminere.'

1. Although there are many examples of national apostasy in the OT, instances of individual departure from the religion of Israel are rare; but in the Deuteronomist the provisions against those who try to persuade the people to 'serve other gods' are naturally severe (Dt 13:1-11). In Ezekiel we have examples of the latter sort of defection, practised in the very temple of Jehovah (Ezk 8:17). On the whole, however, it may be said that, with the exception of the great apostasy in the days of Ahab and Elijah, the infidelity of Israel towards Jehovah was a rule, as such attempts to combine this worship with that of the local divinities, or to serve Him with rites similar to those practised in the worship of the gods of Canaan.

We first meet with distinct acts of apostasy from Judaism during the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, when Jews either voluntarily or under compulsion renounced the worship of God for that of the deities of Greece. The degree of apostasy varied between a total abandonment of all punishment and the adoption of certain Greek customs like the practice of athletics and the wearing of the petaso, or broad-brimmed Greek hat, which the more rigid Jews regarded as an act of disloyalty to Jehovah.

Antiochus Epiphanes (≈ 175-164) did not cause the tendency of the Jews to Hellenism which manifested themselves early in his reign. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, especially the temple priests, were much influenced by the Greek dress and adopted the petaso (2 Mac 4:10-16). Jason the high priest even sent presents for the sacrifices to Hercules at Tyre, though his mission employed others, and he had handed it over to the royal navy (2 Mac 4:16-19). When the persecution began in 166 B.C., and the Jews were compelled to sacrifice to eat swine's flesh, many of them apostatised (1 Mac 14:15); and it was the slaying of one of these by Mattathias, the father of the famous Maccabees, that gave the signal for the revolt (1 Mac 24). The Hellenizing Jews held the citadel of Acra in Jerusalem with the Syrians (1 Mac 146), and were not dispossessed till 2 B.C. 162.

Apostasy of a different kind is mentioned in the Book of Wisdom. The Alexandrian Jews adopted in some cases the philosophy of Greece, especially Epicureanism (Wis 2:24). In theanthem the term Epicureanism is applied to it.

2. Examples of apostasy among Christians are to be found in the NT; but in many cases the falling away of the convert was not strictly apostasy, but a lapse into Judaism or Christianity or even heresy. Still Jesus Christ foretold that in the days of trial many would fall away; and in the Epistle to the Hebrews (if we may still believe this Epistle to be addressed to Jewish Christians) there are indications that many of them were forsaking the Church for the synagogues, when the choice between the one and the other became imperative. We have only hints of newly converted Christians becoming idolaters.

Mt 24:9 (Greek text omits καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι). The expression sword in the mouth is an epitome of the bitterness of the apostates towards their former friends; and (v.10) "perdition will come upon their souls." How? for /Gr., which speaks of the impossibility of renewing unto repentance those who fall away (ἐπατριμοί) after enlightenment, and crucify (ἀυξανοῦντες) to themselves the Son of God, seems to allow the apostates to Judaism. The warnings against apostasy in this Epistle are frequent (cf. esp. ch. 10). Though in the Epistle to the Galatians the language is less grave, there is still no complete surrender of Christianity, but he himself evidently regards it as a practical apostasy, for "if that apostasy was not known may be found in the letters to the Churches in the Apocalypse and in the Pastoral Epistles.

In conformity with our Lord's warnings, the early Christians looked for a great falling away before His Second Coming. In 2 Th 2:2, St. Paul tells his converts not to be perturbed because they know that there can be no Parousia έν μείῳ Θεῷ ᾧ ἀποστασία προτέρου whatever the exact nature of the apostasy in the passage, whether it means the fall of apostates, or at least a religious apostasy, and one, moreover, as the use of the definite article proves, regarding which the Apostle's readers were already fully informed. From the Biblical use of the word ἀποστασία it would appear that there is an allusion to a falling away from God; but it has been maintained that the coming revolt of the Jews against the Imperial power of Rome was in the mind of St. Paul. (See also 'Man of Sin' in Hastings' Dictionary of the NT, St. Paul. G. Milligan, Thesalonicans (1868), Not. J, p. 169 ff., gives a catalogue of the explanations of this passage.)

In the primitive church, the fact of apostates forsaking the communion of the Church and relapsing into idolatry. Some of those accused of Christianity before Pliny admitted that they had left the Church for many years, and had no hesitation in complying with the procurator's request: 'Hi quoque omnes et imaginum divinarum simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male disserunt' (Pliny, Ep. x. 98). Ammonius Saccas, the founder of the Neo-Platonic school, is said to have been a Christian originally, and to have apostatized (Euseb. Hist. vi. 19); and there is a tradition that Aquila, the translator of the Heb. Scriptures, was an apostate to Judaism. Apostasy to heathenism was considered the gravest crime of which a Christian could be guilty, and even if it was due to fear of torture or imprisonment, no pardon or conciliation could be extended to the guilty person. It was not till the time of St. Cyprian (A.D. 252) that the idea of restoring an apostate to communion was even so much as entertained, and then only owing to the importance of the case for those who confessed the faith during the persecution of Decius.

With apostasy was, of course, an inexpressible offence, and ranked with murder and incest; but the only one in the time of Cyprian even involuntary apostasy excluded a person for ever from the visible Church. Hermas has been thought that there is a hint in the fifth simile, which is only by special revelation that he learns from the Angel of the repentance that will be allowed for the apostates, who are accepted (Hermas, Mand. iv. 4). Tertullian, in his earlier work, On Martyrs (ch. 1), says that those who could not find peace with the Church sought it from confessors awaiting martyrdom;
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but it does not appear from the context that this means that they could restore an apostate to communion. In his treatise de Pudicitia, written in his Montanist days, the same writer, while denouncing Zephyrinus (9), Bishop of Rome, for allowing penalties to those guilty of carnal sins, enforces his argument by showing that these offences are in the same category as idolatry—unpunishable in a Christian. It is surely fairly certain that the re-admission of the lapsi was a novelty in the days of Cyril. 8 Evidence, says Abp. Benson, 'the question which to some was presenting itself was not when, or upon what terms, the lapsi should be re-admitted, but whether it was possible for the Church to remit such guilt.' (Cyprian, 197, p. 108).

The law of the early Church in regard to apostasy was very severe. The offence consisted not merely in the deliberate defection of the Church, but in the compliance with paganism, i.e., a man was not permitted to continue a member of the Church who was engaged in any trade ministering to idolatry, superstition, or licentiousness; nor was he allowed to conform to custom by offering sacrifice in an official capacity.

When the days of persecution ceased, the severity of the canons was considerably modified, and apostates were re-admitted to communion after due penitence. The strictness of primitive Christianity is shown by the canons of the Council of Elvira (Iliberis) in Spain, held during the persecution of Diocletian (A.D. 303). Apostasy to Judaism was much feared, especially in Spain and Gaul, and Christians were forbidden to attend Jewish banquets, or to have any intimate dealings with Jews. After the conversion of Constantine, apostasy became a civil offence punishable by law. Apostates to Judaism were liable to confiscation of property, and lost the right of making wills.

Repentence was of no avail as regards the civil penalties incurred by apostasy, which included dismission from all posts of dignity. 'Perditis, hoc est sacrum Baptismum profanatibus, nullo remedio penitentiae, (quem solet alius criminibus prodesse) succurratur,' (Codex Theod. xvi. 7–5).

On the other side, the Empress Eudoxia (A.D. 393) 'had no hope whatever was extended to apostates. Even if they were slain for the name, they cannot be admitted to the peace of the Church.' (Cyp. Ep. iv.). This is confirmed by the legislation of the Council of Elvira, which refuses to admit communion to adults who have deliberately sacrificed (can. 1), to Christians holding heretical opinions who have performed the duties of clerics (can. 2), and to informers who have caused the death of a Christian (lxxi.). At the Council of Elvira (306) the Council of Milan (314) the worst class of apostates to be received back to the Church after a due penance extending over ten years (can. 9); and the Council of Nicea (A.D. 325) allows such apostates to be admitted to communion after twelve years in the ranks of the penitents (can. 11). In 397 the Council of Carthage actually imposed upon them the exclusion from the Church. 'Apostate' conversus vel reversus ad Dominum gratia vel remissioni non negetur. (Codex Theod. xvi. 12; Smith, DCX. art. 'Apostacy'; Dale, Synod. of Eleous; Hele, Consenti congessicht, vol. i. 264)

The name 'Apostate' has been specially applied to the Emperor Julian, whose defection from Christianity threatened to undo the work of the conversion of Constantine. There is no absolute proof that Julian was ever baptized, though, as he held the office of a reader in his youth, it is, to say the least, highly probable. The Christianity he professes, moreover, must have been of an Arian type. The religion which he embraced after his 'apostasy' was a description of Neo-Platonism, which endeavoured to give a spiritual interpretation to the riddles of antiquity. He oppressed the Church by every means in his power short of actual persecution; but nothing caused so much consternation or gave such serious offence as his edict forbidding Christians to teach the classics and the sciences of the Empire (Ep. 42).

The main events of his life are as follows: Born in A.D. 331, the son of Julius Constantinus, brother of the great Constantine, he was the messenger of the Imperial family in 337, and educated by his cousin Constantius. In 351 he began to show a disposition towards heathenism, but fear of Constantius compelled him to become a Christian. He was Caesar in Gaul from a.D. 353 to 360, when the army of the province declared him Augustus. He was sole emperor from the death of Constantius, Nov. 3, 361. He was killed in a battle with the Persians, whose territory he had invaded on June 38, 363, and a Christian was immediately elected emperor by the army in the person of Jovian. An interesting study of the character of Julian is to be found in Debus' 'Teologia.'

3. In the Talmud much is naturally said about apostates from Judaism. Four different kinds are mentioned: Minim, Meshummadin, Masōrōth, and Epigrūrōsin. The Meshummadin are those who wilfully transgress part of the ceremonial law; the Masōrōth are delators or political betrayers; the Epigrūrōsin freethinkers.

The Minim demand more special attention. It is an open question whether they were Jewish Christians or a Gnostic sect in Judaism. At any rate they were heretics desiring to keep their place in the community of Israel, who had to be detected and cast out. Thus the famous R. Eliezer was arrested on a charge of Minuṭḥah, but acquitted. In his sorrow for having been suspected he was consoled by the great R. Agiba. The Minim are also spoken of in the Talmud as a separate sect, but at the same time they regarded themselves as being so little different from Jews that they could ask for, and obtain, a Jewish Rabbi of unimpeachable orthodoxy to be their teacher. A Gentile is never called a Minim. The most famous of the Minim was Elisha ben-Abuyah, known also as Apher, 'the changed one.'

See R. T. Herford, Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, 1903, who devotes the greater part of his valuable work to the discussions between the Talmud and the Church. It is, however, true that his Dor vorchristliche jüdische Gnosiszikummaus shows that the Minim were Gnostics of the Ophite school. The passage mentioned above is, in enumerating the different classes of apostates destined for Gehinnom in Sanh. xliii. 4: 'The Minim and the apostates and the betrayers and the Epigrūrōsin, and those who have lied concerning the Torah, and those who depart from the ways of the congregation, and those who have lied concerning the Resurrection of the dead, and everyone who has eaten of four kinds of meat in their own house, and has been a lapso of Minim; and no one has been a Minim of the day of the deathbed of the Rabbis.' See also Deutsch in JB i. 683 f.; Kohler and Gesenius, ii. 15–18; Brody, viii. 594 f.

4. In the Middle Ages apostasy and heresy were punished with the utmost severity, but it is scarcely possible to conceive of the open abandonment of Christianity where the jurisdiction of the Church was all-powerful. We have, however, a curious example of a deacon in England embracing Judaism in order to marry a Jewess, and being buried at Oxford, on 17th April, A.D. 1278. The deacon, after his conversion, was excommunicated and deprived of his clerical office. This is one of the few cases of the execution of a heretic in England before A.D. 1401; and it seems that the Sheriff of Oxfordshire was blamed for his undue severity in so unimportant a case, as the deacon was only a clerk. In Spain also, under Alfonso X. (the Wise), A.D. 1250, conversion of a Christian to Judaism was made a capital crime; the influence of the Jewish race in that country being especially feared from the earliest times.

For the execution of the deacon see Maitland, Canon Law in the Church of England, ch. vi., 'The Deacon and the Jewess.'

The destruction of the Order of the Knights Templar by Philip the Fair and his accomplice Pope Clement v. may be mentioned as an example of the charge of apostasy by the Inquisition for a political purpose. The Order, which in 1119 consisted of nine knights devoted to the pious task of keeping the roads to Jerusalem clear of robbers, in the 13th century, became one of the wealthiest monastic bodies in Christendom, and a military force of the most formidable description. With the fall of Acre in A.D. 1291 the Templars had ceased their activity in the Holy Land, and in 1307 Philip the Fair conceived the idea of embroiling them with the Church, in order to procure the abolition of the Order and the confiscation of their immense wealth. The profound secrecy which enveloped the meetings and even the religious services of the Order gave their enemies the requisite handle to bring charges of the foulest immorality and apostasy against them.
APOSTASY (Muhammadan)

Templars were accused of making every candidate for admission to their body apostatize by thrice renouncing Christ and spitting upon the crucifix. Torture was freely employed to extort confessions, but upon the whole the evidence obtained was of the most absurd and contradictory character, and the majority of those put to death perished in the innocence of the Order; and though the processes went on simultaneously throughout Europe and the Levant, no seriously incriminating evidence seems to have been obtained except in France. The cruelties were repeated by death sentences culminated in the burning of the Grand Master Du Molay and his companion on the Île des Juifs on the Seine, 19th March 1314.

Lea, History of the Inquisition, vol. iii. pp. 229-234; Milman, Latin Christianity, bk. xii. ch. 1. Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 137, is inclined to credit the charges against the Templars on account of the publication of Count Hammer Purgeot's Lettres de l'Orient (1813), charging the Templars with apostasy to the Pope, Ophite Gnosticism. The subject is discussed by Castle in The Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, vol. xix. pt. 3.

The Spanish Inquisition originated for the purpose of suppressing heresy but apostacy. The maranos, or Jewish converts, were suspected of practising their ancestral religion in secret, though outwardly conforming to Catholicism. It was to root out this crypto-Judaism that the tremendous munificence of the Holy Office was devoted and the sufferers under Torquemada were those who had relapsed to Judaism.

5. There have been many examples of Christians among the Turks and Moors abandoning their faith in order to enjoy the privileges reserved for Muhammadans; and the renegade often enjoyed high official positions in Turkey. Naturally such persons abandoned their nationality with their religion. Apostasy from Christianity to Judaism is considered, as the Jews themselves do not encourage the reception of proselytes. One notable example of such apostasy is that of the fanatical and unfortunate Lord George Gordon, who was the chief of the famous No Popery riots in 1780. In 1788, after he had been found guilty of a libel on Marie Antoinette, he fled to Amsterdam, whence he was expelled, and on his return to England he made a public profession of Judaism. He was imprisoned in Newgate in the following year, and in consequence of the occurrence, he is in all respects to the ceremonies of his new religion.

In recent times there have been cases of Europeans and Americans of Christian parentage embracing Muhammadanism and Buddhism, and converting to the pracitces of these religions. In France it has been asserted that Diabolism is practised as a religion, of course involving a distinct apostasy; but the evidence of such persons as Leo Taxil, who declared that a church existed in France for the worship of Satan, seems to have been discredited by his subsequent disavowals, and Satanism (q.v.) seems to be little more than the revival of some of the follies of the Black Art of the Middle Ages. F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON.

APOSTASY (Muhammadan).—He that adopts any other religion shall be put to death.' Such, according to the sacred Muslim tradition, was the command of the Prophet; and on this basis all Muslim jurists are unanimous in deciding that apostasy from Islam (Arab. tāridād) must be punished by death. The Zahrīrites, who, as is well known, adhere as far as possible to the outward meaning (Arab. šāhir) of the sacred texts, are even of opinion that the apostate (Arab. murādād) must not die until he is put to death without initiating any inquiry as to whether he might possibly be converted to Islam again, because the words of the Prophet present no indication of any delay. This was also the view held by Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, Muhammad's governor of Yaman. According to a well-known tradition, this official came to Abū Masā'ib, whom he found engaged in questioning a prisoner. On hearing that this man had apostatized from Islam, Mu'ādh refused to take a seat until the apostate had been put to death. In reply, the companion thus put to death: 'Such was the decision of Allah and his Apostle.'

But, according to the opinion of the majority of jurists, it is desirable (according to others, even a duty) before proceeding to carry out the punishment of death to make an effort to bring the apostate to repentance (Arab. tawbah). If such a one declares that he turns again to Islam, then the inquirers are to be satisfied with the response and let him go away in peace. If, on the contrary, he refuses to return to Islam, they are bound, according to many, to allow him a delay of three days (according to others, even longer) as a period for reflection. He is still retained in prison and may within this interval go back upon his error. In support of this practical reference is made to the example of the Khalīf 'Omar. When he learned that a man of the troops of Abū Māsā'ib during the siege of Tustar, in the year 17, had been put to death on account of apostasy from Islam, he was extremely indignant at the deed. 'Why,' he inquired, 'did you put him in prison for three days and deal with him in order to bring him to repentance?' And all the companions of the Prophet who were present showed by their silence that they agreed with him.

The Ḥanafites are inclined to think that the punishment of death on account of apostasy is applicable only to men. According to them, women are only to be kept in prison until they repent, because the Prophet had forbidden the putting to death of unbelieving women. According to others, this prohibition has reference only to the killing of the wives of unbelievers in the Holy War. A similar difference of opinion exists with regard to the punishment of apostates while yet in their minority. These, according to some lawyers, may be put to death immediately, according to others only after attaining their majority. The punishment by death is to be carried into execution only by the sword. From the sacred sources of tradition, it is in all respects to the ceremonies of his new religion.

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token of unbelief. In like manner this is so, if, at any time, a Muslim worships the sun or the stars or idols, or declares the Prophet to be a liar, or makes the existence of Allah a matter of doubt.

According to the view of the Shāfiʿites, it is not only apostasy from Islam that is to be punished with death, but also this class of other religions, whenever this is not accompanied by conversion to Islam. A Jew who becomes a Christian will thus have to be put to death, according to the Shāfiʿites, because the Prophet has commanded in general that every one shall be put to death who adopts and transgresses another religion.


APOTHESES' CREED. — See CREEDS (Eccumenical).

APOTHESES AGE. — 1. Chronological limits. The phrase is commonly used for the period in the history of the Church extending from the death of Christ to the end of the 1st cent., when, according to ancient tradition, John, the last of the twelve Apostles, passed away. The term 'apostles' were taken in the broader sense in which it was commonly used in the early days, the Apostolic age might be regarded as extending well on into the 2nd cent., when there were still many travelling missionaries bearing the name 'apostles' (see Didache, 11). But the term soon came to be applied exclusively to the Twelve and Paul, and has been used in this sense ever since. It is true that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between the late 1st and early 2nd centuries; and even assuming that John lived to the time of Trajan, which is by no means certain, his death had no special significance for the history of the Church. As a consequence, some hold that the Apostolic age ended with the destruction of Jerusalem in a.p. 70, or with the death of Paul. But to give such an emphasis to the former is to overestimate the importance of the Christian Church in the 1st cent., and to make Paul's death the close of the Apostolic age is to imply that he was the only apostle, when as a matter of fact there were others before he came upon the scene, and after he had passed away; for Peter himself, to say nothing of John, very strongly outlined him by hailing him as the leader of the Apostles (p. 592). If the designation is to be retained at all, it is better, then, to use it in the traditional sense for the period from c. 29 to c. 130 a.d.

2. Sources. — Our sources for a knowledge of the Apostolic age are meagre, and yet on the whole more satisfactory than for the generation immediately following. Of the most important are the Epistles of Paul, which are very rich in historical material. The Book of Acts is also indispensable, based as it is in considerable part upon older sources, and containing a great deal of information not to be found elsewhere. But, like any other historical work written by one not himself an eye-witness of the events recorded, it has to be used with caution.

Into the question of the authorship and sources of the Book of Acts is not further to enter here (see the general studies by Sorof, Die Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte, 1890; Feist, 'Die geschichtliche Uberlieferung des Lobak in Evangel. und Apostelgeschicht. 1881; Spitta, Die Apostelgeschichte, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtl. Werth, 1891; Clemens, Die Chron. der Paul. Briefe im Sinne des histor. Geschichtswiss. in Th. Stud. und Krit. 1897, and J. Weiss in Th. Stud. und Krit. 1899, 1900; Jünger, Die Quellen der Apostelgeschicht. 1896; Hilgenfeld in Zeitschr. für Theol. 1890 and 1891; and in Moeller, Gesch. des histor. New Testament, 1891, 565 f.). In a recent work entitled 'Die apostolische Zeit' (1899), Harnack maintains, in opposition to the prevalent critical opinion, that Luke (the beloved physician, mentioned by Paul in Col 4:14; 2 Tim 1:5, Philm. 24) was the author of the whole of the New Testament, including the 'We passages' and, as Harnack himself admits, the author was probably an eye-witness only as far as they extend, and was dependent upon others for his information in other parts of his book, where his acquaintance with Paul by no means guarantees his historic accuracy (see Schürer's review of Harnack's book in Theol. Zentralh., 1898, p. 435 f., and Harnack's reply, p. 490 ff.). In any case, whoever the author may have been, his book must be controlled, and at many points corrected, by the Epistles of Paul.

In addition, we have the Gospels, which reflect in part the conditions of the time—specially the Gospels of the Apocalypse, Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, the three Johannine Epistles, and James and Jude. Other writings, such as the Didache, Barnabas, and the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Apocalypse, throw light back upon the background of the times. The writings of Papias and Hegesippus give us some information; and passing references occur in certain non-Christian writers, e.g. Tacitus and Suetonius.

3. Outline of the history. — The age falls into three periods; pre-Pauline, Pauline, and post-Pauline.

(a) Pre-Pauline period. — Of this period we have an idealized picture in the early chapters of the Book of Acts; but those chapters contain also some trustworthy information drawn from older documents, and perhaps from current tradition; and the Epistles of Paul reflect the conditions of reflection, these light together, and trace the course of events, at least in a general way.

The centre of interest during the period was Jerusalem. Here the disciples who had been scattered at the time of Jesus' death gathered again, when convinced of His resurrection and glorification, to carry on the work which they believed He had entrusted to them, and to prepare their countrymen for the eternal Kingdom which was to take place upon His return. They continued to live as Jews, and apparently had no thought of breaking with the traditions or customs of their people. Christianity meant simply the belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah, who was soon to return to inaugurate the Messianic Kingdom. The benefits of this Kingdom they believed, as devoutly as any of their contemporaries, were to be enjoyed by Jews alone, native or proselyte; and the promise that He would be a substitute for their accustomed religious life in temple and synagogue. In the strict sense, we cannot speak of a Christian Church at this time in Jerusalem. The Christians all belonged to the one Jewish Church, and knew no other.

The early disciples felt themselves to be citizens of their future Messianic Kingdom, and their interest centered rather there than in the present. As a consequence, they were not in any sense social reformers. The community of goods, of which we have an account in Acts 2:42-45, 49, was simply an expression of the feeling of brotherhood which prevailed within the little Messianic circle, and of an indifference to the goods of the present world entirely natural in men who expected its speedy displacement by a new and more glorious order of things. There was nothing
in Christianity as understood by them to necessitate a break with existing Judaism. In their zeal for the new faith, and in their efforts to win others to it, they created disturbances, and so came into conflict with the authorities (Acts 4 and 5). Such conflicts were of little significance; but the attack upon Stephen, and the persecution which followed, were a different matter, being due to the fear that the new faith threatened the stability of Jewish institutions,—a fear which the Christians themselves did not at all share (see McGiffert, p. 84 ff.). The trouble which arose at this time seems to have been only temporary. But it was impossible for non-Christian Judaism to regard the growing Christian sect with friendly eyes. The Christians, in fact, had to endure the steadily increasing hatred of their countrymen; and their flight from Jerusalem shortly before the siege of 70 A.D., and their refusal to take part in the Bar Cocheba rebellion in 132 A.D., only served to make the break complete and permanent. Though hated and repudiated by their countrymen, they clung to their ancestral law and custom, and lived for the most part in isolation from the rest of the Christian Church, being known commonly as Ebonites or Nazarenes. Finally, after some centuries, Jewish Christianity entailed. The consciousness was not with Gentiles but with another form of Christianity altogether, of which the Apostle Paul was the greatest champion.

(5) Pauline period.—For this period our sources are Paul's own Epistles and the Book of Acts. The account in the latter is fuller and more trustworthy than for the earlier period. The author's information, however, was not always accurate and adequate even here, and his account has to be used with caution, and corrected at their ancestral law and custom, and lived for the most part in isolation from the rest of the Christian Church, being known commonly as Ebonites or Nazarenes. Finally, after some centuries, Jewish Christianity entailed. The consciousness was not with Gentiles but with another form of Christianity altogether, of which the Apostle Paul was the greatest champion.

The second period is distinguished from the first by a change of leaders, of scene, and of principles. In place of personal disciples of Jesus, a new figure came to the front who had never known Him; in place of Palestine, the Roman empire at large was now the scene of activity; and instead of a mere form of Judaism, Christianity became a new and independent religion.

The conversion of Paul has always been recognized as an epochal event in the history of the Church. To him it was chiefly due that Christianity became a factor of importance in the life of the Roman empire in the world at large. It is true that even before his Christian activity began, the new faith had been carried beyond Palestine and had made converts among the Gentiles,—he was not the first and not the only Apostle to the heathen,—but it was he who gave permanence and stability to the work, and thus became the real founder of the world-Church. Under his leadership Jewish propaganda became Christian propaganda, and the influence of Judaism in the world at large was made to promote the spread of a faith which became its worst foe. No wonder that Paul the Christian was hated by so many of his countrymen both within and without the Christian circle. It was he who made Jewish propaganda ineffective, by substituting for it a propaganda which conserved all its attractive features with none of its limitations. Paul was himself a strict Jew, zealous for the traditions of the fathers; but he was also a Christian who was not afraid to break the Mosaic law, and who did not believe in the uniqueness of the Jewish religion, but saw in the heart of a Greek civilization to which Judaism meant little or nothing. It was inevitable that he should be interested in the spread of Judaism in the world at large, and that, when he became a Christian, the relation of the new faith to the life of the Roman empire should occupy his thought. But it was out of his religious experience before and after his conversion that there was born the principle which revolutionized Christianity and made it an independent religion. His conversion to Christianity was not the mere result of the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, making of him simply another Messianic believer. It was the fruit rather of a moral struggle of peculiar intensity, out of which he emerged victorious only because he discovered in Christ a liberator from the bondage of law, and the creator of a new life of moral liberty. His moral struggle was not the effect of his conversion, but an antecedent of it, and his Christianity was simply the answer to the moral need. In it, therefore, there was a universality quite foreign to the Christianity of the early Jewish disciples. To them it had meaning only as a Jewish thing; it was the realization of the national Messianic hope. But to Paul it was the solution of a universal moral problem and the answer to a universal moral need. Wherever there was the desire for righteousness and the consciousness of sin, the Christian Church was to be founded. Paul, for instance, the case of Cornelius), they believed that this was provisional only, and would lead ultimately to the full acceptance of Judaism. If Christianity, then, reached the Gentiles at all through them, it could do so only under narrow limitations and burdensome restrictions. But the gospel of Paul, proclaiming, as it did, freedom from sin through the possession of a new moral power—the spirit of Christ —could be preached with equal effectiveness to men of all races. Paul’s attitude towards the Jewish law was but an incident of his general position; but inasmuch as that law constituted the chief distinction between Jews and Gentiles in the ancient world, it was to the Jews that the sun and substance of all righteousness, his attitude toward it was of immense significance. The Jewish law, he believed, like all law, was given by God in consequence of sin. Where the spirit of holiness has control no law is needed, any more than God Himself needs law to keep Him holy. Law is for the purpose of controlling a person and preventing him from living out his natural character, and therefore is needed only where the character is not controlled. When man is freed from the dominion of sin by the possession of the spirit of Christ, he is freed also from the dominion of law; his character is holy and needs no law. Filled with the spirit of Christ, he cannot do otherwise than live in that spirit, which is the spirit of love, of purity, and of peace. Paul himself might continue to observe the precepts of the fathers, and on occasion he might even urge his converts to do the same; but on his own principles he could not insist on such an observance, and the moment it was insisted on by others it was essential, he might insist them and stand for his fundamental principle of Christian liberty. This might not have affected practical conduct in the least had Christianity been confined to the Jews, whose holiness expressed itself naturally in the observance of the Law, and
to whom its ceremonial precepts were as sacred as its moral. But when Gentiles became Christians, it was another matter. To them much of the Jewish law seemed unnecessary and quite without relation to holy living. The result was a serious crisis, much more serious than had been precipitated by the case of Cornelius. The matter was considered again, and the scribes got glibbered in Acts 15, Gal 2, and a compromise was reached which provided for the recognition of two forms of Christianity, a Jewish and a Gentile. The latter was free from the obligation to observe the Jewish law, that is to say, the Law as they interpreted it, but who Gentiles might have answered as a practical expedient had the two forms remained entirely isolated, but it was not long feasible in communities where there were both Jewish and Gentile Christians. Unless there was a schism within the Christian brotherhood itself, all must live as Jews, or all the Jews must modify, at least in part, the strictness of Jewish practice which prevented familiar intercourse with the Gentiles. Where Paul’s principles prevailed, only the latter course could be adopted. The scribes and Pharisees who were the successors of his Gentile converts to the bondage of a law from which on his own principles they were completely free, while the latter meant only a liberty for Jewish Christians which on the same principles was wholly inadequate. Ultimately, as the Gentile wing of the Church grew in the spirit of liberty, Paul’s thereby asserted in complete emancipation from Jewish ceremonial—an emancipation resisted by many stricter spirits in the Church, whom Paul calls Judaizers, but promoted by his powerful influence. The by the widening of the Roman world of liberal Judaism already largely indifferent to ceremonial and interested only in the more spiritual and ethical features of the ancient faith (cf. Schürer, G. J. iii.). Into the heritage of the older Jewish propaganda the new Pauline Christianity entered, offering the world all that and more than Judaism had offered it, in a form stripped of all its offensive features, and claiming to be not merely a modified Gentile phase of the Jewish faith, but a religion as truly Gentile as Jewish. It is no wonder that it speedily became a formidable rival of Judaism, and ultimately completely outstripped the latter in the race.

It is not necessary to trace here the Christian activity of Paul, which covered a period of nearly 25 years, from the beginning of his work in Antioch until his execution in Rome. He was the greatest Christian missionary of the period, and the only one whose apology for Christianity we have any extended knowledge. The fact that some of his Epistles have been preserved to us, and that the second half of the Book of Acts is devoted exclusively to his work, enables us to follow his career with considerable accuracy. But our meagre knowledge about others is no reason to suppose that there were not others doing similar work in different parts of the world, and even in those parts where he himself was active. Considerable districts of western Asia Minor, Cyprus, Macedonia, and Achaia seem to have been their Christianity chiefly or in the first instance to him, but Rome was evangelized independently. At his death Christianity had already entered every province bordering upon the Mediterranean from Syria to Italy, with the exception of Thrace, and had penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor as far as Galatia.

His death at the close of his two years’ imprisonment in Rome was not so much to the fact that he was a Christian, as to his implication in successive disturbances in the East, leading the authorities to regard him as a dangerous character. It was this that caused his imprisonment in Caesarea, and his execution followed his conviction before the Emperor upon the scaffold, Acts xvi. 26-34 (p. 419 f.). His conviction execution therefore did not mean an attack upon Christianity by the Imperial government, and, so far as we can learn, did not cause the exclusion of Christianity in the Empire. With the death of Paul passed away the greatest of the Apostles, and the flag of Christianity was lost for the spread of Christianity in the Roman world. To him the Christian Church of history is chiefly due.

(c) Post-Pauline period.—For this our information is less abundant than for the previous period. The Book of Acts does not carry us beyond the Roman imprisonment of Paul, though, like the Gospels, it reflects in some degree the ideas of the age when it was produced. The Epistle to the Hebrews, First Peter, the Johannine Epistles, the Apocalypse, First Clement, and probably the Pastoral and the Epistles of James and Jude, also belong to this time, and throw some light on conditions in Rome, Asia Minor, and Corinth. We have no information as to where the Christians were brought to this notice as convenient scapegoats upon whom to throw the blame for the confiscation of Rome (Tac. Ann. xvi. 44). While confined to the capital, this persecution brought them the reputation of being dangerous characters, hostile to the public weal. Under the morose and suspicious Domitian both Christians and Jews suffered, because of the Emperor’s doubts as to their loyalty. The First Epistle of Peter and the Apocalypse testify to conditions during this reign, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Acts with its apologetic interest, are best read in the light of these conditions. The Christians were evidently coming increasingly into conflict with the authorities, at any rate in certain quarters, and the letter of Pliny to Trajan, dating from 112, shows that already before he became governor of Bithynia the mere profession of Christianity had come to be generally regarded as a crime, though there is no evidence that any law had been passed upon the subject.

The most notable phenomenon of the period is the Johannine literature, and the existence of a Johannine school in Ephesus to which it testifies. That John the son of Zebedee was not its author is regarded by us as certain. We think it even doubtful whether he was ever in Ephesus (see Harnack’s Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur, p. 673 f.), but the presence there of an important personality of the name of John is beyond question, and the school which gathering round that very pronounced type of its own, Pauline in its basal principles but highly developed in an original way. The Epistle to the Hebrews, with its large infusion of Philonism, is also an interesting and instructive document, illustrating, in our ignorance of its author, the puerility of our information touching the leading characters of the day. So far as our evidence goes, Christianity during this period spread no further than it had before the death of Paul, except toward the east and north in Asia Minor, where it reached to Euphrates and Bithynia (1 P 1). The Apocalypse gives us the names of some churches in Asia Minor (Smyrna, Pergamum, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira) not mentioned in Paul’s letters or the Book of Acts, and the Epistle to Titus shows that Christianity had already reached Crete. For Alexandria we have no direct evidence, but Christianity must have gone there early, in all probability long before the end of the 1st century. In general the scene of the history in this, as in the Pauline period, was the lands lying along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean from Palestine to Italy. The close of the Apostolic age saw Christianity firmly established at least in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and already well started on the conquest of the Roman world. The Christians
were an object of suspicion to the State, and were widely disliked by the populace, because of their lack of patriotism, their clashlessness and exclusiveness, their hostility to prevailing religious beliefs and practices, their fanatical disregard of common worldly interests, and their puritanic denunciation of popular amusements and pastimes. They came chiefly from the lower grades of society, particularly the class of slaves and freedmen (another ground of offence against them in the opinion of many); but there were some among them of wealth and social standing (cf. Eusebius, HE iii. 18). The movement was not ostensibly a social one, and yet it had social consequences because of its recognition of the moral and religious possibilities of the lowest, and its emphasis upon Christian brotherhood and equality. The Christians were still expecting the speedy return of Christ, involving the downfall of the great Roman empire and the end of the present age; and they had a profound belief in the elect character of the Church and its final triumph. They were conscious of belonging to one great Church of Christ, and the feeling of unity between the most widely separated communities found constant expression. Their hopes and ideals were everywhere the same, and they were in possession of many of the beliefs and principles which still control Christendom. The Church at large was not yet an organized institution, but Christianity was already well started upon its historic career.

The first of the early disciples were not theologians, and did not concern themselves particularly with theological questions; but their conviction that Jesus was the Messiah led to a considerable modification of traditional beliefs, and became the starting-point in the development of a specifically Christian theology. Believing Jesus to be the Messiah, they were thrown into consternation by His untimely death, coming as it seemed while Messiah's work was still undone and the Kingdom not yet inaugurated. Their hopes in His Messiahship could not have survived had it not been for the conviction that He was alive again, which speedily took possession of them. That conviction meant the rehabilitation of their old hope in order to do Messiah's work, and if He did not at once 'restore the kingdom to Israel' (Ac 1:8)—if He were absent for a time,—it was only that Israel might be prepared by repentance and righteousness for the enjoyment of the blessings of the Kingdom which He would speedily return to establish. The supreme duty of His followers, then, was to proclaim His coming, and to prepare their countrymen for it. But their proclamation must seem absurd to those who did not believe Him to be the Messiah; and so the interpretation of the kingdom must be to convince their fellowers of His Messiahship.

Proof was found in His wonderful works, and particularly in His resurrection (Ac 2:23 ff etc.), the disciples' testimony to the latter fact being confirmed by an appeal to OT prophecy (2:25 ff). To the seemingly fatal objection that He had, after all, done nothing that the Messiah was expected to do, and that His life and death were entirely unworthy of the Messianic dignity, it was replied that He would return to do Messiah's work, that He would reappear, and that the Scripture foretold a twofold Messianic coming—the one in humility, involving suffering and death, and the other in glory, for the setting up of His Kingdom. The latter was the concern of the first disciples in preaching. In this novel assumption of a Second Coming is to be found the distinctive feature of primitive Christian theology. This is not inconsistent in showing that Jesus had already done Messiah's work; it did not involve any great modification of traditional ideas so as to change the character of that work and as to the nature of the Messianic Kingdom. It aimed only at proving that Jesus was really the Messiah, and that He might therefore be trusted yet to do all that had been expected. In their emphasis upon the second coming they lost the full significance of the first, and failed to understand Jesus' complete transformation of the world. Why, contrary to common expectation, should there be a twofold coming? Why had Jesus, being the Messiah, lived a life of humility and died upon the cross? That they found the situation foretold in the Scriptures seems to have satisfied them, though they very likely believed, as was not unusual, and as Paul's words in 1 Co 15:23ff perhaps suggest, that the first coming had its place in the preparation of repentance and righteousness, and so in the preparation of the people for the second, which could not appear until they had repented (Ac 2:38ff). But this was a subordinate matter.

The question of Jesus' origin, nature, and relation to God, which later became so important, was not raised among these early disciples. The common traditional idea of the Messiah as a man called and supernaturally endowed by God seems to have been accepted without question (Ac 2:22, 26 etc.). Nothing in Jesus' words or deeds or in the events of His life led them to modify the existing view. The one controlling belief was in the future coming, and the one imperative duty was preparation for the enjoyment of the blessings of the Kingdom then to be established.

With the conversion of Paul a new period opened in the history of Christian theology. The central truth to him was not the second coming of Christ, but the transformation of man's nature here and now by the indwelling of the Spirit, which was rooted in His religious experience. Out of that experience, interpreted in the light of contemporary Greek thought, was born a theory of redemption entirely unlike anything known to the early disciples. The theory involved the transformation of man's evil fleshly nature by the power of the Divine Spirit, Christ, with whom he is mystically united through faith. Thus united to Christ—a man dies with Him and the flesh dies with Him—rises with Him unto a new life in the Spirit, a life of holiness and freedom. Salvation is thus a present, not merely a future, reality; and the true spiritual resurrection of the Christian takes place now and here. The future resurrection will mean only the substitution for the present fleshly body, in which the Christian is compelled to dwell while on earth, of a new spiritual body fitted to the spiritual life which has already begun. Paul's theory involved also the Deity of Christ, through the mystical union with whom a man is transformed. It was in his doctrine of redemption that the historic belief in the Deity of Christ found its basis.

Into the details of Paul's thought we cannot enter further here. His system is found in all its essential features in the earliest of his extant writings—the Epistle to the Galatians—as well as in the latest (see McGiffert, ch. iii., also pp. 221 ff. and 376 ff.).

The peculiar type of thought of which Paul is the earliest representative appears also in a fragmentary way in the First Epistle of Peter; and the Fourth Gospel and First Epistle of John are dominated by it (so also the Epistles of Ignatius and Justin). The view of the early 2nd century is presented as speaking so extensively in the Fourth Gospel, it is the thought of the author rather than of Jesus Himself that appears both in Gospel and Epistle. In both we find the conception of the need of the transformation of man's nature by the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, through union with whom the transformation is effected. In spite of many divergencies between John and Paul, the general type of thought is the same, and the agreements far outweigh the differences.

In the other writings of the NT and in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians an altogether different type of theology appears, more nearly akin to that of the early Jewish disciples. The influence of

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Paul is hardly seen except in the common belief that the Jewish law has been abrogated, and that Christianity is open on equal terms to men of every race. To all these writers the gospel is the promise of salvation for those who keep the law of God. Salvation is a future thing, involving, in the thought of some, who retained the conception of the Jewish law, the promise of an earthly kingdom to be set up by Christ at His return and to endure for a season (Rev 20:1–6), and in the thought of all, the enjoyment of a blessed immortality in heaven. The principal condition of salvation is the faith of the God's covenant people as revealed by Jesus Christ. This must be preceded by repentance, and repentance by faith,—which means, primarily, the conviction that God will reward those who keep, and punish those who break, His law,—without which faith no one will repent and obey God's commandments. The work of Jesus Christ was to bring to men a knowledge of God's law and its sanctions, and by Him they would be judged. He was thus at once Mediator of salvation and Judge of the world, and the titles 'Saviour' and 'Judge' both come from Him. The exalted position which He occupied led Christians to think of Him as standing in a relation of peculiar intimacy with God, and in course of time to speculate about the origin and nature of that relation. Some thought it was quite natural to think that His supernatural endowment began at the time of His baptism, when He was called by God and equipped for His work by the gift of the Spirit (cf. the accounts of the baptism in the Gospels, esp. the tenth, given in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Tryphon, 108, and also the testimony of Justin, ib. 48, and Eusebius, HE v. 28. 3). By others He was given a supernatural origin, being represented as the child of the Holy Spirit (as in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke); while still others pushed His origin even further back, and thought of Him as a pre-existent Being who had come down from heaven (thus, e.g., the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, Apocalypse, and Clement). Where this general type of thought prevailed, an adequate motive for assuming the Deity of Christ, such as acted upon Paul and those who felt the influence of his theory of redemption, was lacking. Endowment with the Spirit at baptism, supernatural birth, pre-existence—not of them involved Deity in the strict sense. It is not due to these Christians, but to Paul and his school, that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ finally became a part of historic Christian theology. The two types of thought that have been described developed for the most part independently of one another for some generations; but even in writings representing controllingly one or the other type, traces of the opposite tendency sometimes appear, and towards the close of the 2nd cent. the two were combined by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who carried the Deity of Christ, such as acted upon Paul and those who felt the influence of his theory of redemption, and union with the Divine—was permanently conserved, and became the basis of the sacramental system, which we find, as a matter of fact, already forming in 1 Co 10 and in Jn 3 and 8.

5. Ethical ideals. — To the early Jewish disciples, Christianity was primarily not an ethical but a Messianic movement. It is true that they believed, with John the Baptist and with Jesus, that righteousness was a condition of sharing in the blessings of the coming Kingdom (cf. Ac 3:28). It was because of the unrighteousness of the people that Jesus had not established it during His earthly life, and not until there was general repentance would He return (Ac 3:19). But they interpreted righteousness in the ordinary Jewish way as the keeping of the revealed Law of God in all its parts, and introduced little change in current ethical ideals. They saw in Christ the promise of an earthly kingdom of the Messianic Kingdom and their own participation in its blessings, but apparently they did not feel the need of new ethical ideals and new moral power, and they did not think of looking to Christianity for them. To Paul, as has already been seen, Christianity was an altogether different thing. He had experienced a serious moral crisis, and had passed through a severe moral struggle such as the earlier disciples had not known, and he found in Christianity, above all else, the satisfaction of his moral needs. Christianity, as he conceived it, was a religion offering to him and to every man a new moral power sufficient to transform him from an evil to a good being, from a sinner to a saint. His theory of redemption,—in fact it was commonly quite misunderstood,—but his conviction that Christianity has to do fundamentally with release from sin and with the promotion of holiness speedily became wide-spread. From him, too, came the sharp distinction between flesh and spirit which has dominated Christian thought ever since. Those who came after him were not, as a rule, so thoroughgoing as he at this point, but the idea of the Christian life as a moral conflict—the warring of two opposing principles, a fleshly and a spiritual—was common at an early date. Holiness thus came to be regarded as the principal mark of the Christian life, and sins of the flesh were esteemed the worst of all sins. Primitive Christian literature is full of exhortations to purity, and of denunciations of unchastity and lust. The lenient view taken of sexual immorality by the contemporary heathen world, and the close connexion between it and some of the religious cults of the day, doubtless had much to do with the fierce reformation of the subject in early Christian documents; but behind it all, even though seldom coming to expression, lay the Pauline contrast between flesh and spirit, and the conviction that impurity of the flesh drives away the Holy Spirit and makes His continued presence with the individual impossible. The appeal to the law of Christ—e.g., in addition to the many passages in Paul's own Epistles, He 10:26, Jude 14, and esp. the 2nd cent. writings—Hermas, Mand. v. and x., and 2 Clement 14. Paul himself was not an ascetic in any strict sense; he even opposed asceticism in matters of food and drink, when it appeared in Rome and Colosse (Ro 14 and Col 2); but hints of an ascetic tendency appear in his Epistles (Ro 8:13, 1 Co 9:22), particularly in connexion with the regulation of the relations between the sexes (cf. 1 Co 7:25). Not till the subsequent development of Catholic asceticism was already foreshadowed, though the process was still in its incipiency, in the Apostolic age (see the protest against it in 1 Ti 4:14). See ASCETICISM (Chr.).

Another controlling contrast in primitive Christian ethics, due in part to the same cause, in part to the prevailing expectation of the speedy return of Christ, was that between this world and the next,—promoting a spirit of unworldliness, or other-worldliness, which has remained a permanent feature of the Christian view ever since. It early came to regard themselves as a people called out of the midst of a corrupt generation and set apart as God's own; and to live as citizens of another world, to fix one's affections upon higher than earthly things, to be separate from this world and superior to its interests and concerns—this was
regarded as the truly Christian attitude (cf., e.g., 2 Co 6:7, Gal 6:1, Ph 3:19, Col 3:1, Ja 4:4, 1 Jn 2:6; and also the striking passage in the 2nd cent. Epistle to Diognetus, 5ff.). Not harmony with one's environment, as in classic Greek ethics, but revolt against it, and the carrying on of a life entirely detached from it—this was the Christian ideal already in the Apostolic age. And this spirit worked together with the controlling emphasis upon fleshly purity to promote asceticism, and ultimately, though not yet in the Apostolic age, its natural fruit—monasticism (cf. the prophetic remark of Paul in 1 Co 5:9).

The sharp contrast between the two worlds, and the recognition of the present world as evil, did not result in a desire to change existing conditions; no social revolution was contemplated. The division of society into rich and poor, master and slave, was treated as normal. The effort was made to introduce Christian principles into all the relations of life, but the desire to escape from the class to which one belonged to be free from was encouraged (cf. 1 Co 7:25). There is frequent emphasis in the writings of the age upon one's common duties as father, husband, wife, child, servant (Eph 5, Col 3, 1 P 2, 1 Th 6, Tit 2), and especially as citizen (cf. Acts 17, Tit 3, 1 Clement 60. 61). However evil the present world may be, the Christian is to walk in such a way as to give no just ground of offense to outsiders, is to show proper respect to all men, and to seek to conduct himself blamelessly with everyone (Ro 12:12-13, Ph 2:15, 1 P 3:9 etc.).

The ideal of social service and the desire to promote the spirit of brotherhood in the world at large had little place among the early Christians. Rather to gather out of the world a company of holy men, heirs of the promised Kingdom—this was their great aim (cf. the Eucharistic prayers in the early 2nd cent. Didache, 9, 10). It is true that love is frequently insisted upon in the writings of the Apostolic age, but it commonly takes the form of love for the Christian brethren, which is to be manifested in charity, hospitality, sympathy, concord, forbearance, tender-heartedness, forgiveness, humbleness, and in no limited way, it usually appears as only one of a number of virtues (cf. 1 Th 2:14, 2:12, 6:11, 2 Th 2:2, 3:13, Ja 1:27, 29). The place of supremacy given to it by Christ and after Him by Paul is accorded to it by no other writings of the age. The mention in 1 Clement 49ff. is hardly sufficient to justify us in making an exception of the author). But the influence of Jesus is seen nevertheless in the general emphasis—common to most of our sources—upon the virtues of gentleness, peaceableness, forbearance, and humility. Nothing is said of the duty of insisting upon one's rights and demanding proper recognition from others. Self-abnegation in one's relations with one's fellows, rather than self-seeking, is the recognized ideal.

But the contrast with the prevailing ethical sentiment of the Roman world was not confined to a difference in ideals. The Christians recognized the moral law, which was their duty to obey, as given directly by revelation from God, the revelation involving also an announcement of the future sanctions attending obedience and disobedience. There was thus a definiteness and compulsion about Christian ethics not commonly found elsewhere. Emphasis upon the hope of reward or fear of punishment of moral conduct, is very common in our sources (e.g. 1 Co 6:9-11, 15-16, 2 Co 9, Gal 5:6, Col 1, 1 P 3, He 2:10, 1 Th 6). But further motives are also frequently urged: to walk worthy of one's calling as God's elect, to please and glorify God, to be like Christ, to be true to one's opportunities and responsibilities, to help, not harm, one's brethren, to promote the good name of Christianity in the world at large (cf. 1 Co 6:9, Ph 2:15, Col 3, 1 Th 2:14, 1 P 1st 20, 21, 1 Clement 30). It means much also that the early Christians believed that Christianity was for all men, low as well as high, and that they recognized the moral possibilities even of the meanest. Christianity, indeed, supplied a new and mighty moral enthusiasm for the masses of the people, and in spite of the fact that already there is an indication of a division between two grades of morality, one for the common man and the other for the spiritual elite, was beginning to appear (cf. 1 Co 7 and Didache, 6).

So far as moral performance was concerned, it evidently left much to be desired. Of this the repeated exhortations and warnings in the Christian literature of the period are sufficient evidence, and we have direct record of some striking examples of immorality (e.g. Ac 5, 1 Co 5, 11, Jude 12). It is worthy of notice, too, that the Christians bore a bad moral reputation among their pagan neighbours, due largely, no doubt, to prejudice, but also in part well founded (cf. 1 Th 4, 2 Th 3, 1 P 2-3). It may be clear that this was not a morally clean movement, and that it involved a real moral improvement on the part of many of its adherents. The very insistence upon the matter in our sources shows that there was a sumptuous ethical ideal, and that the Christians themselves recognized its binding character; and we have abundant testimony to the effects of Christianity upon the lives of its converts (see not only the writings of the Christians themselves, but also the Christian writings of Trajan). In general, it may be said that the common notion of the Christians was that the aim of Christianity is to make men purer and better here, in order to a blessed immortality hereafter.

6. Development of organization.—In primitive Jewish Christianity no organization was needed in the beginning, for the disciples regarded themselves simply as heralds of the coming Kingdom. It might perhaps have been expected that they might have had a common language, but this they apparently did not do, and the failure to do so shows how little they regarded themselves as a distinct sect. Their desire was to convince their fellow-countrymen of Jesus' divinity Himself, and not to attract disciples, rather than to form a religious cult or society of its own. Certain Christians, particularly James the brother of Jesus, and others who had stood in relations of intimacy with Him, such as the Twelve, naturally had large influence in the Jerusalem circle, but there is no sign that this involved any official position or appointment. Some sort of an organization, however, the disciples had at an early date. As a brotherhood they felt it their duty to care for the necessities of the needy among them, and so a committee was appointed for the collection of aid (Ac 6). Beyond this we do not know that the early Jerusalem Christians went; but ultimately, after the final break with their unbelieving countrymen, the Jewish Churches were organized as independent institutions, though the exact form which the organization took is unknown to us.

In the non-Jewish world conditions were different. Here, too, the expectation of the speedy consummation of all this was clear, and so there was no need for the organization of the Christian movement. The Clientes that the Christian movement made any attempt to become a separate authority, and the conviction of the presence of the Spirit made human officials seem superfluous. The founding of churches began at an early date; and in them, although for some time leadership devolved naturally upon men specially endowed...
by the Spirit, such as apostles, prophets, and teachers. Gradually the necessities of the case led to a more formal organization, substitutes being required for the inspired men who might not always be present. Two classes of officials—bishops and their assistants, the deacons—existed in some churches before the end of the Apostolic age. They were not the threefold ministry of —bishop, presbyter, and deacon—belonging to the 2nd century.

7. Religious services. — The early Jerusalem disciples were devout Jews, and continued to observe the religious exercises and the religious services of their people. Their common religious life as Christians expressed itself not so much in formal services as in informal gatherings from house to house, where their community of feeling as disciples of Jesus and heirs of the approaching Kingdom found natural and familiar expression. Concerning the subsequent development within the Jewish Christian Churches we have no information. In the Gentile world all seems at first to have been informal; but the existence of hostility towards the religious practices and principles of the heathen world, taken by Paul and other early missionaries, made it necessary for converts to Christianity to repudiate, as a rule, their old cults, and to find their religious life wholly within the Christian Church. Thus it was inevitable that a Christian cult should early develop, to meet the need of those who were cut off from the religious exercises to which they had been accustomed. Christian worship became ultimately very elaborate and ornate, and took on many of the features of the cults which it displaced, but in the Apostolic age we discover only the beginnings of the development. Our information on the subject is almost wholly confined to the Church of Corinth, and there all was very simple and informal. The Christians met frequently for religious worship and mutual edification, and also at other times to partake of a common meal. The former occasions are referred to by Paul in 1 Co 14. At these meetings the Church first engaged in various religious exercises, prayer, praise, prophecy, teaching, speaking with tongues,—the whole service being controlled by the Pauline idea of the presence of the Holy Spirit, by whose influence the disciples were inspired to pray or prophesy or engage in other religious exercises. Paul does not express himself with corresponding freedom, and it is probable that the spirit of the Church and the need of edification were such that he was not allowed to engage in the worship. It is certain that some of those whose ranks the Spirit would take active part in the services. The freedom was not for the individual as an individual, but as a mouthpiece of the Spirit. At the time when Paul wrote, this liberty had already resulted in serious disorder, and the meetings had degenerated into scenes of confusion and discord. The ancient Church lay down two principles of far-reaching importance. The spirit of prophecy must be for the edification of those present, and all the exercises must be conducted with that end in view. Only such gifts must be employed, and only under such conditions, as will promote the good of all. But how can one refuse to utter what the Spirit imparts, even though it be unintelligible or unûntimely? In reply to this question, Paul stated a second general principle of equal importance with the first: 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,' that is, an inspired man has the right to rebuke another in the use of his spiritual gifts, and to employ them only in such a way as to promote edification. The utterance of these two principles foreshadows the passing of the original freedom. If an individual fails to exercise discretion in the use of his gifts, he must be controlled by his brethren, and thus the way is prepared for a regular order of service, and for the appointment of certain persons to take charge of the meetings, and to see that all is done decently and in order. There is no sign that Paul himself contemplated such a result, but the stereotyping process ensued in course of time. In Rome, before the end of the 1st century, it was a matter of common law, and regularly appointed officials were in control of the services (cf. 1 Clement, 40 ff., 44); and before long the early freedom had given way almost everywhere to liturgical rules (cf. Didache, 9; Justin, Apol. 67; Ignatius, Magn. 7, Trall. 7, Smyrn. 8).

In addition to the meetings already described, the Christians at Corinth were in the habit of gathering from time to time to share in a common meal. At this meal they not only partook of food and drink for the ordinary purpose of satisfying hunger and thirst, but it was their custom, as was apparently the case among the early Jerusalem disciples, to eat bread and drink wine in commemoration of Jesus. At the time when Paul wrote, the meals had degenerated into scenes of discord and debauchery. Under these circumstances the Corinthians informed the Corinthians that the commemoration of Christ's death was the chief purpose of the meal, and not eating and drinking for their own sake; and he commanded them to satisfy their hunger at home, that they might be able to eat the body of Christ in the right spirit, and make the meal wholly a religious service (1 Co 11:23, 24). The immediate effect of Paul's attitude in this matter we do not know. The common meals continued in some quarters for generations, but ultimately they were everywhere given up, and the religious ceremony known as the Eucharist or Lord's Supper alone remained. In subsequent centuries it became the central feature of the Christian cult. A very elaborate ceremonial grew up in connexion with it, and it was regarded as the most sacred and mysterious of all religious rites (see art. AOAPE and EUCARIST).

In the Didache, 9, it is commanded that none except baptized persons be allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper. This is the earliest explicit statement of a general rule which, it may fairly be supposed, was commonly operative from the beginning; for the sacred meals of the early Christians can hardly have been shared by any not belonging to the Christian circle, and admission to it was commonly, if not generally, made by the ceremony of baptism (see art. BAPTISM).

8. Significance of the Apostolic age. — The Apostolic age is the period of Christian origins, and as such has a significance attaching to it no other in the history of the Church. It was during this period that the Church as an organization came into existence, and the foundations were laid upon which all subsequent ages built. Most of the tendencies that appear in Christian history are to be found at least in germ in the Church of the 1st century.

It is through the Apostolic age also that we get our knowledge of Jesus Christ. To it we owe not simply the written accounts of His life, but also the impression of His personality which constitutes an integral part of our picture of Him. It is true that the very change of emphasis from Christ's message about God to His personality as Messiah involved a changed interpretation of His controlling purposes, which has coloured Christian thought ever since. Nevertheless, it is through the Apostolic age that we approach Him, and from it that we get the information which enables us to understand Him in some respects better than His own disciples did. His person dominated the age, and the memory of His presence was a vivid and compelling reality. The days in which men who knew...
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Him face to face were still alive and influential must always stand apart from other days in the regard of His followers.

On other accounts, too, the Apostolic age will always have peculiar religious value. As the period of beginnings, there is an incomparable freshness about it. Its vivid sense of the approaching consummation gives it an inspirational quality not found elsewhere; and in it were produced the classic documents of Christianity from which all Christians since have drawn religious sustenance. This fact attests enough to mark the age as one of the other ages in the history of the Church.

But another significance has been ascribed by Christian tradition to the Apostolic age. During the 2nd cent. there grew up a conception of Apostolic authority which has prevailed ever since, and has given the 1st cent. a worth and dignity to which the fact is that it is the period of Christian origins and nearest in time to Jesus Christ would not of itself entitle it. In the effort to repudiate the errors of the Marcionites and Gnostics, which were spreading rapidly in the 2nd cent., certain leaders of the Church began to insist upon the teaching of the Apostles, that is, the Twelve and Paul, as the sole standard and norm of Christian faith and practice. It was found that all the traditions of the Church had been channeled by Christ to be the founders of His Church, and had been endowed with the Spirit in such measure as to render them infallible witnesses to the will and truth of God. In the effort to define the teaching of the Apostles, as far as to show that they gave no support to the vagaries of Marcion and the Gnostics, it was claimed that they had left certain writings together constituting an authoritative Scripture canon, and had framed a creed containing essential truths of the Christian faith. Whoever would be a member of the true Church, and so an heir of salvation, must unfeignedly accept all that was taught both by canon and by creed. A sharp line of demarcation was thus drawn between the age of the Apostles and all subsequent generations. In the Apostolic age was found the standard for all time to come. The Apostles themselves came to be regarded as figures supernaturally endowed for the unique work of establishing the Church, above and beyond the ordinary frailties and limitations of humanity. Their official character was so emphasized that all sense of their individuality was lost. The differences between them were forgotten, in the conviction that as men they did not inspire; they must have been completely one. Apart from Paul, his writings militarily nothing of their several careers, of the regions where they laboured, and the work they did; and not until the 3rd cent., long after all authentic sources of information had disappeared, did tradition begin to busy itself with them as individuals—a striking illustration of the indiscernence to historic reality to which the 2nd cent. theory of Apostolicity gave rise. As a result of that theory, all that the Apostles were supposed to have taught, whether by precept or example, was assumed infallible authority; and nothing in doctrine, in polity, in ritual, or in practice could be regarded as Christian unless directly or indirectly of Apostolic origin. Development on all these lines was made possible by the belief that the Apostles had also instituted a perpetual Apostolic office for the government and guidance of the Church, the incumbents of which were endowed with the power to interpret infallibly the will and truth of God. Bible and creed were thus supplemented by the living voice of the Catholic episcopate, and the Church was enabled to conform to new conditions and to meet new needs as they arose, without ostensibly breaking away from its Apostolic foundations or giving up its theory of Apostolic authority. The Protestant reformers of the 16th cent. rejected the Catholic doctrine of an infallible episcopate, but the Catholic belief in Apostolic authority was retained, and the Bible was regarded as the complete and final expression of Apostolic teaching on all conceivable subjects.

If Revolution and inspiration were supposed to have ceased with the age of the Apostles, and the development that had taken place under the aegis of episcopal authority was repudiated, the effort was made to return to the conditions of the Apostolic age, and is in reality to conform to its principles and practices in all respects, nothing being regarded as truly Christian unless it enjoyed the authority of Apostolic precept or example. Cf. next article.

This belief still prevailed largely in connexion with doctrine, but in the matter of ritual and polity it has been generally abandoned. Moreover, the whole conception of Apostolic authority has been given up by many in modern times, and it has come to be widely held that the age of the Apostles was essentially like any other in the history of the Church, that it was confronted with its own problems and difficulties, and that the men who met and solved them were of like passions and limitations as all others.

This change of attitude has been of immense historical and religious value. A reality attaches to the Apostolic age and to the figures of the early leaders of the Church which they never possessed before. For first of all the Apostles held the period and a genuinely historical treatment of it have become possible, and from the religious experiences of the Apostles and their companions, now more clearly understood and appreciated, modern Christians are gaining new inspiration and instruction.

LITERATURE—Of older books on the Apostolic age should be mentioned: Neander, Geschichte der Pflanzung und Letzung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel, 1832 (Eng. tr. 1847); Bauër, Paulus der Apostel Jesu Christi, 1845 (Eng. tr. 1873 E.); Ritschl, Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 1850 (2nd ed. 1857, entirely worked over) (in its second edition another epoch-making book setting forth the conception of early Christian history which was adopted by the Tubingen school in general), followed in 1858 by Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte (Eng. tr. 1873 E.); Pjotanzung des ersten Jahrhunderts; Zeilalter, Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 1856 (3rd ed. 1902; Eng. tr. 1894) (the most influential of modern works on this apostolic age); Pfeiderer, Das Urchristentum, 1887 (3rd ed. 1902), also Die Entstehung des Christenthums, 1905 (Eng. tr. 1906); McGiffert, Early Christian Church (Eng. tr. 1897 (rev. ed. 1899)); Bartlet, The Apostol Age, 1896; Wernle, Die Entstehung unserer Religion, 1901 (2nd ed. 1904; Eng. tr. 1908 E.); Deubner, Die urchristl. Gemeinden, 1902 (Eng. tr. 1904), and his brief sketch, Das apostolische Zeitalter, 1908 (in the Religiensgeschichtliche Volksbücher); Knopf, Das nach- apostol. Zeitalter, 1906; Ropes, The Apostol Age in the Light of Modern Criticism, 1908. The various standard lives of Paul, works on NT literature and theology, Church histories, and histories of doctrine, which deal more or less fully with the subject, is not necessary to specify.

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.—1. The principle of ministry in the NT.—That from the Apostles' time there has existed in the Christian Church a ministry exercising official functions by regular devotion of authority is a fact which few historians have disputed, if no claim had been made on its behalf by being a necessary part of the institution of Christ. But as this claim is put forward on behalf of Churches retaining the canonical orders, and also by Presbyterians, Apostolic succession becomes a significant part of the discussion, and it demands a closer and more vigorous scrutiny than would otherwise attend an investigation into the origin of the Christian Ministry. The theory is that Christ, having established a society primarily
visible and historical, gave to that society a recognizable unity and cohesion, not only by instituting in Baptism a sacrament of initiation, and in the Eucharist a sacrament of corporate life, but also by perpetuating its collective witness in a continuous and authoritative ministry.

This principle has often, and not unreasonably, been expressed in the form of a question, which - as for example - has been common to confuse the question of a true principle of ministry with that of the manner in which it has been realized in history. This has led to discussions on the Divine right of bishops as an exclusive form of Church government; and on the contrary, on the nature of a sacerdotal system and the devolving episcopal authority which the facts of early Church history, so far as we know, do not justify, and which is too formal to be adequately sacerdotal in any really sacerdotal and organic sense. Whatever the right, when, in opposing the Presbyterian theory, he contented himself with affirming that episcopacy "best agreed with the sacred Scriptures" (Exod. iv. 9, 10, see ch. vii. 11).

Or, again, the sacerdotalism of the third century has been un-warrantably introduced into the profession of faith, and whole systems of doctrine have been ascribed to it though it were a question whether Christ had set up a priestly caste, to which the mysteries of religion were entrusted, and without which spiritual life was not only hindered but impossible. These methods of thought have led to narrow and technical inquiries into the sacramental character of the Church's orders, the form and meaning of the rise by which they were conferred, and the precise conception of the various powers which from time to time the Bible has been content to convey. Such an attitude of mind, that of Bull Apostolorum Controversiae, condemning Anglican orders on the ground that the Ordinum of Episcopal Succession is the more ancient, is not the true point of view. Such excesses as the admission of the Bull that the Roman Church can ordain bishops in every part of the world, are due to the excesses in the profession of the Church by the Twelve (see below). The end of the 1st cent. witnessed a universal Church, but the doctrine of the Twelve was not questioned, but used in argument by writers like Irenaeus (ad. Haer. iii. 3, v. 40, 44, xii. 20) and Tertullian (de Pauci. b. 5, Apol. iv. 7, cf. Hefele, Geschichte der Kirche, iv. 23). In the early days of the 2nd cent. Ignatius withdraws the sacerdotal ministry 'there is no name of the church' (Tradit. 5). It is not, therefore, scientific to dismiss the doctrine of Apostolic succession because the statement of it has been inadequate or extravagant. This is true of most, if not all, Christian doctrines.

The object of the present article is to show what reasons there are, in view of the facts and principles of the NT, for believing that the great institution of the Church, and ascribing as rights to the government of Christianity. Whatever variations may have attended its transmission (as, e.g., in the case of the supposed right of the Alexandrian presbyters until the time of Bishop Hecaeus, A.D. 255), the fact surely is there that the ordinance of the Ep. 146 ad Evangeline; see Bigg, Ep. 146; Gore, Sch. and Minn., Note B; J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, pp. 155, 156), the Church has preserved an unbroken continuity in all churches till the 16th century. The theory built up on this fact does not stand or fall with a sacerdotal conception of orders, but arises out of the facts of the Gospel narrative. 'We find the Church,' says Archbishop Temple, 'from the very beginning fingering the ministry of the Church, the deposition of Truro Cathedral.' Whatever may be the function of the Church, whether it be the teacher of truth or the dispenser of sacraments, the inquiry is not vitally affected. Where, as in the Western Church of the Middle Ages, great stress was laid upon the divine character of the Eucharist, Apostolic succession will appear mainly as a sacerdotal theory. Where, on the other hand, as in the age of the Gnostics, resistance to doctrinal error is the foremost consideration, the ministry will rather be held as the guardian of the Apostolic witness to evangelical truth. The two questions that are fundamentally important are: (a) Is the Church of Christ as the object of salvation prior to the individual Christian? (b) Does the Church as established by Christ present any of the features of a historical institution? It is only as these questions are answered that we can proceed to discover from history how the organic life of the society has been in fact developed.

Apostolic succession being accepted as a principle of the Church's life, we do not commit ourselves to any one theory of the reasons which led, in the evolution of the Church, to the establishment of the various orders of ministers. If the Seven of A 6 be, as is frequently supposed, the original primitive ministry, then it was only in the course of time that time by time have been engraved on the office in the course of history, the neglect of which the Hebrists have been by force of history and condition and origin. Whether a similar need for the due administration of the common purse (Hatch, B. L. 5), or the requirement of a sacerdotal system for the guidance of the Church in its community in its relations with the rest (Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, ch. 5, 3.), or the demand for a sacerdotalism of some sort or another to be the cause of the establishment of bishops; or whether, as is more probable, a complexity of causes, some more influential in one region than in another, produced the universal episcopate, the Church still remains a differentiated and structural body, not a promiscuous gathering of persons professing Christian discipleship and organizing themselves for the promotion of common ends. On the other hand, unless it be held that the Apostles exercised an absolute authority in the primitive Church, and that the clergy, or any one order amongst them, succeeded to all the functions of the Apostles and maintained the relation of authority to the rest, a theory of this sort is impossible. Such a theory presupposes, that a ministry regularly ordered from Apostolic times may adapt itself to democratic institutions as well as to those of Congregationalism, which, as Dr. Dale has shown, is in theory no more dependent on the popular will than any other form of government. A History of Empires its unique office, therefore, really resolves itself into this—whether Christ is merely the source of a spirit which has found for itself a body, or whether the body is pre-existing for the Spirit.}

A. IN THE Gospels.—The Gospel of Mark registers the stages by which the Christian community, with its characteristic message of forgiveness and enjoyment of the Holy Spirit, was established through the public work of the Christ (B.C. 28) to the reign of Jesus (A.D. 33), witnesses to certain facts of the Church's development which may not be ignored. The Nicene canons, A.D. 321 (No. 4), make careful allowance for the mere fact of universal custom, for the duty of the minister in all parts of the Church. In the first stage of the united episcopate, we are aware that the authority entrusted by Christ Himself to the Twelve (see below). The end of the 1st cent. witnessed a universal Church, but the doctrine of the Twelve was not questioned, but used in argument by writers like Irenaeus (ad. Haer, iii. 3, v. 40, 44, xii. 20) and Tertullian (de Pauci. b. 5, Apol. iv. 7, cf. Hefele, Geschichte der Kirche, iv. 23). In the early days of the 2nd cent. Ignatius withdraws the sacerdotal ministry 'there is no name of the church' (Tradit. 5). It is not, therefore, scientific to dismiss the doctrine of Apostolic succession because the statement of it has been inadequate or extravagant. This is true of most, if not all, Christian doctrines.

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of His 'disciples,' who become a society resting upon the Lord's choice, no longer a passionate following united only by the uncertain bond of a common, though variable, devotion to one Master. Within this circle Jesus constitutes twelve (v.14); Luke adds 'whom also he named apostles' (6th). But the importance of this appointment is clearly seen by what in a narrative so concise as that of Mark cannot be without significance. He includes the list (33-37) repeated by each of the other Synoptists (Mt 10:2, Lk 6:13), and also in Acts (1:14). The words 'He made twelve apostles' (v.30) are noticeable. Christ created an office, the purpose of which was to extend His own mission by proclaiming the Kingdom and exercising authority in casting out the rival kingdom of Beelzebub (Mk 3:20-21, Lk 10:11-12). To this end those who now in a narrower sense become 'the disciples' are first to be 'with him' (38, cf. Lk 22:29), so that from this point the narrative acquires a different character, being a record, on the one hand, of growing opposition on the part of the Jews to the movement now definitely embodied in an organized society, and, on the other, of the training of the Twelve for thrones in the Kingdom which Christ has appointed to them (Lk 22:19). The call to the Twelve was preliminary, by a preparatory mission on which they sent throughout the villages of Galilee. Their commission corresponds to the stage which Christ's work has already reached. They preach repentance, cast out demons, heal the sick of the Evangelist (Mk 6:6) are worthy of attention: 'He began to send them forth' (vaeςτολαζaeπον). Just as the whole narrative is the beginning of that Gospel the history of which is still in process of its development, so here we have the beginning of the Apostolate, ultimately to become universal in its scope.

Two further preparatory stages are, however, necessary, before the Church can be built upon the Apostles (Mt 16:18; cf. Eph 2:20, Rev 21:14)—the confession of Jesus' Messiahship, and the disclosure of suffering and death as the channel through which the gospel of the Kingdom was to become the witness to a crucified and risen Saviour.

The critical conversation at Cæsarea Philippi is not referred to earlier by Mt. (16:16-20; cf. Mk 8:27-30, Lk 9:18-22). Mt. connects with the Apostolic confession the grant of the keys, and reveals the occasion as a further stage in the formation of the Church, against which the gates of Hades are not able to prevail. The authority actually committed to St. Peter was, according to Cyprian (de Unitate, 4), extended to the Twelve on the occasion recorded in Mt 18:18-20. It is, however, difficult to suppose that the Ecclesia in v.27 does not primarily refer to the local Jewish synagogue (see Hort, Christian Ecclesia, p. 9), especially in view of the words 'Gentile and publican'; and it is quite in accord with Mt.'s manner to string together utterances not originally related, therefore to interpret the Christian society, it would be quite natural to add, not only the promise of v.18, 20, but the charter of authority given in v.19, which is at least evidence that it was not regarded as applying to St. Peter only. And it is probable that the authority in question was extended to the Twelve, and that v.19, even if not originally spoken in that connexion, accurately expresses the fact. The Fourth Gospel, in recording one of the appearances of the risen Lord, represents Him as imparting the Holy Spirit to the disciples, and renewing the authority, not now in the old Hebraic form, but in language connecting the Apostolic ministry with the atoning work: 'Whosoever sins ye forgive,' etc. (Jn 20:22-23). The suggestion that Jesus here addressed not the Eleven, but a promiscuous gathering of disciples (see Westcott, Gospel acc. to St. John 22nd ed.) seems to be negatived by the whole course of the Johannine narrative. It is true that John notes the absence of Thomas (v.25). But he is specially mentioned as 'one of the Twelve,' and it is hardly to be supposed that an Evangelist who gives at great length the last discourses addressed to the Eleven only does not intend to convey the same impression to the end. Nor can the renewed commission to St. Peter recorded in 21:17-18 be regarded, in the light of the Denial, otherwise than as a specific restoration to a position that might else have seemed to be forfeited.

We find, then, in the Gospels a Christian society already in existence, within which the Apostles are an inner circle of more immediate disciples, recapitulating and intensifying the characteristics of the general body. This becomes apparent from the moment of the choice recorded in Mk 9:1, and is emphasized in the conversation at Cæsarea Philippi. Hort favours the view that the words 'whom also he named apostles' (RvM, cf. Lk 6:13) belong to the genuine text (Christian Ecclesia, p. 22). But it is clear that during the Lord's stay in Galilee the Twelve is the group selected by Christ. They are called the 'Twelve' (Mk 14:19), 'the twelve disciples' (Mt 20:24), and simply 'the disciples' (Mt 20:25). But the name 'apostles' is also given to them, and the second reason for their selection as the distinct body of the Evangelist (Mk 6:6) are worthy of attention: 'He began to send them forth' (καὶἀποστέλλειν). Just as the whole narrative is the beginning of that Gospel the history of which is still in process of its development, so here we have the beginning of the Apostolate, ultimately to become universal in its scope.

When we reach the last Passover, the importance of the narrative attains its height. From the conversation at Cæsarea, the training of the Twelve takes a course clearly differentiatating itself from others. The acknowledgment of Messiahship is not to be the complete witness of the disciples. It prepares the way for a fuller disclosure. From that time 'he began to teach them' (Mk 8:26, cf. Lk 9:6) combine and unite, and which the narrative anticipated a more spiritual glory than that of the Jewish Messiah, to be attained through the Χριστός about to be fulfilled at Jerusalem (Lk 9:22). The experience of the Last Journey had its appropriate sequel in that of the Upper Room. Mark says that 'when it was evening, he cometh with the twelve' (14:17); Mt., 'that he was sitting at meat with the twelve disciples' (26:30); Lk, significantly styles them 'apostles' (22:30); while St. John introduces the narrative. 'Then narrowed he his audience to the select company 'his own,' whom Jesus 'loved unto the end' (13). Bearing in mind the general purpose of Mk. (see above), we shall naturally regard his account of the Supper from the point of view of the establishment of the Christian community. It must be remembered that the Evangelist was everywhere celebrated in the Christian congregations as the characteristic act of Church fellowship. Regarding the events of the Upper Room, Mark confines himself, with the single exception of the indication of Judas as the betrayer, with the least possible account of the institution of this rite, as the act by which the Christian community is formally incorporated (14:23). The representative character of the Twelve is indicated by the dependence in which
the Church is thus made to stand upon them. The Eucharist became theirs in virtue of the conditions under which it was first celebrated; and only through them, and as they transmitted it, does it pass to the community. This is in accordance with the relations brought out by John. Those who are hereafter to believe are to do so through them (18). The Eucharist reaches out through the disciples, who are to bear the primary witness, to those who are meditatively chosen by Christ out of the world.

The post-Resurrection narratives do but confirm the report of incommunicableness of the Twelve which culminates in the seclusion of the Upper Room. The narrative of Mark is cut short; but the command given to the women, themselves Jesus’ disciples, to ‘tell his disciples and Peter’ (16) of the empty tomb, shows the Eleven as a distinct body. Mt. gives the commission to make disciples and to baptize as entrusted to the ‘eleven disciples’ (28-29). Lk. shows other disciples gathered at Jerusalem when the risen Christ appeared to them (24). But the Eleven are distinguished from them as a whole in the rest by a specially apposite mention of as they ‘that were with them.’ Even if, therefore, the appearance recorded in Jn 20:19-23 refer to the same occasion, the words ‘Receive ye the Holy Spirit,’ etc., must also certainly have a special bearing on the Eleven as a distinct body.

B. IN THE ACTS.—With the Acts we reach a further and a final stage in the foundation of the Christian society. The gospel of the Kingdom now becomes the organized witness to the Resurrection. The ministry of reconciliation finds its full expression in the proclamation of forgiveness through the Cross. This we find specially committed to the Apostle (12: 5-25, 101)—a term which gains a correspondingly determinate meaning. The list of the Eleven is again given in connexion with this developed function (118), and the choice of Matthias is based upon the necessity of completing the number of the official witnesses (v. 21). The phenomena of the early chapters are precisely what a study of the Gospels would suggest. The Church enters upon its career as an organized body, the Apostles being differentiated from the brethren. From the first the brotherhood continues in ‘the apostles’ teaching,’ and in ‘the fellowship’ thus established (26). That this relation did not involve some direct apostolic delegation appears in the choice of Matthias and of the Seventy. In the former case, two were ‘put forward’ (12), apparently by the whole assembly, the final decision being reserved for the unseen though present Master (v. 24). In the latter, the brethren were expressly charged by the Apostles to ‘look out’ from among themselves seven men (6), who, after prayer, were set apart with the laying-on of Apostolic hands (v. 6). All the elements of ordination are here. At the outset of ministerial appointment it would seem as though John wished to give the Church of His disciples the order of the world as God’s heritage. They do not even exercise a veto. The responsibility of supplying the need of ministrations, as the circumstances of the Christian community disclose themselves, belongs to the society itself. The laying-on of hands is the sacrament, a form of covenantated prayer (Calvin, Instit. iv. 19, § 31: ‘I admit it to be a sacrament in true and legitimate ordination’). Those set apart represent, not the Apostles, but Christ. The Seventy have been traditionally regarded as the first deacons. If this be so, it is obvious that what subsequently became the third order of the ministry was not explicitly appointed by Christ. The general impression conveyed by Acts is that of a society extending and organizing itself as opportunity offered or circumstances suggested. But the laying-on of hands in this instance represents a principle con-
charging a sort of general episcopate and including
the Twelve, whose precise relation to the wider
Apostolate is not clearly defined. Within these
communities are exercised certain spiritual gifts,
among the possessors of which the prophets seem
to approach most nearly to a regular order, but are
not necessarily so, like presbyters, lay apostolic
dele-gates. There is nothing to indicate any method
by which the organic structure was to be main-
tained after the decease of the Apostles. The
scope of the book carries us no further than what
we now see to have been but a preliminary stage
in the accomplishment of Christ's purpose and
command—that the Apostles should be His wit-
tesses to the uttermost parts of the earth. When
the writer had brought St. Paul to Rome, the
task, as his contemporaries would view it, was in
a sense fulfilled. A delay of centuries in the return
of Christ visibly to reign in the midst of His people
was not contemplated. That is the true answer
to the suggestion that the method of continuing a
Christian ministry was among the things pertain-
ing to the Acts of the Apostles. There are still
in the Church today, not as a constituent, but to
the disciples during the Forty Days. This could
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postponement of the restoration of the kingdom
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witnesses was, in the nature of the case, impossible.
The terms of their appointment involved personal
witness to the facts of our Lord's life. The
question, therefore, of method of ordination did
not arise until it became probable that the Apostles
were not to tarry until Christ came.

C. IN THE EPISTLES.—The Epistles confirm,
and in some points render more explicit, the testi-
mation of the Gospels, and in their relation to the
Pauline group, where the corporate aspect of
Christianity is always prominent. But the
Epistle to the Hebrews enjoins obedience to 'them
that have the rule,' clearly implying accountability,
not to the congregation, but to that 'great shepherd
of the sheep' 1 to whom reference is immediately
made (He 13:17). And as the general tendency
of the Epistle is to isolate the eternal priest-
hood of Christ in contrast with the transitory and
temporary priestly office of the NT, it is then to
remember not only that the body of
Christian believers is here represented as a flock with many
under-shepherds, but that the same idea is defi-
nitely presented under the figure of the house, in a
more historic and antithetical manner, and the
developed view of the ministry (3:4). St. James
apparently witnesses to a part of the Apostolic
commission, viz., the healing of the sick, as vested
in the presbyterate (5:17); and St. Peter develops
the conception of the Christian congregation as a
flock entrusted to the presbyters under the Chief
Shepherd (1 P 5:4; cf. Mt 28:19, Lk 10:22, Jn 21:15-17,
Jude 24, Ps 80 etc.). And it is noticeable that,
calling himself a 'co-priest' (P), he regards the
priesthood as inherent in his own office, and you
appear in that of Christ Himself as the 'Shepherd and Bishop of souls' (2:29). The Apocalypse, being
mythical, has little to do beyond the clear fact
that the twelve Apostles of the Lamb are indi-
cated as the foundation-stones of the heavenly city (21:14). The angels of the Seven Churches are almost
certainly their mystical representatives, not their
earthly presbyters (see Swete, *Apocalypsis*, p. 21 f.).

But the conception of an ordered life and organic
unity, inseparable from the idea of a city, is here,
and not the NT. Saved.

St. Paul in his earliest Epistles recognizes the two
lines of authority, which subsequent ages have never
succeeded altogether in adjusting, and which respec-
tively represent the historical and the evangelical
elements in the Church. On the one hand, there
must be no quenching of the Spirit through con-
tempt of the free ministry of prophecy (1 T 5:21); and
on the other, Christians are to know and esteem
those that are over them in the Lord (v. 15). The
importance of the latter becomes clearer in the
Thessalonian Epistles. The Apostolic Ministry
in Philippians, pp. 264-264, are
with
the consequent reversion to Jewish, if not pagan, ideas.

The lines respectively elsewhere Jude 12, in
witnesses to a Body.

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ministry of reconciliation' ('Co 5:19) never in the NT loses its ethical character. There is nothing to suggest that the performance of any particular rite is in principle restricted to an order, or that a ceremonial investiture must precede the exercise of functions precisely defined and limited. On the other hand, it is something more than a merely moral authority, dependent upon the results, with which the ministry of the NT is seen to be clothed. It is a principle of organic life.

2. The principle as preserved in the facts of Church history. - Passing from the NT to ecclesiastical development, we observe that what were the opinions of ancient authors on the subject of the ministry, but how as a matter of fact the principles embodied in the Gospels, continued in the Acts, and attested by the Epistles, were retained in the succeeding phases of the Church life. How then, what is seen to be a structural unity preserved from degenerating into a concourse of unrelated units? The Apostolic teaching is preserved in the canon of Scripture, in the formation of which Apostolicity is a variable test. There is the corresponding mark of Apostolicity in the structure of the Christian society?

A. WRITINGS OF THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE. - (1) The Epistle of Clement (c. 91 A.D.), in which, as in the Didache, there is no trace of diocesan episcopal practice being still, as in the NT, apparently synonymous with περιστροφή, definitely asserts the Apostolic character of the ministry as succeeding to a pastoral authority.

The passage is xlv. 1-3: 'And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strifes over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received communion of Him and aforesaid person (περιστροφή) and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration.' The translation and readings are those of Lightfoot in The Apostolic Fathers. A variant, which Gore adopts, and which makes the passage more distinctly 'episcopal' in character, is the Church's and the Ministry's Order (ch. vi. 4). In either case, the writer seems to have believed the apostolic principles of the Apostles of the Apostolic Age was, as it were, sanctified by Christ. His words show that in the West, where the method of 'continuance' is less distinctly traceable than in the communities of Asia Minor, the principle of Apostolic Order was unquestioned. The facts of the Church's life are stated in terms of succession. The Apostles 'appointed their firstfruits to be bishops and deacons' (xlii. 4). 'Christ is from God, and the Apostles are from Christ' (ch. 3). What is thus handed on is a ministry of the gospel and a priesthood of offering (xlv. 1, xii. 2-5, xili. 1-4). The latter phrase, as also the comparison between the resistance of the Corinthians to their presbyters and the rejection of the Korah(?) agents by the Jews (xliii. 4), lends itself in a hierarchical atmosphere to a sacral interpretation, but for Clement himself the point of the analogy is not that the Korah(?) agents are a pre-bishops, but the 'scepter of God . . . came not in the pomp of arrogance or of power, but in the beauty of the law, the body, the soul, the life, of an organic universe (xxxi.),' and Christ embodies the will and mind of the Creator (xxxvi.). As in St. Paul, nature is the true sanction of a Christian society in its laws as a whole, as well as presbytery (xxxvii. etc.). The consent of the whole Church is as much an expression of the Spirit as Apostolic appointment (xlii. 3). Not passive obedience, but observance of the limits which his 'ordinances' impose upon him, is the duty of every member (xl. 3-5). The relations of the several ranks are moral rather than technical.

The Epistle does not suggest a rigid system by which the performance of sacred rites is the exclusive function of a mediatordial class. But it is unquestionably plain that for Clement, the Christian society is prior to the individual, and that the continuity of its vital relation to Christ depends on the persistence of facts of Church life not dependent on the choice of the several members.

The concept of Ignatius, not altogether easy to appreciate, because words and phrases are apt to be understood in the light of later developments. Unlike Clement, he nowhere explicitly states the principle of succession, but within the scope of his epistle a ministry of three orders is the type of Church government to which he assumes elsewhere, is of doubtful force in view of the statement in Trall. 3, that 'apart from these there is not even the name of a church.' Though there is little reason to doubt that monepiscopacy was established in the Churches of Asia by St. John, as Tertullian and others assert, and though the frequent association in Ignatius between obedience to the constituted ministry and observance of the Divine commands (Magn. 4, Phiilad. 4, Smyr. 5) suggests that he regards this action of the Apostle as resting upon the explicit injunction of our Lord with respect to the permanent organization of His body, we are not justified in concluding, apart from direct evidence, that any such injunction was in fact given. The same is true of the four Evangelists; but his conviction of the mystical necessity of a fourfold Gospel (adv. Her. 11) is parallel to the declaration of Ignatius, that Christ is the mind of the Father, even as the 'bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ' (Eph. 3). - A mystical inference from the facts of Church life which has no certain value for history. This vein of mysticism in Ignatius must never be forgotten in estimating the evidence of his letters. Nor is his argument emphatic assertions of apostolic succession. He asserts Ignatius appeal only to the word of Apostles, or of Christ Himself, but to the moral and spiritual results of schismatic action already apparent in the current experience of the Church.

The main idea of Ignatius is unity. 'Unity is the bond of every grace, of every apostolic letter' (Magn. 7, 13, Phiilad. 5). All things are from God and unto Him (Eph. 14, Phiilad. 9). This is realized primarily in the relation of the Father and the Son, and of God to the world. 'The purpose of Christ is not to unite men to God through Himself (Eph. 5, etc.). This result Ignatius in his own case feels to be not yet fully attained. He only begins to be a disciple (Eph. 9). Martyrdom he believes to be necessary that this union may be consummated, and that he may 'attain unto God' (Eph. 12). This rationale is thus no mere technical association through external bonds, but involves the moral elements of faith which is the bond, and love which was directly sanctioned by Christ. His experience. The Divine method by which the union with Christ is achieved is the Incarnation, expressed in the four facts of the Virginbirth, Baptism, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus (Smyr. 1); those limitations of hard fact which alone give reality and assurance to Christ's work (Magn. 11; ἕκαστος ἕκαστος ἕκαστος ἕκαστος ἕκαστος, without which there is mere appearance (Smyr. 2: τὸ λόγον). Without this acknowledgment there is no 'assurance' (Magn. 13) in Christian life. It is they who refuse to receive these cardinal facts that are a mere 'appearance' (Trall. 10: οὕτως ὠφει ὁ λόγος ὄφθαλμοι). Here is the second appeal of the letter. The truth is that the Church combats in the Epistle to the Colossians, which appears in a yet more virulent form in the Pastoral letters, and which is uncompromising in its worship. "in the name of the disciple who saw the blood and water flow from Jesus' side, had spread like a moral pestilence throughout the Church." Yet, while the retention of the pure gospel had been guaranteed by continuance in the 'apostles' doctrine and fellowship,' so now a more faithful adherence is enjoined. The whole is still committed to the bishop (Eph. 6, Trall. 2, Phiilad. 7, Smyr. 8), with the presbyters (Eph. 4 and passion) and deacons (Magn. 13, etc.) established everywhere in the communities as constituted by the Apostles themselves, give the only pledge of that union with Christ through the Incarnation by which the believer attains to God (e.g. Trall. 7).

We must observe: (a) That acceptance of the limitations imposed by loyalty to a duly constituted Christian society follows, in the thought of Ignatius, the thought of the Apostles, and the Christian society is prior to the individual, and that the continuity of its vital relation to Christ depends on the persistence of facts of Church life not dependent on the choice of the several members. (b) Obedience to episcopal authority is represented as a moral obligation rather than as a technical condition of salvation. To follow one who makes a schism (Phiilad. 3), or to live without giving a due obedience to the Bishop of Rome (Romans 13:1) signifies to follow not the Bishop of Rome, but Ignatius, according to the principle of the Churches of Asia (Smyr. 8: εἰς ἂν ἔξω τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ ἔθνους κ. τ. λ.), the spiritual importance of which is apparent in the case of the latter—a sacrifice of unity, — the neglect of the principle resulting in decline of faith and love. (d) Validity, i.e. assured spiritual
efficiency, admits of degrees. Disregard of the
ministry is the beginning of that spiritual de-
cision which is perfected in the denial of the
Son. ‘Invalid’ does not mean null and void.
There is nothing to show that persons baptized
‘outside the bishop’ would have been treated as
unbaptized. bishop as applied to sacraments must
be interpreted in view of the wider use of the word
and its cognates in these epistles (Magn. 4, 7, 13).
The best translation will, perhaps, be ‘regular’ or
‘standard.’ (e) While we must refrain from
fixing upon Ignatius a conception of the Church
which reduces it to a nicely adjusted hierarchical
machine, the principle of his thought warrants us
in claiming him as an undeniable witness for the
continuance into the sub-Apostolic age of a society
duly subordinated, in the facts of its exterior order
no less than of its spiritual life, to that presby-
tery which the Father’s incarnate Representative
gathered around himself in the persons of the
Apostles. Priscianic powers of association, the
alternative to structural continuity, are foreign to
his whole conception. In that sense Ignatius is an
impeachable witness to Apostolic succession in the
2nd century.

(5) Polycarp, whom his friend and pupil Irenaeus
describes as having been appointed bishop of Smyrna
by Apostles (Iren. iii. 4), writes to the Philippians,
like Clement to the Corinthians, and Ignatius to
Ephesians or Trallians, a letter addressed officially
to the whole Church, not only in his own name,
but also in that of his predecessors. This
equivocal as to the existence of a bishop at
Philippi; for, though mention is made only of
presbyters and deacons, the former are not called
bishop as in the Pauline Epistle to the same
Church (Phil. 1, 1). But Polycarp’s addressing
himself to the whole Church, not only in his own
name, but also in that of his predecessors, is
not without significance. It was the
tenacious adherence to the original conception of
the Church, of which the episcopate is the
exterior form, that constituted for Polycarp and
the Church he addressed a bond of unity.

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The teaching of Polycarp, along with the Didache,
represents a conception of the Church in which an
unequivocal basis is laid for the administration of
the sacraments, and, in most instances, for the
higher order of the episcopate. This same
conception is also portrayed in Polycarp’s
testimony to the existence of a bishop at
Philadelphia, in the Didache (2, 1), with
Papias (Hist. Orig. vii. 37. 2), and with Justin (Apol.
14) in a form of the statement that the Church
evolent to be addressed as a whole, in its
continuity, and to be considered as a unity in
which both the powers constitute the Church.

Polycarp, who is known to have suffered
in Smyrna, was probably acquainted with the
Didache. In the Didache the bishop is
portrayed as the representative of Christ,
and the Church is described in terms
that are suggestive of the economic
conception of the Church as described
in the Didache. In the Didache the bishop is
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its economic conception of the Church,
and the bishop as representative of
Christ, is paralleled in the teaching of
Polycarp, who, according to Irenaeus,
describes himself as the successor of
Apostles and bishops.

The Didache, in its economic conception of
the Church, and the bishop as representative
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ultimately found to be departures from primitive Christianity.

(1) To describe Montanism as an innovation, in the sense of a conscious rejection of an authoritative system, is to misconceive the situation. Hitherto the inroads of Gnosticism had been met by insistence on submission to the principle of unity in the organization of the Christian society. The appeal of Ignatius was developed by Irenaeus (iii. 2, 3, 4, 40) and Tertullian (De Præscript. 30–32), who pointed to the episcopal succession as a guarantee for the preservation of Apostolic identity. Nor were they manifesting the lone in the contention. Hippolytus speaks of bishops as ‘successors of the Apostles’ and guardians of the word (Har. proem. p. 3). Hegesippus, again, after speaking of the Corinthian Church as continuing ‘in the right word’ till the episcopate of Primus, says that he had made a list of the succession (θαυματουργοῦ) up to Anicetus (ap. Euseb. iv. 22). Such evidence, together with that of the ‘Church Orders,’ which belong to the same period and in which we find careful regulations for ordination (e.g. the Canons of Hippolytus), points to the importance attached to the structural unity of the Church by men who, inheriting the spirit of the Fourth Gospel and the Pastors, regarded Christianity as a life manifested in facts (1 Jn 1), not a system of knowledge. Montanism was manifestly contrary to the nature of the position. Writers like Tertullian fell back upon what seemed to them a more sure defence of orthodoxy in the spirit of prophecy. As with Novatian in the next age, who was careful to obtain a regular consecration to the episcopate, there was no separation from the external form of the Church. It was the Church itself that condemned them. Nor was the opposition to Montanism based on the illegitimacy of prophecy when unconnected with any outward delegation of authority, but simply on the nature and circumstances of the utterances themselves, which were pronounced on their merits to be not of God. In the continuance of prophecy there were things inconsistent with the authority of the ministry, and anyone who denied the claim that Montanus might in its issues become fatal not only to a canon of Scripture, but also to the historic fabric of the Christian society, it was only the authority to absolve sinners and repress prophecy that was involved. The ‘Spirit’ was not a rival to the historic body, but rather the source of authority within it. And the immediate expectation of the Parousia, characteristic of the Montanists, absolved them from the necessity of thinking out the problem of continuity. There is no evidence of the creation of a fresh local ministry, as with the Irvingites, by the voice of the Spirit. There were Montanist bishops and presbyters, as subsequently there were Arians or Syrian clergy. But though the question was brought to a final issue, the problem was essentially the same as had been involved in Gnosticism, and it was met by the Church in the same manner. Just as there is a ‘form of doctrine,’ an Apostolic gospel, a written word, so there is a historic structure, ‘the witness and keeper of Holy Writ,’ ‘the pillar and ground of the truth.’ This was involved in the claim to ‘try the spirits’ made on behalf of the Church acting through its organization.

(2) Novatianism produced a definite theory of the facts of organized Church life in Cyprian’s De Unitate. To discuss the historical value of the distinctive claims of the episcopate put forth in that treatise does not fall within the scope of this article. It represents the facts as they were in the 3rd cent., and as in the mind of the writer they had been from Apostolic times. As a vindication of the Apostolic authority of the Church acting in a corporate capacity, it is in general agreement with Ignatius, Irenaeus, and the opponents of Montanism. Its weakness lies in the impetus given to a ministerial sacerdotalism binding the activity of the Spirit to official capacity (see Lightfoot, Phil. H. p. 268). So far as Novatianism, following in the wake of Montanus, was resistance to growing oficialism, it stood for the freedom of the gospel. The movement involved: (a) deference to the confessors, who, as martyrs, were acknowledged as the successors of the prophets had been in word; (b) supersession of such bishops and other ministers as did not manifestly fulfill certain spiritual conditions. The Roman Cornelius was accounted no bishop, because, like Callistus, he was held to be deficient in a genuinely spiritual gift. This was in effect to make the voice of the Spirit, not Apostolic succession, the decisive Church principle. Against it Cyprian elaborated his famous doctrine of the episcopate as the true centre of unity. The Apostolic authority, first entrusted to the college of Apostles, was transmitted to each bishop in turn. The bishops (de Unit. 4), was transmitted by succession from them to the other eleven Apostles (de Unit. 5). Each bishop, representing the particular Church which he ruled, possessed an undivided authority, though in practice limited by a similar jurisdiction in the care of souls. The episcopate being regarded as exercised jointly and severally (‘Episcopus unus est cuius singulis in solidum pars tenetur,’ 5).

It is not easy to see precisely how Cyprian expected this principle to work out, and difficulties arose within his own lifetime in the controversy with Stephen of Rome concerning re-baptism. But there is no uncertainty that Cyprian did not conceive of the Church as a society founded by Christ, which from the first was entrusted to the college of Apostles, which reproduces itself from age to age in the universal college of bishops. Though, however, the idea of exact constitutional limitations had not yet arrived, Cyprian does not appear to have contemplated an episcopal absolutism, for in practice he allows, and even insists upon, something in the nature of an organic exercise of authority on the part of the several dioceses, giving due recognition to presbyters, deacons, and even the laity. His synodal decisions (Ep. xlvii. 1, xxxviii. 1, liv. i, xiv. 2). The right of the laity to withdraw from the communion of a sinful bishop is recognized (Ep. lxviii. 2). To the voice of the People the bishop himself owned his position. But the tendency of this explicit theory and the character of the age which needed a discipline to be applied towards the identification of the Spirit’s work with official acts assigned to the various grades of an accredited hierarchy. If Cyprian applied a narrow human criterion to the Church, the Spirit, by refusing to recognize His presence, when such manifestations as the church of Cyprian was spiritually deprived could discern, were found to be absent; so imperfectly did Cyprian understand the limits of the principle, by which he opposed the schism, that his hard-sell conception of the Church gave rise to a new Novatianism, in that bureaucratic idea of Christian society which led him to refuse recognition to the baptism of schismatics, which denied spiritual validity outside its own borders, and which finds its latest development in what Cyprian would have vehemently resisted—Ultra Montanism and papal infallibility.

(3) The earliest form in which this exclusiveness organized itself was Donatism, appealing to the authority of Cyprian for the re-baptizing of all who had been sprinkled in Gnosticism. Cyprian, however, in one important respect, for whereas the latter inconsistently declined to break communion with bishops who, unlike himself, received Novatianists without a fresh baptism, the Donatists refused to recognize as Christians any who held the validity of what, as they viewed it, was a schismatical sacrament. It was claimed that, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit belonged to the Church, schismatics did not possess the gift, and therefore could not convey it. Against this narrow sacerdotalism Augustine, while not invalidating the principle of authority as expressed in the historic ministry, affirmed a conception of the Christian society wide as the universal purpose of Christ. The Church is catholic; no good thing can fall outside its unity. If there is no salvation outside
the Church, the Church for this purpose cannot be interpreted in a merely constitutional sense. The 'validity' of baptism depends, not on the authority of him who administers, but upon Christ's intention. How far-reaching this principle is does not at once appear.

For there means, as with Ignatius, not 'genuine' but 'regular,' is clear from the fact that Augustine did not regard the option as spiritually operative so long as the recipient adhered to Donatism. But while in Ignatius there is nothing to show whether baptism administered without episcopal sanction would be treated as valid, Augustine asserts that it may not be repeated. But the hindrance to grace is the absence of charity, which in experience is found to be in opposition to unity and love, not the formal exclusion from consecrated channels of those who create division. What Augustine failed adequately to realize, probably owing to the evident historical fact that on the whole the 'fruits of the Spirit' were conspicuously lacking among the Donatists, was that responsibility for the parish is usually divided, and that it is difficult to determine which of two contending parties is schismatic. It is this fact that makes apparent historical parallelisms seriously defective when applied to later Donatism. What is of permanent value is the recognition that schism is a moral fault, not an ecclesiastical situation; that it is to be recognized in spiritual experience and healed by the appeal to conscience, not refuted by technical argument. A third point to observe is that apparently the validity of a sacrament is not dependent on the order of the minister who dispenses it. If it be argued that, as baptism, of which a layman may be the minister (see Bingham, l.c. 4, 12), so were water-baptism (see Waterland, Letters on Baptism) alone in question, the ordained ministry is not involved, it must be that the matter is argued simply on the basis of want of jurisdiction, which applies equally to the case of the Eucharist. For Cyprian had maintained his attitude from the ground of separation of the Catholic Church, which equalized schismatic ordinations. The time had not yet arrived for the distinction between character and jurisdiction in the matter of orders (see Bingham, Ant. vii. 2. §§ 5, 6). A deposed cleric became a layman. Whether, therefore, a schismatic priest could create the Real Presence in virtue of a mystic power inherent in his ordination, would have been an unmeaning inquiry. The problem was simply the point at which a sacrament administered without authority was ab initio null and void. The reply was in the negative. In the ant-Wilfridian clerical order, as simply the normal representative of authority. Clement of Rome indeed says that the layman is bound by the layman's ordinances (cf. 5, 6), but this does not mean so much as due subordination to 'them that had the rule' in the common discharge of the universal priesthood.

Ignatius 'Do nothing without the bishop' (Philad. 7. 2), applying as it does equally to Baptism and the Eucharist together with general Church discipline, does not exclude delegation by the bishop in particular instances, of any priestly function to those who had no general authority in the matter, whatever may have been, and indeed were, the normal channels.

There are many indications that respect for the miracle of grace as that which the People of God, at first, involved the idea that the celebration of sacraments by laymen was essentially sacrilegious. The acknowledgment of lay baptism, for example, already mentioned, which, though not universal, is nevertheless general, rests upon no commission granted nor a particular sanction by consecration or upon practice; and there is no reason in the nature of things why, if occasion had arisen, a similar recognition should not have been extended to the other sacraments so ministered. It seems clear that, though in the NT presbyters tended to labour in the word and teaching (1 Tm 5. 17 etseq.), and though in the succeeding age the function of the prophet tended to devolve upon the bishop, yet the primary function of the local ministry was ruling (1 P 5. 2, 3; 1 Tim 5. 17; 2 Tim 1. 11). Hence, it appears even in the days of Ignatius (Philad. 7. 2), and was contradicted, for example, by his own earlier opinion that 'offering' is a distinctive 'munus' of the clergy. In the de Praescriptione he charges the Gnostics with carelessness in the matter of ordination and of granting even to the laity sacerdotal powers. Whatever might be done, it remains an invariable characteristic of the clergy. The difference, he says, 'between the order and the people remains on the authority of Christ' (ib.). And it was precisely this authority as Apostolic, and therefore derived from Christ, which he emphasized against the Gnostics. There can be no question that from the time of Clement and Ignatius, or rather from the days of the Apostles (Ac 24: 4), it was sincerely felt that universal consecration of worship was as vital to the continuity of the Church as stability of doctrine, and that an Apostolic ministry was the guarantee of both. But it is also true, as the present condition of Eastern Christendom testifies, that the territorial conception of one 'bishop one area,' though it may have been the ideal (see Nic. Can. 8; Bingham, Ant. ii. 13), is a development that belongs rather to the West. The point, however, is that, although normally and naturally ordained were the only appointees by 'Apostolic' authority to fulfil the various functions of both discipline and worship, the dominant conception of priesthood asserted by one early writer after another (as, e.g., by Justin, Dial. c. Tryph. 116. 3), lost the significance of the narrowly hierarchical, attached character, inherited from the OT, to the whole community. Within the society the ministry, belonging as it did to its structure, was the permanent guarantee and symbol of its Unity, and hence, in the institution both in faith and in life. When this ministry is likened to the Aaronic priesthood, the shifting manner in which the analogy is applied by various writers shows that this aspect is not essential.

It is the handling of the Donatist controversy, to have pointed out the lines along which alone Apostolic succession can be given its true place in the Christian economy. Machinery cannot be exacted at the expense of spiritual experience. Had the Eucharist, like Baptism, been a sacrament incapable of repetition in the life of the individual, it cannot be doubted that the 'validity' of 'schismatic' Eucharists would have been decided in the same way. But the same principles, if so administered, were equally regular or irregular according to the point of view. What may be called the 'channel theory' of sacraments, which regards Christian ordinances as vehicles of grace down which spiritual energy may be led, has operated disastrously, and may tend, if a succession equipped with the power of working the 'miracle of the altar.' It is not affirmed that this theory is purely medieval, and that it was not present in germinant form in the first five centuries, and possibly even in the Apostolic Church. But it is the view of succession as preserving the fulness of Apostolic authority, and as the guarantee of a gospel which is 'not of men neither by man,' i.e. as realizing the principles upon which Christ established His society, that is alike primitive and permanent.

While any theory of the ministry, which involves a denial of the personal consciousness of the Spirit in the experience of individuals or the manifestation of presence in the corporate life of any Christian communities in any age, is inconsistent with plain facts and the Christian conscience, it is yet, in the opinion of the present writer, probable that the present tendency towards reunion among Christians, with the instinct of social and corporate witness which it manifests, will inevitably, as it progresses towards yet wider amalgamations, reveal Apostolic succession as a subject of more than sentimental or antiquarian interest, and quicken inquiry into the conditions.
APOTHEOSIS—APPERCEPTION

which shall be necessary to make the fabric of
universal Church life in the future structurally
one with the Church of a continuous, though not
undivided, past.

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J. G. SIMPSON.

APOTHEOSIS.—See DEFICIENCY.

APPERCEPTION.—The term ‘apperception’ was introduced into philosophy by Leibniz, being derived from the French d’appercevoir, ‘to be aware of.’ Of its use is not wholly free from obscurity even in its inventor, while it has been applied by his successors in at least two widely different senses. With Leibniz it indicates: (1) a higher degree of perception—a perception which is not absolute, vivid, relatively persistent, in contrast with perception of the immediate, lacking these qualities; affect the soul only in the mass, and which, as they do not emerge into individual consciousness, may be called unconscious.

There is at any moment an infinite number of perceptions in us, but without apperception and reflection, i.e., changes in the soul of which we are not conscious, because the impressions are either too slight, or too great in number, or too even (uniform) that they have nothing sufficiently distinguishing them from each other; but, joined to others, they do not fail to produce their effect and to make themselves felt at least confusedly in the mass. (Nouveau Essai, Pref. [Langley’s tr. p. 47].)

Leibniz’s favourite example—the noise or roar of the sea as made up of the insensible noises of the separate wavelets—does not really hold; but a modern instance may be given from Helmholtz, the over-tones which give the peculiar quality or colour to the tones of different instruments, cannot be separately noticed or ‘apperceived by the untrained ear, although in all probability they have a quite distinct and recognizable effect (Helmholtz, Tonempfindungen, p. 107 [Ellis’ tr., p. 62].)

In Leibniz also apperception becomes: (2) the basis of a distinction in kind between beings or ‘monads.’

The lowest monads, which have perception alone, are merely passive mirrors of external events, while the highest monads or ‘spirits’ rise to apperception, ‘which is consciousness, or the reflective knowledge of this inner state (perception), and which is not given to all souls nor to the same soul at all times.’ (Postscript of 1721.)

In perception proper the soul is passive; in apperception it is active, self-conscious. ‘There is not only an order of distinct perceptions which constitutes the empire of the soul, but also a mass of confused perceptions, or perceptions of a lower order, which constitutes her slavery’ (Théodote [Janet’s ed.], p. 143).

Although not incompatible, these two uses of the term in Leibniz are at least distinct. The second meaning, in which it suggests an internal sense of self-activity, and self-awareness, is that in which Wolff, and after him Kant (first in his Exposition of the term; but it was applied by the latter in a quite distinctive way (see KANT).

With Herbart, the theory of apperception enters an entirely new phase. It now means a process taking place between one presentation or idea and another idea or group of ideas (Psychol. als Wissen. ii. § 1 ch. 5). When a new sensation, perception, or memory enters the mind, it awakes or produces a number of older presentations or ideas referring to the same object. So far as these contain similar elements, it coalesces with them, and assimilates or is assimilated by them (Verschmelzung); so far as they contain opposite elements, it brings about a real conflict (Hemmung), each restricting the normal development of the other in the mind. The same process takes place also between those more complex series, masses, or systems, of ideas and thoughts, which result from combination in various degrees of the lower levels. The appropriation or absorption of an idea, from whatever source, by a more complex idea or system already present in the mind, is what Her- bart calls ‘apperception. It is external or internal, according as the idea to be appropriated is a sense-perception or a representation of any kind; but this distinction, really inconsistent with Herbart’s psychology, was afterwards rejected by Steinthal.

The characteristics of the apperceiving mass are, (1) that it succeeds the apperceived idea in time, and (2) that it is stronger, more extensive, and involves some cause, and therefore compels the other to modify in accordance with it, while it itself continues to develop according to its nature (ib. p. 194; cf. Lehrbuch zur Psych. § 41). Thus it is relatively the active, the other relatively the passive. An instance is the way in which our habitual modes of thought and action influence our apprehension of new ideas, our criticism of the conduct of others, etc. Not only how we see things, but what we shall actually see, is determined for each of us by our past experience and the use we have made of it. Psychologically, such experience is active only as a present system of ideas, according to Herbart.

Apperception does not take place in the child or in the savage, because such systems are as yet unformed; it fails also under intoxication, fatigue, passion, etc., because the existing systems are disorganized. Education, intellectual and moral alike, is the gradual formation and strengthening of the due apperceptive masses. The slow and painful beginnings of the rapid mastery and assimilation of a science, give further illustration. The modification is not wholly, on one side, however; ideas ‘act, as it were, chemically upon one another, decomposing one another and entering into new combination.’ Apperception is also the basis of reflection (Kapitalgedächtniss); nothing can be built into a series or system of ideas, forming links by which the mind may reach it and drag it forth (Psych. Untersuch. ii. [Hartmann, vi. p. 591].)

A further feature is the suppression, by the apperceiving mass, of whatever in perception or recollection conflicts with itself: in this, with the correlative raising up and isolating of the apperceived element, apperception is identical with attention (Briefe, p. 487). See ATTENTION.

In Volkmann’s law of the mixture of ideas as coalescence of a new and isolated mass of ideas with an older mass which exceeds it in the number of its constituents, and in internal adjustment or systematization (Lehrbuch der Psych. ii. 190). With this both Caullery and Steinthal consider the range of apperception is greatly extended; it becomes, indeed, coextensive with mental life. It is the creative process in mind; in it one content does not merely ‘become aware of’ another, but both are transformed, ‘melted into a higher and richer fluid.’ An idea is fixed and isolated from another by its Macht, or force, which does not imply either intensity or clear consciousness, but depends on the number of connexions which the idea has with other ideas, and the closeness of the ties by which its constituents are bound together. Steinthal recognizes four chief forms of appercep-
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tion, which are derived from those of Logical Judgment: Identifying, Subsuming, Harmonizing (with its negative, Disharmonizing), and Creative Apperception (Kleine Schriften, i. p. 60; Einleitung in die Psychol. p. 207).

With Wundt there is a return to the theory of Logical Judgment. A presentation or idea may be in consciousness simply, or also in the focus of consciousness, which, however, is not strictly a point, but rather a limited field. There are thus two thresholds,—the outer—that of consciousness or intensity; and the inner—which we see in gift or spontaneity or clearness. The entrance of an idea into the focus of consciousness is its apperception, which may be either passive or active. Thus it is simply one side or aspect of the process of attention. Apperception is therefore identified by Wundt with will, and in this connexion acquires a strongly metaphysical colouring. This conception of apperception as a pure activity, which is yet directed or stimulated by presentations, has been criticized from different points of view by Volkmann, Hartmann, and the Associationist Psychologists, such as Ziehen, etc. In English Psychology the theory of apperception has been developed, mainly along Herbartian lines, by Dr. Stout. The following indicates his standpoint. On the other hand, apperception a presentation acquires a certain significance for thought, by connecting itself with some mental preformation as this has been organized in the course of previous experiences (Actual. Psych. p. 110).

APPETITE.—Psychological.—Appetite may be defined as a recurring sense or consciousness of want in the bodily organism, accompanied with a craving or desire for satisfaction. It does not arise at fullment, under the impulse of unreason, which may become, under certain circumstances, more or less pronounced pain. It belongs to the animal side of our being, and is primordial to the human constitution. Most of the appetites have been connected with the conservation and welfare of the individual; sex has reference to the propagation and continuance of the species.

The characteristics of these natural physical wants (over and above unreason and efforts to remove it) are:—(1) They are not permanent, but intermittent: they disappear on being satisfied, but recur at stated times or periods. (2) If pressed beyond the natural limits of satisfaction, they become a habit, and injury is done to the system. (3) They constitute our lower wants, in a distinct higher or ideal wants of our nature, such as knowledge and friendship: we do not identify them with our inner self—they are mine, but they are not me.

The appeasement in an appetite leads to action, mainly reflex and instinctive, not deliberately purposive, for the removal of it, and the gratification of the appetite brings pleasure. Hence, the original propensity to act under unreason may constitute an important factor of pleasure (as we see in the gourmand or the epicure), and what would be quite sufficient to remove the bare appetite (as in hunger) may be superceded by elaborated and refined modes of ministering to the desire, as shown in the art of cookery. It is thus that appetite may be specially effective on the will: it prompts to the acquisition and continuance of pleasure, not only to the getting rid of unreason or disquiet. These two things—the pleasure that accompanies (very) eating, and the conscious and deliberate pursuit of the means of eating—are by no means identical. On the contrary, if desire of the pleasure become the predominant fact, the original normal and healthy craving in appetite may be supplanted by an abnormal craving, such as we see in gluttony or an artificial craving. An acquired appetite, may be produced, such as we see in the craving for tobacco or for alcohol. There is here, obviously, no appetite proper, but an induced desire, under the prompting of anticipated pleasure, which, in turn, is the product of individual pleasurable experience.

Hence, we must discriminate between appetite and desire for pleasure. Appetite simply craves for its object (the means for the attainment of the object being included in the conception of the object itself), and, given the object (food, for instance, for hunger), the appetite is satisfied—satisfied, no doubt, gradually, as the object is gradually realized, but fully in the realization of the desire. Appetite, then, is a consciously representative process, idealistic in its nature, dependent on experience of pleasure (therefore, involving memory), and craving for that pleasure and, in the case of 'acquired appetites,' for the increase of means as well as for the repetition, of it.

Appetite, like instinct, is native to the human being; but it differs from instinct in the following respects:—(1) It is an organic craving, whereas instinct acts under external stimulus. (2) In an instinct, while there are means to be used for the purpose, the individual is born with ability to employ the means without requiring to be taught how (as see, for instance, in the sucking of the child)—in other words, the individual can unhesitatingly employ the means from the beginning, without, however, any consciousness of the end or deliberate purpose to achieve it. (3) In instinct there is also an untaught propensity, as well as an untaught ability, to use the act—a propensity to experience, and independent of instruction.

The pleasure that the satisfaction of an appetite gives is in general proportional to the craving. But there are cases where the strength of the craving is far greater than the pleasure of the gratification, and we have cases of the drunkard, whose passion, being persistent and whetted by successive gratifications, craves an indulgence which the object of it is incapable of adequately meeting. Here, excess has created a situation where pain has got the mastery—the craving does not disappear in its own fulfillment and periodically return, but persists and thrusts itself unreasonably upon attention: in other words, the object of desire when reached fails to appease completely, and the craving for satisfaction continues.

Although, therefore, in appetite proper, there is not involved the deliberate control of reason, nor is there any need for such, this control comes to be required when appetite would transgress its bounds. Such transgression is easy because of the pleasure associated with appetite, and because of the readiness with which abnormal conditions of the bodily system may be induced through excess. Hence, the appetites come to have a distinct and important bearing on Ethics. Although in their normal action and in their right sphere they guide us in a way that calm reason could not—prompting us effectively, for instance, to eat for the support of life at the time and to the degree
that the body requires, and not leaving the 'when' and the 'how much' to be settled by rational calculation—their pleasure-giving or 'felicitic' property has to be watched, lest it make volup-
tuaries or debauchees of us; and thus reason has its function in relation to them. This would seem to mark the distinction between man and the lower animals, in the appetite; the appetites are rationalized; in the brutes, not so.

2. **Ethical.** The appetites in themselves are neither selfish nor unselfish, neither virtuous nor vicious; they are simply a part of human nature, indispensable to the being of the whole. But inasmuch as they are intimately associated with pleasure, they may be abused, and thus become ethically significant. Not that there is anything selfish or morally wrong in accepting the pleasure that they bring—a high sign of physical health (as pain is of disease) and is to be welcomed and cherished (as the other is to be avoided or got rid of); but it may be sought for and estimated beyond its value—it may be pursued immoderately or at wrong times or in a perverted manner. In their own and all that is of this kind, by exclusion of higher good. If it is characteristic of the appetites that they have a tendency to overstep just limit, it is characteristic of them also that they grow impetuous in their demands. Eating may degenerate into a mere indulgence of appetites, and when degeneracy sets in, each becomes as a daughter of the horse-leech, crying, 'Give, give!' Hence the appetite need to be regulated and controlled: they need to be placed under rational government. If left to themselves unbridled, they would ruin the higher nature; hence asceticism is but the exaggeration of a deep spiritual truth; and self-mortification, or 'keeping under' the body, has a real justification in psychic fact. But this means that, in a rational being, the appetites become transformed; they cannot be in him what they are in a non-rational creature. A clear conception of their place and function inevitably changes their nature, and entails responsibility as to our use of them. As Spinoza puts it (Ethics, v. prop. 3), 'An affection, which is a passion ceases to be a passion as soon as we form a clear and distinct idea of it.' This is a very important truth, explaining to us many things in Ethics,—as, for example, how it is that the instinctive love of a mother for her offspring assumes quite a different aspect when we are dealing with human mothers from what it does when we are considering simply the lower animals. In both cases, there is instinct or natural affection; but, in the one case, it is rationalized (duly located in a system of thought or a scheme of values, and so lifted out of the sphere of mere instinct), in the other, not.

The situation as between the appetites and reason, or between the lower and the higher man, is still again (lingering between the flesh and the spirit), was put strikingly from the ethicist's point of view by Plato in the fable of the Charioteer and his Steeds. In *Phaedrus*, the soul is aptly represented as a charioteer, riding in his car, drawn by two winged horses of different colour, nature, and temperament, requiring different management. On the one side, there is the black and vicious horse, 'ignoble and of ignoble breed,' ever refractory and plunging through unruly desire, 'the mate of insolence and pride,' and needing to be kept back by bit and bridle, yet 'hardly yielding to whip and spur.' On the other side, there is the white decorous horse, 'noble and of noble breed,' ever responsive to 'word and admonition,' on which bit and bridle sit lightly, and for which no whip is required. Here is a significant allegory. The charioteer is reason (ς ἐφικτόν); the white steed orderly and always harmonious with reason, repre-
sents 'the moral and spiritual element in man'; and the gross and sensual tendencies of human nature find their symbol in the dark and untractable steed. But the task of the charioteer is far from easy—not every one can succeed; and some, through a meal; the taming, the restraining, the bracing, costs him many an effort, and hard work and skill. Obedience is the result of a strong hand and a determined will, and of sore punishment repeated; only 'when this has happened several times and the villain has ceased from his wanton way, is he tamed and humbled, and follows the will of the charioteer.'

The right by which reason rules the appetites, or the rational basis of the distinction between higher and lower in our nature, is found here. The appetites are non-ideal, and, consequently, individualistic. We cannot share them with any one else, neither is an appetite in itself susceptible of indefinite gratification. On the other hand, all the natural wants that we regard as higher, and which are morally good, are distinguished by this, that (a) we share them with others, and yet we ourselves are none the poorer but all the richer—they are essentially altruistic and social; and (b) they do not cease with their immediate satisfaction, but roll on to its further and higher increases with its gratification, as we see pre-
eminently in knowledge, where the more we know the more we desire to know. They aim at an ideal; and it is the ideality with which they are bound up that produces their insatiableness: no limit is placed by nature to their culture, and so satiety cannot ensue; the capacity increases with what it feeds on.

It is needless to say, further, that both human happiness and human progress depend on the rational control of the lower nature, and this control is effective only when it becomes self-
control, only when the individual acts as his own 'plegious Orphilius,' gains the mastery over himself and exercises it spontaneously. How this self-
control is acquired, through strengthening and directing the will, may be read in any good treatise on Psychology (e.g. Höfding's). Anyhow, if the individual's soul becomes, as Plato puts it, a well-
ordered State—where there are gradation of functions, harmony, and order everywhere, mutual subservience of the lower to the higher, the whole and for the realization of its highest good—then the appetites and their pleasures count for much and have their own part to play in the economy of the human being: neither will they be ignored and starved (as Stoicism would fain effect), nor will they be made supreme and culti-
vated without stint (as some forms of Hedonism would appear to countenance).

But while there is thus a ground for the rationalizing of appetites, and for the subordination of the lower to the higher, there is also another that different natural wants themselves, there is a further ground in the ethical dangers connected with the appetites. These are mainly as follows:—

(1) In the first place, an appetite, strictly speaking, is neither selfish nor unselfish; but a depraved or unrestrained appetite is essentially selfish—thus turning a neutral thing into a positive evil. Vile appetites minister to the individual's cravings, but they may be made the means of corrupting others.

(2) Depraved to be kept back by the character, and strong and check moral progress— they bring 'leanness' into the soul; for it is a law of the human mind that we cannot indulge intertemporately without lessening our moral force, just as we cannot harbour base desires without thereby shutting out noble ones, or choose false-
hood without rejecting truth. Consequently, while they vitiate the taste, they enfeeble the will—i.e., they deprive us of the power of resisting temptation and of initiating reformation; which, otherwise expressed, means that they leave us the prey to impulse, and so the end thereof, in Scripture language, 'is death.' (3) From vital appetites are a bondage: they drag us at their heels, and through them we lose our moral freedom—we are enslaved. The peculiarity is that, while we yield to them, we protest: the will is overborne, but we still retain our perception of the right and our appreciation of it. 'I see the better and approve, I pursue the worse' (Ovid, *Met.* vii. 21). In other words, our moral energy is felt not to be adequate to our moral insight; we are conscious of being coerced. This fact of the bondage of the appetites and passions is the theme of all great ethicists, from Plato downwards: it was kept before the medieval world by the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius, and it is a heritage to modern philosophy from Søren Kierkegaard, the fourth part of whose *Ethics* deals with this very subject of 'Human Bondage,' and the fifth part with 'Human Liberty.' It is also a leading theme of the Christian religion, and lies at the basis of the scheme of salvation. (4) Appetite uncontrolled leaves a sting behind. 'But what shall I say of the pleasures of the body?' This—that the lust thereof is indeed full of unseasiness (anxiety), but the eating, of repentance ('Boethius, *Consol. Phil.* lib. iii. proes. 7).'

3. The distinction thus drawn between the appetites and reason, the estimation put upon it, and the conception of the soul as a well-ordered, self-governed State, were taken over by Christianity; only, it is to be observed, Christianity has not its own way of explaining the conflict between the lower and the higher in man, and it has its own means of ending the conflict. That is its peculiarity, marking it off from mere Ethics. On the one hand (using St. Paul as our guide)—more especially, as he expresses himself in Rom 7 and Gal 5), the lower and concupiscence element in man is identified with 'the flesh' (*pudic*). This unruly principle—the black horse of Plato—rebels against the human reason and overpowers the human will ('mit den prestat des Platonizens'), and causes the individual to rebel against the body, 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death!' The deliverance comes not from the man himself, not even from his active reason, although the natural function of active reason is to control: 'I myself,' says Paul, 'am a slave of God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' For man's impotence of will, according to Scripture, arises from a religious cause and needs a religious remedy: it arises from the fact that man is 'fallen,' is 'sold under sin,' has deliberately rebelled against God, and so has forfeited his rightful power of self-mastery; and the rectifying and conquering force must come to him from above—it must be a gift from heaven. This Divine gift, in accordance with the whole Christian dogma of regeneration and re-creation, is 'the Spirit.' And so, in order to be delivered from the hard bondage of the lower self, which is the bondage of sin, man must be raised from the 'natural' or 'psychical' plane into the 'spiritual' realm—he must himself become a temple of the Holy Ghost, and through the indwelling Spirit he will conquer. 'But, I say, walk by the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh.' For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit and the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary the one to the other: that ye may not do the things that ye would. . . And they that are of Christ Jesus have crucified the flesh with the passions and the lusts thereof' (Gal 5:16-17). Thus the Christian faith incorporates Ethics, but transcends it. It is, consequently, effective on human life and practice in a way that Ethics, standing alone, cannot be.


**WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON.**

**A PRIORI.**—*A Priori* is one of those terms, by no means rare in philosophy, the meaning of which has in the course of centuries undergone divergent changes. Originally an unobjectionable expression, meaning an ordinary mental act, to which no controversy can be no controversy, it has eventually become the index of one of the most stubborn problems which set the minds of men at variance. According to Prantl,* the earliest occurrence of the phrase is in the writings of Albert of Saxony (14th cent.), who draws a contrast between *demonstratio a priori*, the proof from what is before, i.e. from the cause, and *demonstratio a posteriori*, the proof which retrocedes from the effect. The usage may be traced to Aristotle, who in the *Posterior Analytics* states that that upon which proof is based must be prior to, and better known than, that which is to be proved, and continues thus: 'The earlier and better known has a twofold meaning. That which is prior by nature is not identical with what is prior for us; nor again is that which is in itself better known the same as what is better known to us. 'The prior and better-known in relation to us' is the name I give to what lies nearer to our intense perception; what I call "the prior and better known in itself." The remotest of all is the universal; the nearest is the individual object.' The connexion of the term *A Priori* with Aristotle is thus quite evident. But while he differentiates according as the starting-point is the thing perceived or the process of perception, Albert of Saxony does not take this difference into account: with him *demonstratio a priori* signifies the proof from causes. It merely denotes a special mode of mental operation; in other words, *a priori* is a term of formal logic. The knowledge which proceeds from cause to effect, or knowledge a priori, rightly claims a higher degree of certainty than knowledge a posteriori, or from effect to cause, so long as the terms keep rigidly to the meanings assigned and so long as the limits of formal logic are not transgressed. But the problem of knowledge goes beyond the scope of formal logic. The moment any shifting takes place in the meaning of *A Priori* and *A Posteriori*, and they show a tendency to appear respectively with knowledge based upon conceptions and knowledge based upon experience, and when, further, the province of logic is relinquished for that of psychology, it is no longer possible to maintain the earlier and more certain, while the general conception is the later, and thus *A Priori* and

* Genschichte der Logik*, iv. 78.
A PRIORI

A PRIORI have simply exchanged meanings. Hence Gassendi, in his polemic against the Aristotelians, impugns the dictum that the demonstratio a priori is more certain and conclusive than that a posteriori, and demands its warrant. Since on his view the demonstratio a priori becomes the primary and general conceptions, and since the demonstratio a posteriori becomes a proof from effects and less general conceptions, he shows that he has abandoned the strictly logical usage of the terms. But in that case it is clear that there is but one answer to his question which is not better than the other, and the inevitable inference is that a priori knowledge depends upon a posteriori. Gassendi's criticism shows that the term A Priori had become ambiguous; it was so far free to assume a new meaning.

Its new content was supplied by Leibniz. It is indeed true that Leibniz did not always use the term in one and the same sense. Thus, in connection with the ontological proof of the existence of God, he argues that existence does not follow from necessary being; but that the identity of the fact signified by the conception must first of all be established. This possibility, however, may be cogitated either a priori or a posteriori: the former, if the various characteristics of the concept are manifest; the latter, if the concept itself is an object of perception. A similar usage appears in the passage where the criterion of a clear and distinct idea is said to be its capacity of yielding the knowledge of a number of truths by a priori proof. Here A Priori is really concerned with the elucidation and explanation of conceptions, and with knowledge won from conceptions by correct reasoning. It is employed in a somewhat different sense in the passage where the knowledge which proceeds from God to created things and that which proceeds from created things to God are respectively designated a priori and a posteriori. Still another usage is observable in the statement that in regard to the mysteries of the Christian faith, such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, a priori proofs on rational grounds are neither possible nor requisite, and that in this case the knowledge of the fact is sufficient, though the why remains unknown. A priori proof is here equivalent to the intuition of rational cause.

In the last part of his philosophical career, Leibniz comes to the conclusion that the faculty of simple empirical association is common to both. A dog being trained to perform a trick gets a tit-bit; a Dutchman travelling towards Asia will ask for his beer, perhaps even in a Turkish inn. The connexion between trick and tit-bit, between inn and beer, is in each case casual, not necessary; but the man differs from the animal in that he seeks for a necessary connexion. The more data of experience are not sufficient for him, nor does he rely on experiments alone; he goes beyond them a priori, by means of first principles. A Priori thus acquires an implication of necessary relation. According to Leibniz, then, knowledge a priori is founded in the following contingencies: (1) when the possibility of a fact is established by showing the self-consistency of its conception; (2) when from a clear and distinct idea further conceptions are derived; (3) when thought proceeds from God to created things; (4) when the rational grounds of an actual truth are investigated; (5) when an essential relation is established. Thus A Priori has various shades of meaning; but it may be gathered, that, as used by Leibniz, the expression tends generally to become identified with knowledge gained from pure reason. This is its meaning when he contrasts knowledge par la pure raison ou a priori with philosophie experimentale qui procede a posteriori; and when, in the Nouveaux Essais, the reason which is the basis not only of our judgment, but also of the truth itself, is lowered to the rank as a posteriori in the distinction of the a priori reason and a posteriori reason. Leibniz is thus an attribute of that species of knowledge of which every constituent is furnished by reason alone.

Lambert also is of opinion that without qualification and in the sense that the term a priori can be applied only to that in regard to which we owe nothing whatever to experience. Wolff, on the other hand, reverts to the more general sense of the term, applying it to any kind of knowledge arrived at by reasoning, even when the conceptions employed in the premises are derived from experience.

The view of Kant demands a somewhat fuller treatment, since in this as in other respects he marks the consummation of the previous development, and the development of the duality of the two types of evidence the problem indicated by the phrase a priori, according to him, stands at the very centre of thought, as it does with no philosopher before him. His great system, indeed, may be regarded as an attempt to ascend to the general foundations and criteria of judgments a priori possible? Alike in his theoretical and his practical philosophy, in his treatment of aesthetics and of religion, his aim was to discover and establish synthetic judgments a priori. He is at one with his predecessors in assuming the existence of a priori cognition, and in believing that it cannot be regarded as originating in experience. But he felt that justice had not been done to the problem involved.

If such a priori knowledge really exists, he argues, then it must be expressible in judgments which are a priori, and, indeed, synthetic. Merely analytical judgments, i.e. those which do no more than analyze and elucidate a given concept, while they render our knowledge explicit, do not augment it; only synthetic judgments, i.e. those which link a new predicate to the subject, furnish a genuine addition to knowledge. Hence the judgments a priori which are of any use at all are precisely those the predicate of which goes beyond the subject, adding something that was not contained in it. This is what he means by the phrase "a priori." It is synthetic, since the concept and the predicate it introduces form an idea of a cause; the predicate, therefore, adds something new; it is a priori, since, while mere experience, or perception, certainly enables us to know that objects are connected, it does not enable us to know that they are causally connected, still less that they are always so connected. Clearly we have a problem here. It is one, he says, of knowing how there should be a connection between subject and predicate, and how judgments a posteriori, since perception itself supplies the predicate and its connexion with the subject. When I say, e.g., that light rays are refrangible, I am merely telling what I have learned by a simple experiment. But how can I say that every event has a cause, seeing that experience cannot be my warrant? How then are synthetic judgments a priori possible? Clearly because reason itself must contain a priori elements; and one great desideratum will be a complete inventory of these elements. But the mere fact of their existence does not warrant their embodiment in judgments having a real value for knowledge; hence their applicability must be vindicated, their relevancy made good. But even this demonstration does not complete our task. For there are certain judgments which are a legitimate use of them, and we must endeavour to fix the limits of their efficiency. It was Kant's conviction that all previous investigations of the problem had been prone to fail in three ways: he felt the lack of (1) care in securing the full number of a priori elements; (2) proof of their applicability; and (3) precise definition of the limits of their action. And only in the proper discharge of these three tasks do we obtain a truly exhaustive investigation. A Critique of Pure Reason.

1. If the a priori elements are discoverable at all, they must carry marks of recognition. And such marks they certainly have, for we actually recognize, in particular conceptions, which are distinguished from all others by their universality and their necessity. Now these cannot originate in experience, for our experience can tell us only that something, not that it is always so; can say only that it is this or that, never that it must be such. The marks of universality and strict necessity. But these do not forthwith provide us with rules for the discovery of the a priori elements.
of reason. Such rules, however, will be suggested by the following reflections. In trying to discover what belongs to pure reason, we must isolate it by eliminating all alien material. Materiality and Impassibility are two aspects, namely the receptivity of perception and the activity of thought, these will necessarily meet us again in pure reason. But as the materiality, that is, that which is matter, and the impassibility, that is, that which lies outside the territory of pure reason, we may perhaps delimit this priori by what is called understanding. Such rules, however, will be suggested by the following reflections. In trying to discover what is common to all acts, we shall be led to ask, What then remains, when we make this elimination? Obviously, the universal forms of perception, namely, Space and Time. And it is in this which when we manipulate all material elements from the products of active thought, i.e. our judgments. Clearly the pure form of the judgment itself. This pure form we, on the other hand, make an object for understanding, and the sum of such forms will give us the concepts of pure understanding, i.e. concepts without functions. Now pure logic has already distinguished all the possible forms of the judgment, and has tabulated them under four heads, each having a separate title, the function. The function of the understanding, or categories, can be arranged in the same way. Thus the quantity of judgments as universal, particular, or singular, etc.; the quality of judgments as affirmative, negative, or indefinite; the categories of quality: Reality, Negation, Limitation; the relation of judgments as categorical, hypothetical, or disjunctive, provides the categories of relation: Subsumption, Cause and Effect, Community of Reciprocity. While, finally, the modality of judgments as probable, assertoric, or apodictic, gives us the categories of modality: Possibility, Necessity—Reality; Possibility—Necessity—Contingency. Thus the priori elements are the principles of pure understanding; that is, the a priori categories. They are a priori, because they are truly universal and strictly necessary; and their number is constant, since they are the very laws of pure understanding, or categories. But the first problem is therefore solved.

We are now to determine the function of these a priori elements, and the vindication of their applicability to the objects of knowledge. So far as space and time are concerned, the task is already solved. They are forms of perception, since every object of perception is presented to us in one or both of them. Moreover, we have two sciences whose validity and truth are beyond discussion, namely geometry and kinematics. Neither comes from experience, for geometry, not founded in nature, and kinematics, not founded in nature, and in the same way kinematics emulates its propositions without the slightest reference to experience; both exhibit an unchanging mind, which we can never do. Then are these sciences possible? Clearly because, on the one hand, geometry rests upon the fact that space is a priori perception of Space, while, on the other, kinematics rests upon the fact that there is an a priori perception of Time. The existence of these two sciences, then, vouches for the efficiency and validity of the a priori forms of perception. It is more difficult to demonstrate the function and competency of the categories, which are not forms of perception. What significance must we assign to them? Is it not enough that all objects of perception should manifest themselves in Space and Time, and therefore be subject to laws of universal applicability? When we add to spatial and temporal perception? But we must require something beyond the limits of space and time, for Space and Time, is not knowledge, and does not deserve the name of knowledge properly so called. Perception alone could you have the category of substance, or law of the categories, space and time, its parts, without the laws of their changes, without coherence. True knowledge, true existence, is, in fact impossible without the unity of the infinite without an orderly synthesis; and one thing that the function of the categories reveals itself, that the unity of substance is not automatic, the function, the unity of consciousness facilitates the orderly synthesis of phenomena. Knowledge, genuine experience, becomes处处 when, by means of the categories of Quantity and Totality, we come to understand, arrange, and organize phenomena as extensive and intensive magnitudes; when in virtue of the categories of relation we are able to posit something permanent (Substance) amidst the flux of phenomena, to introduce a substance, and acclive some unity of time and space, and our minds are able to a collocation to the system of perfectly interconnected parts; and when, finally, by the categories of modality, we are in a position to determine the gradation of things in respect of possibility, actuality, and necessity. Perception in itself can furnish nothing of this, as it is seen best in the category of substance, which gives us our the unity of the world, its parts, without rules in its changes, without coherence. True knowledge, true existence, is, in fact impossible without the unity of the infinite without an orderly synthesis; and one thing that the function of the categories reveals itself, that the unity of consciousness facilitates the orderly synthesis of phenomena. 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* World as Will and Idea, § 14.
† Hist. of Materialism, II, 36.
therefore also of something which did not previously exist, nor belonged to anything before the act. 1 Hence, if criticism has to do with the A Priori, it has, for that very reason, nothing to do with the innate.

Having thus explained the A Priori in Kant's theoretical philosophy, we proceed to deal with his assumption of a similar element in the practical activity of reason or mind. In respect of morality and religion, no less than logical thought, reason possesses something all its own, and not derived from experience, which can be expressed in synthetic a priori propositions. This is a priori, of Ideas, by which the empirically real must needs be controlled. The demands of the moral law and of the Kingdom of God must be realized in the external world. It has, indeed, been recently questioned whether we can justly speak of a practical A Priori. Thus Stange, in his Einleitung in die Ethik, holds that there is hardly any resemblance between the A Priori of the Critique of Pure Reason and that of the Critique of Practical Reason, and points out the following contrasts: (1) The A Priori of Practical Reason is a priori both of sense and understanding, viz. the pure perceptions, Space and Time, and the pure forms of judgment, viz. the Categories; the Critique of Practical Reason treats only of an A Priori of Reason. (2) According to the first Critique, the A Priori and A Posteriori follow one another; according to the second Critique, the A Priori alone must determine the will. (3) In the former work, universality and necessity are given as the characteristics of the A Priori; in the latter, these tests are not applied, but one must determine the A Priori. Thus the desire for happiness is also universal and subjectively necessary, but it is not a priori. These strictures are canvassed by Hägerström in his comprehensive exposition of Kant's Ethik.

Admitting, however, as we must, the differences between the two Critiques, we must likewise admit the propriety of applying the term A Priori in the practical sphere. There, too, we discover an endowment peculiar to the mind, and not derived from experience—a fact which is evinced by the Categorical Imperative, which reveals itself as a synthetic judgment a priori. This Imperative imposes unconditioned duties to mankind, declaring that this or that ought to be done, and paying no regard whatever to human desires, inclinations or circumstances—hence it is a priori; and, further, since the obligation to obey an unconditional command cannot be deduced from the concept 'will' by a priori reasoning, the Categorical Imperative is a synthetic judgment. In the Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten, Kant decomposes the Imperative into the following three principles: (1) the law of action to be done; (2) the law of who shall do it; (3) the law of who may lawfully command. The latter is the noumenal law which is the end of all other laws, and which is the real law of morality. It is thus the real law which Kant calls the Kingdom of Ends, and which he also calls the Categorical Imperative; and it is this which Kant calls the moral law, and which he ascribes to the A Priori. The application of the synthetic a priori to the moral law leads to the following conclusions. Kant's practical philosophy is essentially religious. Religion, too, has its synthetic judgments a priori; necessarily so, since neither God nor eternal life is an object of perception. But how are the synthetic judgments possible which assert the existence of God and the fact of immortality? We have found morality to be something actually existing, but how is it possible to be found to be perfectly adequate to its own ends, needing no further supposition in the concept of the thing itself? By a contradiction, however, that Reason cannot disregard the results of moral
action; on the contrary, it is necessarily concerned, not merely with the individual practice of morality, but with the genesis of a moral world. The proposition, 'There ought to be a moral world,' is an a priori synthetic judgment; a priori—because a moral world is not an object of experience; and synthetic, because it is being involved in the conception of morality, is not discovered analytically, but reveals itself only when to the conception of morality there is added that of an end of moral action. How, then, is it possible that it is possible? Manifestly not in virtue of human action only, since we cannot conceive how the moral action of mankind should evolve a moral world from a world subject to entirely different laws. If our position, therefore, is not to be a mere fiction, we must inevitably recognize the existence of an omnipotent Being who will secure the result aimed at in moral human morality. We can accordingly assert that there is a God—a proposition shown to be essentially fundamental, by the manner of its derivation. We must finally note that, as the realization of the moral ideal is an a priori fact, it postulates the endless existence of man. Thus we arrive at the a priori synthetic judgment: the man is immortal. Religion also, then, has an A Priori, and is indeed based on it. The religion that we actually find in the world is often but a sorry mixture, but in the process of development its a priori element is able to realize itself and to produce ever purer forms. For it does not exist in severance from empirical reality, any more than does the A Priori of the theoretical or practical sphere.

It was Kant's belief that every genuine form of human experience was a combination of a priori and a posteriori factors. The absence of either was a sure sign of sophistry; no knowledge was possible save by the corporate union of both. Without the A Priori we have nothing but empirical, and that which is empirically known is necessarily and therefore final and evanescent; without the A Posteriori, we should have but the blind play of concepts. No less in the sphere of religion and morality must the empirical data be controlled and moulded by the a priori. For the absence of the latter, we should have no morality, no religion, only the lawless flux of desires, only the figments and fabrications of superstition, while, if the empirical factor were absent, the a priori ideas, having no material to comprehend them, would be mere evanescent shadows of the under world in the Odyssey, which must first have blood in their veins ere they can come to life.

It was Kant's design in these conclusions to arbitrate between Rationalism and Empiricism. He had striven to do justice to both the contending schools, and at the same time to confine each to its proper province. To rationalism in its fancied independence of the A Posteriori, as to empiricism in its reduction of the A Priori to the employment of common sense. They were both mistaken. The A Priori and the A Posteriori are two distinct sources of knowledge, of which only one sprang from reason. They held that everything belongs to reason, since even the material element of knowledge has no other origin. So far, therefore, all is a priori. It was not, of course, the empirical consciousness of the individual, with its slow development and its gradually multiplying contents, to which they attributed this divine matter; it was rather to use a non-committal phrase, a hyper-individual spiritual something, which at once produces and comprises all that is real. From the standpoint of the merely individual consciousness, everything is a posteriori. Thus, according to Fichte, the science of knowledge is quite irrespective of perception; a priori, traces out that which, in accordance with the same, must be present in perception a posteriori. For that science, therefore, these terms apply, not to different objects, but to different objects in the same respect; they are subject to the same law, the moral law, as a clock is used a priori as pointing the hour, but a posteriori in our actual reading thereof. Schelling's view is set forth in his System der transcendentalen Idealismus. He regards not merely the a priori conceptions, but also the objective world, as beyond the empirical consciousness, adding only: 'As the Ego generates everything from itself, so everything—not merely this or that conception, or, as has been supposed, only the form of thought—all knowledge whatever, indeed, as one and indivisible, is a priori. But as we are not conscious of this generative process, there is nothing a priori for us: everything is a posteriori.'* Hegel, too, draws a distinction: a posteriori knowledge is the concern of the empirical sciences. Their function is important, but subordinate to that of philosophy, since they can only discover facts without being able to demonstrate the necessity thereof, whereas philosophy deduces all reality from one supreme principle, thus giving to the contents of the empirical sciences the form of the freedom of thought and the warrant of necessity.† Thus, while for Kant every real cognition is a product of both a priori and a posteriori elements, his successors recognize not only a pure a priori, but also a pure a posteriori knowledge. Either kind has its truth, but only the a priori is perfect, and forms the special method of philosophy. We must, however, incidentally remark that these philosophers are not perfectly at one regarding the A Priori: it is either at the command of the empirical sciences, or of the moral action; according to Schelling, it is artistic creation; according to Hegel, logical thought.

Vast as was the influence of these systems, and of the Hegelian in particular, yet their solution of the problem could not be satisfactory. Of necessity it came to be felt more and more that the attempt to resolve all existence into Pure Reason was one which, though made with signal courage and admirable ability, had in the event come to naught. The result was that the mind realized, and was adequate to such a task. True, as indicated above, it was no purely human faculty to which was assigned the work of generating and sustaining the universe; nevertheless, the human spirit was credited with the power of penetrating directly into the creative activity of the absolute spirit, and of beholding it at work. A reaction was inevitable. Philosophy was thrown aside, and the empirical sciences, notably exact physical science, made vigorous headway. With the rise of the A Priori, science had no concern; it looked for direction to experience, to perception alone. But, as might be expected, it was not possible for any length of time to ignore the fact that experience itself involves a posteriori, and it was natural that it should be recognized that perception as such does not make experience; that the mind, far from being merely passive, is very largely active, and that this activity is the truly constituent element in experience. What then are the resources which the mind brings to its work? With this question we are again face to face with the problem of the A Priori. The influence of Kant entered upon a new lease of life, the turning-point being signaled, as Fichte (1829) and Liebmann's (1865) to use modern phraseology, by Liebmann's censo, 'Back to Kant.' Once more knowledge came to be viewed as the joint product of the A Priori and the A Posteriori. From this point the theories regarding the nature of, and the shades of meaning therein assigned to, the A Priori became so numerous and varied that it is quite impossible even to distinguish them all by name.

The A Priori is frequently regarded as equivalent to consciousness in general, or the ground within consciousness, which must therefore form the logical prior to any particular constituent thereof. Just as objects in themselves are subject to the principles of pure thought, the facts of consciousness accord with its universal laws. It is impossible to abstract from consciousness. Thus Fichte points out that in everything the ego knows, it always recognizes

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* Simultane Werke, ii. 386 ff.
† Cf. Encyclopedia, ed. 2 (1843), i. 12 (Wallace, Logic of Hegel, 19 ff.).
thing of its own. Green, again, sets forth the real universe as an all-embracing system of relations, the presupposition of which, however, is a unifying principle, a combining agency, such a thing as, individually present: this to us must be added Shadworth H. Hodgson, who, though he rejects a priori forms, holds that existence in the philosophical sense must be a fact which is evident in consciousness. By A Priori, again, has been understood the peculiar uniformity which belongs to the operations of thought. Thus Wundt: 'There exist within us constant determinable functions of logical thought, i.e. those activities of relational comparison which are embodied in the primordial idea in all, which in turn presuppose the possibility of perception as the requisite material for them to work upon.' Similarly, H. Cornelius regards thought as introducing necessity and the power of phenomena. According to Kant, the all-embracing, all-inclusive system of relations, the real universe as an all-embracing system of relations, the presupposition of which, however, it does not draw upon external reality, but manifests itself in the categories. (Kritik der reinen Erfahrung; Der menschliche Weltbegriff).

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creative power, and is thus an additional witness to the fact that the mind has something all its own.

In *Morality*, again, everything depends upon the inner life. Morality cannot conceivably be a product of science. For in this province the mind furnishes its own laws, and frames the ideas to which the outer world must conform, e.g. the idea of justice, of brotherly love. The man who sees in morality nothing more than the rules of conduct indispensable to human intercourse, is simply blind to its essential character. It is not designed to institute some commonplace relationship amongst men, being primarily directed towards the realization of truth and purity in the individual; indeed, it may even be the most uncompromising enemy of a given social state, and, should unveracity, luxury, or baseness have become dominant therein, it must threaten the fabric with destruction, whatever outward grandeur may perish in its fall. It was thus, for instance, that early Christianity sapped the foundations of a civilization which had become a sham.

Now, it forms no reasonable objection to this theory of a productive energy in mind to say that, since these Ideas are, like all else, facts of consciousness, as is maintained by Hume and adopted by Kant, these Ideas are necessarily evolved from mere experience. If consciousness is to cover everything, then all its various "facts" would be co-ordinate and of equal value, and would all be tested by the same standard, the question of the origin of the mind. Arbitrary changes of consciousness, or even changes determined by mechanical causality, would simply follow upon one another, and no arrangement or grouping thereof would mean more than any other. Amid such a world of Ideas, it is not even so much as ask for the truth. Now, in point of fact, all distinctively mental creations claim to have judicial authority; judgments purport to be more than collocations of psychical products; aesthetic and ethical Ideas involve more than feelings and desires. They claim, in short, to be authoritative, to be the standard of truth and law for what is given in experience. We must distinguish between the *questio facti* and the *regulative principle*; it is quite another to ask what ought to be. In dealing with the distinctively mental, we discover something beyond the fact of determination by natural law, namely, *regulative* law. The laws of logic, of science, of morals, like the laws of nature, formulate that which ought to take place, not that which actually and invariably does take place. Thus we cannot deny the fact of the mind's peculiar heritage, as evinced by this unique claim to regulative authority. We must allow, nevertheless, that the objection indicated above, namely, that even these peculiar intellectual products must manifest themselves in consciousness, is something more than a truism; it expresses the fact that the real cannot be evolved by purely logical processes from abstract conceptions, for the conception of a real idea must always contain, in contemplating the dialectic movement amid which it has placed itself. Without a single side-glance, it pursues only the dialectic necessity with which each conception as it comes to birth in turn subordinates the conception before it. It is therefore quite legitimate, in opposition to a mode of thought which arrogates to itself creative omnipotence, to emphasize the experiential character of our knowledge. But, on the other hand, empiricism is in error when it narrows down experience to experience of what is external; the mind has also an experience of itself. The real nature of mind can be manifested only in consciousness—and upon this fact depends the experiential character of our mental life; but what concerns us here is the mind's experience of its own peculiar endowment, which, as we have seen, claims to possess regulative authority, and which carries us beyond the bare experience of empiricism.

This doctrine is not only in conflict with the purely speculative method, but is also at variance with the view of Kant. Kant believed that he could completely and finally determine that which belonged to mind or reason; but his conclusions were of a purely formal kind. The view advocated here involves not only a much greater amplitude in our mental life, but also a capacity for producing new real elements. What the mind really is cannot be determined once for all; an avenue must ever be left open for further developments. In other words, there is a historical element in consciousness, or at least in human consciousness. We are not for thinkers who would identify philosophy with psychology, they are therefore evolved from mere experience. If consciousness is to cover everything, then all its various "facts" would be co-ordinate and of equal value, and would all be tested by the same standard, the question of the origin of the mind. Arbitrary changes of consciousness, or even changes determined by mechanical causality, would simply follow upon one another, and no arrangement or grouping thereof would mean more than any other. Amid such a world of Ideas, it is not even so much as ask for the truth. Now, in point of fact, all distinctively mental creations claim to have judicial authority; judgments purport to be more than collocations of psychical products; aesthetic and ethical Ideas involve more than feelings and desires. They claim, in short, to be authoritative, to be the standard of truth and law for what is given in experience. We must distinguish between the *questio facti* and the *regulative principle*; it is quite another to ask what ought to be. In dealing with the distinctively mental, we discover something beyond the fact of determination by natural law, namely, *regulative* law. The laws of logic, of science, of morals, like the laws of nature, formulate that which ought to take place, not that which actually and invariably does take place. Thus we cannot deny the fact of the mind's peculiar heritage, as evinced by this unique claim to regulative authority. We must allow, nevertheless, that the objection indicated above, namely, that even these peculiar intellectual products must manifest themselves in consciousness, is something more than a truism; it expresses the fact that the real cannot be evolved by purely logical processes from abstract conceptions, for the conception of a real idea must always contain, in contemplating the dialectic movement amid which it has placed itself. Without a single side-glance, it pursues only the dialectic necessity with which each conception as it comes to birth in turn subordinates the conception before it. It is therefore quite legitimate, in opposition to a mode of thought which arrogates to itself creative omnipotence, to emphasize the experiential character of our knowledge. But, on the other hand, empiricism is in error when it narrows down experience to experience of what is external; the mind has also an experience of itself. The real nature of mind can be manifested only in consciousness—and upon this fact depends the experiential character of our mental life; but what concerns us here is the mind's experience of its own peculiar endowment, which, as we have seen, claims to possess regulative authority, and which carries us beyond the bare experience of empiricism.

The answer given by empirical limits varies according to the kind of question put to it. It is obvious that, on the one hand, Aristotle's investigation of nature by means of the conception of entelechy, i.e. a form realizing its own idea in matter, and, on the other, that of modern science, i.e. the causal universal, to ask what is the appropriate answer to this antecedent, thus winning for its Ideas a structure increasingly delicate, and an organization increasingly rich.

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The first it signified more than the purely formal, involving indeed a conviction regarding the actual constitution of the world. Similarly the manifold aesthetic and ethical Ideas, which are certain of its real forms, find their function in organizing the real, and that it did not go further into that matter here. Suffice it to say that the human mind has brought a great variety of Ideas to bear upon the real, and that it did not begin its task with the same inherent

* Theologische Ethik, ed. 2, i. 19.
equipment with which it pursues it. In fine, the mind also has a history. Now the question arises whether these Ideas should be called a priori. If they are related to history, they must also be related to experience. Nothing save the tedious discipline of facts could have conversed its form to form a fresh Idea. We must with absolute certainty that the mind is not something ready-made, anterior to all experience; it is in reality built up by intercourse with the facts of experience and history. But for that very reason it is not the product of these. What they supply is the environment for the mind's own creative activity. Accordingly the fresh element generated by this spontaneous activity is an A Priori in reference to the whole province of empirical reality, which thus becomes the mind's palestra, that which is to be organized by means of the Ideas. Just as, according to Kant, the a priori forms of reason are the necessary condition of experience in the higher sense, so also are the Ideas generated by the mind. We must likewise note that these Ideas exist only in virtue of the mind's own activity, were they wholly forthwith pass away—another link of affinity with the A Priori of Kant. We must accordingly assign to them the efficiency which marks the A Priori. The fact that they undergo changes and transformation is necessarily supposed. Whether, need we not perplex any one who does not postulate the original perfection of the mind. We must grant, of course, that we can win a truth only by much effort, and that our approach to the ultimate and supreme end is asymptotic, never issuing in complete realization. Nevertheless in all our effort and travail we assume the reality of absolute truth; we must, in fact, make this assumption, else were all our striving fruitless, and even partial truth beyond our grasp. Just as the various parts of space lie within one and the same Space, so partial truths are constituents of the one absolute Truth. That this eternal, absolute truth is no ignis fatuus appears from the fact that there exists in us a mighty unrest, ever urging us beyond the position we have won. Whence this unrest? Certainly not from without. Were our mind sufficient to itself, no external force could move it onwards. There must exist, therefore, something in itself, which ever and anon provokes it to dissatisfaction with what it has achieved, and imperfections thereof. Hence it is no arbitrary assumption that the human consciousness is interpenetrated by an Absolute Consciousness. The actual existence of this Absolute Mind would thus be the ultimate and supreme A Priori, and we recognize it as such even though we must refrain from analyzing it more particularly. We cannot once for all explicate its constituent elements by logical operations or by introspection; but it gradually reveals itself in the process of our intellectual life.

To sum up: The A Priori has a threefold significance. It embraces (1) the formal laws of mind, of which logic furnishes the best example; (2) the Ideas generated by the mind; and (3) the contents of the absolute mind. This view, or one all but identical, is championed by the new Idealism, whose principal representative is Prof. R. Eucken, of Jena.

Kant's results require modification in still another respect. He approached religion from the side of morality. He regarded the A Priori of the former, in contrast with that of the latter, as in some degree derivative. In point of fact, he was not resolute enough in regard to the independent position of religion, and it is Schleiermacher who makes good the deficiency. Kant's view of the distinctive character of religion as something independent of thought or moral action. True, his own definition of religion as 'the feeling of absolute dependence' is most defective. It may be, and has often been, misunderstood, since 'feeling' has a psychological reference which tends to obscure its
A PRIORI SIGNIFICATION. Hence the protest of Hegel: 'It is matter of experience that the ingredients of feeling are of the most fortuitous character; they may be of the purest, or of the basest. If God lives in feeling, He is in no way superior to the worst, for on this soil the kindest flower may also up before the rainiest need.' Hence the protest of Hegel: 'It is matter of experience that the ingredients of feeling are of the most fortuitous character; they may be of the purest, or of the basest. If God lives in feeling, He is in no way superior to the worst, for on this soil the kindest flower may also up before the rainiest need.'
army, and besought them to get their brother back again. They succeeded in recovering him from the Dominicans, but no pressure could induce him to lay aside the habit of the order, and even two years' imprisonment in the castle of Rocca Secca could not break his purpose. He employed this time of solitude in studying the Bible and the Schoolmen, and his mother was convinced that it was impossible to change his will, she herself helped him to escape. He let himself down by a rope from the window, and rejoined the Dominicans. Towards the end of 1244 he accompanied Johannes Tauler, to Cologne, to study under Albertus Magnus. They travelled on foot, and reached their destination in 1245, after a journey of three months.

The many stories told of his youth, e.g. the well-known one of the Bos mutus Sicilis, show that, as is the case with many great intellects, his development was slow, but before the age of 20 Albertus had discovered his powers, and made him his alter ego. On the 4th of June, 1245, at a general chapter of the order held at Cologne, it was decided to send him to Rome. In 1247 he returned to Cologne. In 1252 Thomas was sent back to Paris to receive his degrees, and to establish an independent school there. This residence was interrupted by the contest of the mendicant orders with the university authorities headed by William of St. Amour. Thomas was sent to Rome to plead the cause of his order before Alexander IV. This he did with success. On his return to Paris he received in 1256 the degree of Magister which had been refused him before on account of his habit. The University bore him no ill will, and shortly afterwards referred to the young doctor the much agitated question whether the accidents in the Eucharist really exist, or are only appearances.

In 1251 he was summoned to Italy by Urban IV., who tried in vain to persuade him to accept high ecclesiastical preferment. He taught at Ostia, Viterbo, Anagni, Perugia, Bologna, and Rome. In 1259 he returned to Paris, and taught there for the rest of his life. He was then sent by the Order to Naples at the instance of Pope Alexander, bishop of St. Louis, to give the authority of his name to the school where he had himself received his first important instruction. In 1273 he was summoned by Gregory X. to the Council of Lyons, which was controlled by Urban and the rival claims of the Greek and Latin Churches. Though in bad health, he started, accompanied by brother Reginald, his ever faithful assistant. At the Castle of Magenza—the possession of one of his nieces, the Countess of Cessano—he fell into a long ecstasy, which much enfeebled him, and after which he felt his end to be near. As he wished to die in a house of his own order, he continued his journey, but was obliged to stop at the Carmelite nuns of Abbe near Terracina. There he died, 7th March, 1274. At the time of his death, he was, at the request of his hosts, dictating for them an exposition of the Song of Solomon. He had got as far as 'Filium Jerusalem dixit dilecto meo, quia prae amore morior,' when his strength gave way. The report was current that he had been poisoned by Charles of Anjou.†

For nearly a century the Dominicans and Cistercians disputed the honour of possessing his remains. The quarrel was not yet settled when, 41 years after his death, he was canonized by John XXII. It was finally decided in 1308, by a bull of Urban V., that the body should be surrendered to the Dominicans of Toulouse, the mother church of the order. An arm was given to the Convent of St. Jacques at Paris, where St. Thomas and B. Albertus had taught. In 1286 he was raised by the Dominicans to the rank of Doctor Ordinis. In 1567 he was made by Pius v. the fifth 'Doctor of the Church,' and thus placed on an equality with St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great. *

* His works fill 17 folio volumes in the edition of Pius v. (Rome, 1570). Their exact chronological order is not yet completely decided, and the genuineness of some is disputed. He began his work at Cologne, the Ordinis de Ente et Essentia (No. 30 of the Opuscula in the Roman edition). The most important are the Summa contra Gentiles, the materials for which he began to gather at Paris, during his first period of teaching there, at the request of Raymond de Pannoforte; the Summa Theologica, begun in 1265 in Italy and left incomplete at his death; the Questiones disputatae (1261-1264); the Quodlibeta, of which the first five were composed at Paris, the last six at Rome; and the Aristotelian commentaries, begun 1246 at Paris. In the instances where there are commentaries on books of Sacred Scripture, of which the best known is the Catena Aurea, properly called Espositio continua, and the commentary on the Sentences, which was the first extensive work composed by him.

This enormous literary output is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that it was far from being the only occupation of these strenuous twenty years. During the whole time Aquinas was busily engaged in teaching. The attraction of his lectures was so great that it was difficult to find a hall large enough to contain the audience. At times he employed three or four secretaries at once, and dictated to them about different subjects without confusion. It is a mistake to speak of him as 'pure embodied intellect, perfectly passionless.' † This is not the meaning of the praece of the intellect over the will as taught by him. His hymns are proof enough of this—the famous sequence, "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," "Vange lingus gloriæ corporis mysteriorum" and "Verbum supernum propter," (there is a hymn of St. Ambrose beginning with the same line), "Sacræ solemnii juncta sint gaudia," and "Adoro de latens Deitatis." They were written for the festival of Corpus Christi, the observance of which was imposed by Urban II. in 1265. They are 'powerful in thought, feeling, and expression,' and probably exercised important influence on the general acceptance of the dogma of transubstantiation, the doctrine of which is set forth in them with a wonderful degree of scholastic precision. § Every day he had a portion of a book of edification read aloud to him (Enfini collationes Patrum); and when asked why he withdrew this time from speculative thought, he answered that he considered the rousing of the spirit of devotion to be the due preparation for the possibility of speculation. When the feeling of devotion was roused, the spirit rose all the more easily to the contemplation of the highest truth. He never began to study, to lecture, or to write, without first giving himself to prayer to obtain Divine illumination. When doubts intruded upon his investigations, he interrupted them to seek en-

* On the disputed point of the length of this stay at Paris see Mandouet, Suger de Brabant, etc. p. 99.
† See Désert, Purg. xx. 67 ff., and Scartazzini's note.
§ See Milman, Milman, Latin Christianity, ix. 132.
** Lord Selborne, ESR's xii. 584; cf. also on the hymns of St. Thomas, Julian, Dict. of Hymnology, pp. 22, 662-664, 678-680, 966, 1217-1219. ** On the Aristotelian question and the prohibition of Paris see de Rubeis, xxx. c. 7.
† Millman, Latin Christianity, ix. 132.
lightenment in prayer. The fact that the Summa Theologica was left incomplete was not due entirely to want of time. In the Acta we read: 'The witness—Bartholomew of Capua—declared that brother Reginald, seeing that the holy doctor did not continue the third part of the Summa, after the questions demanded from the sacrament of penance, asked him why he had stopped this great work, which he had begun for the glory of God, and which would enlighten the world. St. Thomas, filled with the thought of having soon to appear before the Supreme Judge, replied that he could not continue: that all he had written so far appeared to him to be nothing in comparison with the wonderful things that God had been pleased to reveal to him recently.' St. Thomas had a sane mysticism of his own, not the spurious kind that would banish reason from religion altogether, and drown itself in the wild fancies of the Evangelium aeternum, but that which recognizes, with St. Augustine, that no real progress in the religious life can be made without corresponding progress in knowledge, and for which the supreme communion with God has no other content than that of the Visio Dei, i.e. essential knowledge.

2. Sources.—(1) The Sacred Scriptures.—St. Thomas did not attempt to separate the point of the old knowledge, Scripture according to all the four methods of interpretation (Sum. Theol. i. i. art. 10). He insists very strongly on the importance of not sacrificing the historical. For instance (ib. 2, c. 1), in the question of locus corporis, he says: 'Es, que de Paradiso in Scriptura dicitur, per modum narrationis historicis proponuntur. In omnibus autem, quae sic Scriptura tradit, est pro fundamento tenenda veritas, et non spiritus vel expositionis fas canendi.' It is to be noted that in his exposition of Isaiah 8 he has so faithfully presented the sensus literalis, that Cornelius a Lapide and others declare it 'judicata exposito, Divi Thomas ingenio prorsus indigna.' The three other senses are explained (ib. i. i. 10): 'Secundum ergo quod ea qua sunt veteris legis significat ea quae sunt nocc legis: est sensus allegoricus. Secundum vero quod ea quae in Christo sunt facta vel in Ihesu Christo specta est sensus moralis, quae nos agere debemus: est sensus moralis. Prout vero significat ea quae sunt in aeterna gloria: est sensus analogicus.'

The testimony of Erasmus to St. Thomas' merits as an interpreter of Scripture is amply justified by the following: 'Nam mei quidem animo nilus est recentiorum theologorum, cui par sit diligentia, cui suis ingenio, cui soloer endudio: planeae digniss erat, cui lingueram quaque persilis, reliquiae bonarum litterarum supellex congeterit, quin sibi quom per eam tempusatem debentur deum dare sui esse' (Rom. i. 13, Curs., vol. vi. p. 664).

He had at hand some who were not unacquainted with Hebrew (e.g. he knows that ו is feminine), but this does not prevent him from falling into pitfalls of translation, e.g. the use of verbum in Lk 11 (Sum. Theol. i. xxv. 3).

Greece.—De Rufheis has counted 66 Greek and 22 Latin Fathers as used by Aquinas. The greater part are taken at first hand. He informs us himself: 'Quasdam expositiones doctorum Graecorun in Latinum feci transferrir' (Preface to Catena aurea). He makes special use of Dionysius. The charge of Monophysitism made against this author, which has recently been revived, has been amply examined and refuted by de Rufheis in his ninth Dissertation.

3. Other Authors.—Dr. Sandys has noted that the Summa Theologica is an embodiment of the scientific spirit of the 13th cent., which stands in sharp contrast with the literary and classical spirit of the 12th.*

(a) Aristotle is, of course, the chief. How far his Aristotelianism is pure, and how far coloured by Neo-Platonism, is still sub judicis. It must be remembered that this process of Platonicizing Aristotle had begun by the time of Alexander and Aphrodias. When Prantl† says that St. Thomas corrupted Aristotelianism and Platonicism by the mysticism of the book de Causis, this statement needs a good deal of qualification. Aquinas was well aware that Proclus was the author of this book, and he gives the correct title to it, 'elementatio [not elevatio] theologica.'‡ It is to be noted that in the crucial question of the νος προτερος he is quite free from Neo-Platonic influences. Brentano says: 'He gives an explanation, which is most notably, in all the points above mentioned, in agreement with the fragment of Theophrastus which is preserved in the paraphrase of Theopistius.' And again: 'If we ask which of the earlier interpreters has come nearest to the truth, it is undeniable that we must give this honour to St. Thomas. I do not know whether I ought not to say that he has grasped correctly the whole teaching of Aristotle.§

(b) Of Plate. Paradise is known only the Timaeus in Chalcidius' version. He says expressly that the Republic was not accessible.

(c) Of the Latin philosophers he uses mainly Boethius, Cicero, Macrobius, and Seneca. He is more familiar with the writings of St. Augustine: xxxvii. (Dissertatio, c. iv.) notes that in the Summa Theologica there are quoted 46 Greek, Latin, and Arabic philosophers, besides orators and poets.

(d) Of the Arabic and Jewish philosophers.—The indebtedness of Aquinas to these sources has been the subject of much controversy. Some have gone so far as to say that there had been no Maimonides there would have been no Aquinas. This is an exaggeration, but Aquinas had certainly learnt much from the Maimonides concerning arguments about the creation of the world in Sum, Theol. i. xlv. 1 with Mor. Neb. ii. c. 16 [ed. Munk, vol. ii. p. 121]. His attitude to Ibn Gebir is very hostile. 'In opposition to the Franciscans, who so carefully presented and circulated certain opinions of Avencebro, St. Thomas, like his teacher Albert, rejects his opinions.' He is the bitter enemy of the Andalusian school of Arabic philosophers, and is as well acquainted with Avempace, who is very often referred to in the Summa contra Gentiles, as with Averroés.

Of equal importance with his own contributions to the interpretation of Aristotle is the fact that Aquinas secured the making of new translations from the Greek, which displaced the earlier ones which were made from the Arabic. It was at his instance that William of Brabant—William de Moerbecka—is said to have produced in 1273—doubtless with the help of others—a literal translation of the Greek text of all the works of Aristotle.¶

In connexion with this work, the question has

* History of Scholarship, p. 588, after Abbo Gagecius, also Mandonnet, Sigur de Brabant, p. 59.

† Geschichte der Logik, iii. 114.

‡ See Bardenheuer, de Causis, p. 526 ff.

§ Brentano, Psychol. des Aristoteles, pp. 74 and 238; see also, for the whole question, Schneuwly, Aristoteles in der Scholastik, p. 72 f. For his general attitude to Aristotle see Talano, Aristotelis de animatione, Schola, 1; and Mandonnet, i., p. 176.

¶ Wittmann, Die Stellung des hl. Thomas von Aquin zu Averroes, p. 70.

|| See de Rufheis, xxxii. ch. 2, on the custom of sending Dominicans to Greece for study.
been raised as to St. Thomas’ own knowledge of
Greek. This question cannot be answered de-
cisively until all his works have been critically
edited. De Rubeis has shown that he was certainly
not a complete stranger to the Greek language. ʼIn
his commentary on the Ethic, the presentation of
the right reading misspelt, and of a ludicrous ethe
diction, it is very nearly right, seems to show that, while Aquinas had about
him people who knew Greek, he had himself no
substantial knowledge of it. ʼ*

3. Main points of system.—The age of St. Thomas’ own
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The distinctive characteristics of the system of
philosophy which Thomism displaced in the
Western Church are well summed up by de Wulf
as follows: ʼAbsence of any formal distinction
between the domain of philosophy and that of
theology, i.e. between the order of rational and of
revealed truth; primacy of the notion of the
good over that of the true, and in consequence
primacy of the will over the intellect both in
God and man; the necessity of an immediate illumination of
the intellect by God in accomplishing certain intellectual acts; actuality, in a low degree, but still some
positive actuality in primitive matter independent of
a substantial form; the presence in matter of
reasons seminales which are even at present a
core of the substantial form; plurality of forms in
natural things; individuality of the soul independently of its union with the body, especially in
man; the identity of the soul with its faculties’ (Gilles de Lestines, p. 15). The philosophical
element incorporated in this school was essen-
tially Platonic.

For this Thomism substitutes Aristotelianism:
not blindly, for ʼlocus ab auctoritate est inifirmi-
issimus’ (Summ. Theol. I., c. 36), but legally,
ʻsi audierit omnes quasi adversarium sub-
tantiam’ (Metaph. iii., Lect. 1), though respectfully.
The novelty of the teaching of St. Thomas is
universally willed upon—the novelty not only in
matter but in method. Thus: strict distinction between Natural and Revealed
Theology; unity of the substantial principle, as opposed to the plurality of forms; passive
existence of matter, as opposed to the theory of rationes
seminales; one of the substance of subsistent forms, as opposed
to the notion of spiritual substance being
composed of matter and of form; the real
distinction of the substance of the soul and its faculties,
Laundys, i.e. p. 683 f.; de Rubels, xxx. c.; Mandonnet, l.c.
p. 55.

† This letter is given in Denzinger’s Rerum Vidtion, p. 379.
‡ On rationes seminales—an idea derived from St. Augustine—
see Kleutgen, Philes. der Forschung, I, 159.

as opposed to the Augustinian doctrine of their
identity; the primacy of the intellect over the
will. ʼ The new system was, of course, not received
without a struggle, which continued long after the
death of St. Thomas. The articles of 1277 were
directed not merely against Averroism, but against
Peripateticism in general.

Notwithstanding the vast extent of St. Thomas’
writing, a sufficient knowledge of his whole
system may be obtained from the two Summae. The
Opuscula are useful for giving a more elaborate
treatment of special subjects, but the whole is to
be found in the two great treatises. St. Thomas’
work is therefore not merely a little sign of gradual development in his writings, because he early reached his complete system. In the Acta,
p. 670, we have the evidence of Egidius of Rome
(afterwards bishop of Bourges): ʼIn this marvellous
and memorable doctor, it was a manifest token of the
subtlety of his genius and the accuracy of his
judgment, that as a master neither in teaching nor
in writing did he change the new opinions and arguments which he upheld as a bachelor, with
very few exceptions. ʼ The fact is that Albertus
Magus had laid the foundations of St. Thomas’
philosophy, so to say, and St. Thomas’ system was
elaborated and developed in detail. But both the Summa
must be employed. The better known Summa
Theologica handles many philosophical problems
very briefly, which are dealt with at length in
the other, which is in consequence often called a
Philosophia. In the short prefatory letter to the
Summa
Theol. the author says that it is intended to be a
compendium for beginners, and that he will deal
with the questions ʼbreviter et dilucide. ʼ These
questions are dealt with in the Commentaries on
the principal points dealt with by the Greek philoso-
pher. St. Thomas proceeded ʼquodam singulari et
novo modo’ (Acta, p. 681). This new method was
that of Averroës, not following the text servilely,
but expressing its meaning as faithfully as possible.
They therefore are intended to give Aristotle’s own
meaning, which may or may not be that of the
writer. They sought not merely to interpret, but to
disseminate in the whole Church the works of St. Thomas. Thomistic
Philosophy is a summation de veritate
Catholica Fidei contra Gentiles is the title as given
by Ucelli from the autograph MS, though the work
is not addressed to Gentiles in the proper sense,
but to Mohammedans, Jews, heretics, and un-
believers of all sorts, i.e. all outside the Church.
Since the opponents either do not recognize
the authority of sacred Scripture as all or only
imperfectly, and do not recognize that of the Church,
it is necessary in their case ʼto have recourse to
natural reason, although in things Divine this is
insufficient. ʼ The work is divided into two
parts. In the First, Aquinas deals with the existence and attributes of God. In the Second, he shows how
all things proceed from God as regards their being
and their distinctive characteristics. The develop-
ment of this subject leads him to speak of the
distinct kinds of substances, and especially of the
substantia intellectuales, regarded in them.

* On this matter Mandonnet, l.c. p. 66; de Wulf, La Philes-
metaphysique, p. 660, and Filles de Lestines, p. 15.
† One of the substan
tialis, or spiritual substance, is composed of
matter and of form; the real
distinction of the substance of the soul and its faculties,
selves, in their relations to body, and in their operations. He dwells specially, of course, upon the human soul, demonstrates its spiritual nature and its personality, and develops his theory of knowledge. The Third shows that all things are oriented towards one end, which is God, and that the supreme and final beatitude of man consists in the contemplation of God; that Providence embraces the whole universe, that it extends to intelligent creatures, without destroying their liberty, and prescribes to them laws, which are the maxims of the intellectual. The Fourth gives an exposition of revealed truth. This is above the powers of unassisted human intellect. All that can be done, therefore, is to show that these truths are beyond, not contrary to, human reason.

**Summa Theologica.**—This is divided into three parts. The First deals in 119 Questions, with God, and the procession of all things from God. The Second is divided into two sections, the first of which deals with Ethics in general, in 114 Questions; the second with Ethics in particular, in 189 Questions. The Third deals with Christ and the sacraments, but breaks off in the middle of the sacrament of penance. In the short preface to this part the scheme is laid down to deal first with the Sacraments, to which man sanctifies himself in which we attain salvation; thirdly, with immortal life, which we reach through Him by the Resurrection. To complete the work, therefore, the rest of the sacraments and the eschatology have been left for a future. And the order in which the problems are treated embraces, in this sense, the difficulties, and is designed to make the teaching intelligible. Each Quaestio is divided into a number of Articuli, and each article consists of three parts. (1) The difficulties are alleged, which seem to negative the Quaestio; (2) the authorities are quoted, sacred and secular; (3) the thesis is followed by a discussion based on first principles, and the resolution of the difficulties. The whole is one of the most magnificent monuments of the human intellect, dwarfing all other bodies of theology into insignificance. Apart from its importance as the authoritative code of Latin Christianity, it is great as a work of art. At the Council of Trent it was placed on the desk, side by side with the sacred Scriptures, as normative of the discussions.

The First of the Four is not of profound novelty in theology is the strict separation of natural from revealed. It had not so been laid down by any of the Fathers, or by any of the preceding Schoolmen; but it has remained in force, not only in Catholic, but Protestant. The principles of the division are laid down as follows: It is the object of wisdom, taken absolutely, to discover the truth, and therefore, incidentally, to unmask falsehood. By truth is here meant, not any special truth, such as is the object of a special science, but the ultimate absolute truth, which is the foundation of all special truths (Sum. c. Gent. i. 1). The way of attaining to this truth is double. There are some things which are true about God, which transcend entirely the powers of human reason: this is the doctrine of the Trinity in unity, and all the distinctively Christian dogmas. There are others to which natural reason can attain, such as those of the existence and the unity of God. These things the philosophers have demonstrated exactly, under the guidance of the light of human reason (ib. i. 3).

When we speak of this double nature of truth, this must be understood relatively to ourselves, not as concerning the nature of truth absolutely. When we speak of Himself; then truth is not to be understood in reference to God Himself, who is the one and simple truth, but in reference to our own knowledge, which has different ways of reaching this Divine truth (ib. i. 9).

(1) The first way is ratio naturalis. It is not the intention of St. Thomas in any way to vilipend reason, and so to drive it outside the sphere of religion altogether. It is defective, i.e. inadequate for ascertaining the truth completely, but not deceptive. It is 'the impression of the Divine light in us.' The light of natural reason by which we discern between good and evil, in that which appertains to the natural, not that which appertains to the impression of the Divine light in us (Sum. Theol. II. a. xci. 2). Human reason is perfected by God in two ways: first, by a natural perfection, according to the light of reason; secondly, by a supernatural perfection, by means of the theologica virtues. Although this second perfection is greater than the first, the first perfection is possessed by man in a more perfect way; for the first is held by man, as it were, in full possession. The second is held only imperfectly, because such is our knowledge and love of God (ib. i. xlviii. 2).

(2) The second way is faith. The knowledge of God by faith comes to us by Divine revelation (Sum. c. Gent. iv. i.). Since the knowledge of God to a considerable degree by reason, the intellect is almost, or altogether, out of His superabundant mercy, to make it more perfect, revealed to us certain things about Himself which transcend human knowledge. In this revelation a certain order is observed, such as is suited to make the Scholastics proceed from the imperfect to the perfect. At first they are so revealed as not to be understood, but only to be believed, as it were, on hearsay, because the intellect of man, when in that state in which it is bound to things philosophical, is not able to behold those things which exceed all the analogies of sense; but when it is freed from the bondage of sensible things, then it can rise to contemplate the things that are revealed (ib.). There is therefore in one sense a triple division of man's knowledge of Divine things, on account of this division of faith into two degrees (ib).

This second means of reaching truth is needed: (a) On account of the imperfection of natural reason. The human intellect has not the power of grasping the substance of God, because the knowledge of our intellect according to the mode of this present life begins with the objects of sense. We see that there are various grades of mystery; and the more perfect it is, the more it is suited to man, and thus what is intelligible to the philosopher, nor can the philosopher understand that which is intelligible to the angel (ib. i. 3). (b) Out of mercy it extends even to those things which natural reason could discover, because few could thus attain to them. The process of investigation takes a long time, and is not certain to be successful, because falsehood creeps in on account of the weakness of the intellect and the disturbing element of the fancy (ib. i. 4). Faith, therefore, supercedes but does not destroy reason. It is not that the light of the air is by the greater, but rather increased, as the light of the air is by that of the sun; and in this way the light of science is not darkened, but rather grows brighter, in the soul of Christ by means of the light of Divine knowledge (Sum. Theol. III. ix. 1 ad 2). Still less is it contrary to it. Because it transcends reason, it is thought by some to be contrary to it; but this is impossible (Sum. c. Gent. i. 7).

The relation, therefore, between philosophy and theology in things divine is this: by reason of its proper province. In the teaching of philosophy, which considers the creatures in themselves, and leads us from them to the knowledge of God, it is the creatures who are considered first, and finally God. But in the teaching of Faith, which considers the
creature only in its relation to God, it is God who is the first object of consideration and the creatures afterwards. (Sum. c. Gent. ii. 4.) (ii.) Natural reason must keep to its own department. Only those things can be known about God by natural reason which belong to the unity of His essence, but not those which belong to the division of the creature: of course, the double division of Plotinus is introduced (II. lxii. 5 from Macrobius). In the development of the idea of virtue, and the division of virtues into moral and intellectual, he follows Aristotle. The intellectual take precedence, because the contemplative life, if the contemplation be theological, stands higher than the practical: 'Ultima et perfecta beatitud non potest esse nisi in visione divinae essentiae' (II. iii. 8), and 'beatissimum est verum virtuosarum operationum' (II. v. 7). The moral value of actions is determined by three elements: (1) ex objecto; (2) ex circumstantiis; (3) ex fine (II. xviii.), and 'bonum virtutis moralis consistit in adequate ad mensuram rationis' (II. lxiv. 1). There are three intellectual virtues: (1) sapientia ('que considerat aliasias causas'); (2) memoria ('qua recordatur'); (3) fortitudo ('qua facit firmitatem animi contra quaesumque passiones'), (II. lxii. 3). These are the virtutes acquisitae, and are subordinate to the theological virtues ('virtutes in fusa'), viz. Fides, which completes our knowledge by the union; only is known by revelation; (4) Spes, which renders accessible the Divine end, which passes the forces of nature; and Charity, by which the will unites itself to that end, and so to speak transforms itself into it. Fides without charity is useless. The question of the will and its freedom is discussed at length (I. lxxii. and lxxiii.); voluntas media est inter rationem et concupiscibilem et potest ab utroque moveri. (II. lib. 3.) It corresponds, however, to the doctrine of the natural appetite does to the senses (I. lxxii. 2). This question is discussed 'utrum homo posse velle et facere bonum abeque gratia.' The answer given is carefully qualified.

It is a characteristic of Thomism that it maintains that good is per se, not ex institutione ('per seitas boni'). This is based upon Aquinas' view of the will, which in God as well as in man has knowledge for its presupposition and basis.

One of the most prominent sections of the Prima Secunda is the discussion on law (xvii. e-viii.): the first systematic discussion of the subject in post-classical times, and, says Jourdain, the best introduction to the study of law which has ever appeared among the Catholic writers. On this point, Aquinas distinguishes between the synderesis and conscientia, the former being the general moral consciousness—the latter applying this to particular cases (I. xix. ad 3): 'Habitus autem ex quibus conscientia informatur eti multi sunt, omnes tamen efficaciam habent ab uno primo principio, sicut in habitu primum principiorum, qui dicitur synderesis.' Aquinas is decidedly anti-socialistic (II. lxvi. 1), and, of course, no advocate of toleration (II. xi. 3). The influence of Aquinas has been all-powerful over those who have come after him, not merely within the limits of Scientific Theology; e.g. in Dante's Paradiso, x. 8, 9, it is St. Thomas who speaks in heaven; his writings had a mysterious influence over Savonarola; and Jellinek states that St. Thomas was the favorite author of Descartes, and the only theologian he ever wished to study. How much Hooker was his debtor any one may see who compares the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity with St. Thomas' section upon 'law.' Is Thomism a theology of law? The question is a good one, and we are to regard it as an overpassed standpoint. This is the question that lies at the root of the debates about the Encyclical Pascendi. One thing is clear, that Thomism is absolutely incompatible with the conception of Evolution—Transformism— that dominates modern thought. 'Nulla forma substantialis suscipit magis et minus' (de Potentia, ii. ix. ad 9; de Wulf, Giles de Lusines, p. 59). But is Thomism compatible with the theology of the Catholic Church? The authorities for the life are in the Bollandist Acta Sanctorum, March 7. The principal one is William de Toccio. Mondanet (loc. cit. p. 81) considers him weak in chronology. The fullest account of Thomism (philosophical) is Kleutgen, Die Philosophie, der Vorsor vorherrschte, 1878; (theological) Die Theol. der Vorsor vertheidigt, 1897, 6 vols. The system is well summed up from the Catholic side in Schwane, Dogmengesch. 1882, vol. III. and Wilhelm, Gesch. des Idealismus, 1896, II. pp. 442-541; and from the Protestant in Harbeck, Dogmengesch. iii. p. 438 f. De Wulf, Hist. de la philos. mediævalis, is specially to be recommended; as also the same author, with Averroës, Mondanet, Siger de Brabant, etc., 1899. H. Slodzian gives a good summing up of the Ethics of St. Thomas in Eth. viii. p. 194 (to which the present writer owes obligation). R. L. Poole, Illust. of Hist. of Medieval Thought, 1884, p. 245, gives a good review of his political theories.

The edition of the complete works (Leo XIII., 12 vols., now appeared, has now completed the summum TheoLOGIA. In the Theoma, which is invaluable dissertationes, published in a convenient edition of the Sum. Theol. published at Rome in 6 vols. 1894 (Edito auronum nominata donata a s. P. Leone XIII.). See also Uccelli, Sum. cent. ii. 382 (not in orthography, but in style, and consists principally of the Systematicus of Uccelli, 1894. The doctrine has been treated by Rodulphus of the results of the study of Civil Law at Bologna as the most brilliant achievement of the intelligence of medieval Europe (from Sanders, p. 883). See also Omman, Octavo et Philosophiae Rerum Theologiae et Philosophiae, p. 187 f.

Villari, Savonarola, vol. i. p. 6: 'Le opere di San Tommaso lo attiravano con una tal magisterial Thesaurum sì, che, quando si fermava, non sembrava, poi, sin da fucilato, preso nel leggere e studiare San Tommaso una strana passione.'

Baillie, La vie de M. Descartes, 1991, p. 286 (from Jourdain).
De Maria, Opera Philos. et Theol. et Quodlibeta, Gittà di Castello, 3 vols., 1886.

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The evidence for the worship of Sirius (ασ-Şīrā) is not altogether above suspicion. Possibly the statements on the subject are mere inferences drawn from the Qur'an, Sūra lii, 50, where God is called "the Lord of Sirius"; this may have been interpreted as a condemnation of the belief that Sirius itself is a divine power.

Far more important, at least in historical times, was the cult of the planet Venus, revered as a great goddess under the name of al-'Uzza, which may be rendered 'the Most Mighty.' The Syriac poet Isaac of Antioch, who lived in the first half of the 6th cent., bears witness to the marriage of 'Uzza by the Arabs of that period; in another passage he identifies 'Uzza with the planet Venus. In the first half of the 6th cent., Mundhir, the Arab king of Hira, sacrificed to 'Uzza a large number of captive nuns, as we learn from a contemporary Syriac author. Procopius, also a contemporary, tells us that this same Mundhir slaughtered in honour of Aphrodite (i.e. 'Uzza, the planet Venus) the captive son of his Christian rival, king Arethas (Ḥarīth). The Arabian cult of the planet Venus was especially strong in the tribe of the Ansars (who died in A.D. 373), by Jerome, Theodoret, and later still by Evagrius. Nilus, about A.D. 410, gives us an account of a wild Arab tribe who offered sacrifices of a singularly barbarous kind to the morning star, doubting if the god 'Uzza (see below). As early as the 2nd cent., or thereabouts, references to a priest of this goddess occur in two Syriac inscriptions, found not far from the district in which the scenes described by Nilus took place. Another Syriac inscription mentions the name 'Abd al-Uzza, which at a later time, just before the rise of Islam, was extremely common among the Arabs. The phrase 'by the two 'Uzzas,' used in swearing, presumably refers to Venus as the morning and as the evening star. In the same manner we may explain the two pillars or obelisks, called al-Gharīyān, 'the two objects smeared (with blood),' which appear in connexion with human sacrifices offered by a king of Hira, the very place to which reference has been made above. 'Uzza figures in the Qur'an (Sūra lii, 19) as one of the three great goddesses of Mecca, who were supposed to be daughters of Allah. That Muhammad himself offered sacrifices to her in his younger days is expressly stated by tradition. At Najlis, near Mecca, this goddess had a sanctuary, which is said to have consisted only of three trees. Whether the Meccans and the other inhabitants of central Arabia at all realized the astral character of 'Uzza is very doubtful. A deity is, in the eyes of its worshippers, an actual person, and does not necessarily represent anything else. We are not to suppose that the pious men who sacrificed to Apollo or Athene thought of inquiring what was the original significance of these deities as personifications of natural phenomena.

Whoever the expression 'by the Lord of the (or Deity)' 'Uzza and by the god before whose house (i.e. the Ka'ba) Sarif! I live' is once used by a poet as a form of oath. Hence Weilhhausen very plausibly argues that the term (or goddess) which occurs elsewhere as the name of a deity at Medina and of a sanctuary on the lower Esphura, whether the Arabs made pilgrimages, is nothing more than an epithet of 'Uzza which had come to be regarded as a proper name.

Kuthrā, which probably means 'the Most Rich,' the name of an idol destroyed by order of Muhammad, is perhaps only another title of the goddess al-Šīrā, also read of a man called 'Abd Kuthrā, belonging to the tribe of Tai, in the very centre of Arabia. Here the absence of the definite article proves that the name Kuthrā is ancient.

Qozāh was possibly at one time a god of storms. Finally, 'Uzza has been found to be a goddess of the fishermen too.

This is probably a Muhammadan correction for 'by the life.' Sarif is a place about 4½ miles from Mecca.

II. INDIVIDUAL GODS AND GODDESSES.

1. THE HEAVENLY BODIES AND OTHER POWERS OF NAZAR, has often been supposed that the religion of the Arabs, or even of the Semites in general, is entirely based upon the worship of the heavenly bodies. This theory, however, is scarcely in accordance with the facts. That the Arabs, at a comparatively late period, worshipped the sun and other heavenly bodies, is unquestionable, but they had various other deities also who cannot be explained as astral powers. The Sun (Shamsa, const12

1. See pl. xxxi. for the contrary view see Robertson Smith, Rel. Sem. 3, p. 64 ff.

2. The Greek orthography, especially when it expresses primarily the notion of fright: see Iliad, iv. 242, xviii. 78, and esp. the Hymn to Demeter, πολιον τινα δοκεσθαι, who implies that she is the shapeshifting deity. She is the only one of the gods who is called 'the servant of the Sun.' In both of these cases the Sun is treated as masculine, contrary to the general usage. Once we meet with the name 'Abd al-Muharrir; here Muharrir, the 'Burner," may perhaps be another title of the same god. The same god who is mentioned as the ancestor of certain royal houses admits of a similar explanation.

The constellation of the Pleiades (ath-Thuhrāyāt), which was supposed to bestow rain, appears as a deity in the name 'Abd al-Thuhrāyāt; the name Najm probably refers also to the Pleiades, for the latter are often called an-Najm, 'the constellation.'

See a paper by the author of the present article in ARW 1. (1888) p. 51 ff.; and cf. the word (or term) τινα θεον εφοινική, Plut. Oedipus, 1, 322; also the μετά εὐθυναμία μείναι τόκου of He 132.

This name is more widely diffused than would appear from the statements of Wallisæus, Rel. Senior, p. 19.
Thus, for instance, Time in the abstract was popularly imagined to be the cause of all earthly happiness and especially of all earthly misery. Muhammad in the Qur'an (Sūra xl. 23) blames the unbelievers for saying, 'It is Time that destroys us.' The poets are continually alluding to the notion of Time (dhār, zaman), for which they often substitute 'the days,' or 'the nights.' Time is represented as bringing misfortune, causing perpetual change, as biting, wearing down, shooting arrows that never miss the mark, hurling stones, and so forth.

In such cases we are often obliged to render 'time' by 'fate,' which is not quite correct, since time is here conceived as the determining factor, not as being itself determined by some other power, least of all by a conscious agent. But it must be admitted that the Arabs themselves do not always clearly distinguish the power of Time from that of Destiny pure and simple. Occasionally we come across such passages as the following: 'Time has brought woe upon him, for the days and the (allotted) measure (pazadar) have caused him to perish.' Or again: 'I submit not to the injustice of Time, and I behave as though unaware that the measure (allotted to me) hindered me from attaining aught.' Various other expressions are used by the contemporaries in speaking of the portion allotted to them, or of the goal that is set before them. The notion of a personified Māya is here vaguer presently, but she has not yet become a living deity. The fatalism of the poets, as we might expect, is not merely by itself clearly formulated nor consistently carried out. Rigid dogmas on the subject of determinism and free-will were quite out of the question. Once we meet with the phrase 'till it be seen what the Apportioner shall apportion to thee' (mā zāyiqa ġāh mān), we realize that this is a personification, not a god; but this is an altogether exceptional case. The word here translated 'apportionment' originally means 'to count,' hence 'to reckon' a thing to some one. From this root is derived the name of the god of death, a favourite expression with the poets; the plural Mānūya is used in the same sense. Maniya appears in poetry as driving man into the grave, piercing him with an arrow, hanging him the cup of death, lying in wait for him as he is about to die, and so forth. Not infrequently the possessive suffix is added, 'when my Maniya overtakes me,' his Maniya has come upon him,' and the like. We also find, but rarely, the construct state Maniayā, a name derived from the cognate root MNN. These personifications, as we have seen, are merely poetical. But the same etymological group includes the ancient Menē (Is 66:18), perhaps a Cannaite deity, and also the great godness Manāt, who figures in the Qur'an (Sūra lii. 20), by the side of 'Uzzâ and Allāt, as one of the three 'daughters of Allāh' revered at Mecca. Since she had been raised long before to the dignity of a real goddess, we may assume that her worshippers were no longer conscious of her original character. Curiously enough, the two oldest documents which mention her, namely, a Nabataean and a Latin inscription, use the plural form Manuālī (spelt Manuval in Latin), just as the plural Mānūya is used for Maniya.

Among the Arabs, Manāt had a sanctuary in the territory of the tribe Hudhayl, not very far from Mecca. She was especially venerated by the inhabitants of Yathrib (afterwards called Medina).

The opinion of some native scholars that Qozah was 'a Satan's merely a deduction drawn from the name of the rainbow.'

This we may infer from the fact that the rainbow is called in Arabic 'the bow of Qozah,' and also from the use of Qozah as the name of a certain spot, within the sacred territory of Mecca, where pilgrims were accustomed to kindle a fire. This god had once been worshipped by the Edomites, and is first of all the case in the use of the name Allāt, which, so far as we can judge, means simply 'the Goddess,' is particularly suitable in this case. The same goddess appears in Herod. i. 131, iii. 8, as 'Allār, the older form of Allāt (cf. 'Alīdāh, the older form of Allāh). In both passages Herodotus identifies her with Šēmā. But from this we can infer no more than that she was a great celestial goddess; to regard it as a definite interpretation would be illegitimate. Similarly we find that in later times her worshippers identified her with Athena. The goddess is again named as 'erṣādār,' and as 'Allār,' but it is not so far as to assert that 'Allār and 'erṣādār are the sole deities of Arabia; the latter name, which he describes as the equivalent of Dionysus, unfortunately does not admit of any plausible explanation. Thal. must have occupied a very prominent place in the religion of those Arabs to whom Herodotus alludes, namely, the inhabitants of the Sinaic Peninsula and of the immediate neighbourhood. That 'Allār is identical with Allāt, a goddess much more closely connected with the Semitic goddess, must be supposed, but the second name has not been acknowledged fact. References to Allāt are found in several Nabataean inscriptions; in one of them she is called 'the Mother of the gods.' Moreover, proper names compounded with Allāt appear both among the Nabataeans and the Palmyrenes. In the inscriptions of Sāfā her name is spelt 'LT' and perhaps HLT, which apparently should be pronounced Hallāt. Among the later Arabs this goddess was no less venerated. In the Qur'an (xly. 11) she is one of the three daughters of Allāt. She is also mentioned occasionally in poetry. Thus one poet says: 'I swore to him, in the presence of the thron, by the salt, by the fire, and by Allāt, who is the greatest of all.' Of the name and personification of the goddess nothing is known; but it is not, as has been commonly supposed, a synonym of 'cold,' 'servant'; perhaps it should be rendered 'distant,' 'frozen,' so that 'frozen Allāt would mean 'frozen by (or for the sake of) Allāt.'

The son and co-regent of Zenobia, Wahballah (Ωδάβα, Βαβαλαθα), i.e., 'Gift of Allāt,' also called himself 'Gift of Zenobia.' The name is not, as has been commonly supposed, a synonym of 'cold,' 'servant'; perhaps it should be rendered 'distant,' 'frozen,' so that 'frozen Allāt would mean 'frozen by (or for the sake of) Allāt.'
Moreover, a number of proper names compounded with Manāfī prove that her cult extended over a great part of Arabia. There exists in Arabic a rare word for 'time,' namely, 'a'id.' A poet, who belonged to the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il, in the North East of Arabia, says in describing his old age: 'The arrows of 'A'id pierced my limbs and joints.' This does not differ at all from those poetical personifications which have been enumerated above; the same poem, it may be observed in passing, alludes to 'the changes wrought by time' (guraf ad-dahr). But Israēl, who contains the phrase, 'I swear by the blood (of the sacrifices) that flows round 'A'id'; here 'A'id, 'time,' 'fate,' appears as a real deity, with a regular cult, and Ibn al-Kalbī expressly states that 'A'id was an idol worshiped by the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il, the very tribe of which the afore-said poet was a member.

Gād, equivalent in meaning to ṭāqān but construed as masculine, is the name of a deity who was venerated by various Semitic peoples (see 662). The tribe of Gad derived its name from this cult is improbable. The form Ḡaddā, which occurs in Nabatean inscriptions, might appear to have been borrowed, at a comparatively late period, from the neighboring Aramaeans. But since we meet with the proper name 'Abd al-Jādī in a few cases (which, it is true, are confined to the coast of Yemen), and since the noun jādī, 'luck,' remained in current use among the Arabs, it is more natural to regard the Nabatean Ḡaddā as an Aramaized form of the native Arabic word al-Ġadd (al-Jādī).

To this category belongs sa'dī, 'fortune' (used in a good sense only). According to a certain verse and the statements of the commentator, Sa'dī was the name given to a rock not far from Jidda, to which divine honors were paid. Moreover, we meet with the name 'Abd Sa'dī in quite a different part of Arabia, to the north-east. At an earlier period a man's name which seems to be compounded with Sa'dī occurs in the inscriptions of Sa'da.

Another deity which appears to have been designated by an abstract term is Rubādī, 'good-will,' 'favour.' The commentary on a verse in which the name is mentioned informs us that Rubādī was worshiped in the shape of an idol, by the great tribe of Tamūr. The proper name 'Abd Rubādī is found among several Arabian tribes. To the nature of the deity in question the name supplies no clue. It might even be supposed that it was originally a euphemistic title given to some malignant power. The remarkable fact in the above-mentioned verse Rubādī is construed as feminine (whereas this grammatical form would be normally masculine), naturally suggests that at that period, about the time of Muhammad, people still realized that Rubādī was merely an epithet applied to a goddess who properly bore some other name. But against this hypothesis it may be urged that the name is of considerable antiquity, as is proved by the Palmyrene inscriptions, where it occurs separately in an independent form, and in theophorous proper names as RSU; the pronunciation is fixed approximately by the Latin transcription Themarbus. The RDU of the Sa'ā inscription seems to denote the same deity.

'Udād, also pronounced 'Udād or 'Uddā, i.e. 'friendship,' 'affection,' was, according to the Qur'an (Sūra Ixxxi. 22), a god worshipped by the contemporaries of Noah. But it would be a mistake to conclude that his cult was obsolete in Muhammad's time, for we have sufficient evidence to the contrary. The poet Nabīgha says once, 'Wādd greet thee!' There was a statue of this god at Dūma, a great oasis in the extreme north of Arabia. The name 'Abd Wādd occurs in a number of wholly distinct inscriptions. But Wādd is another instance of a deity whose character remains altogether obscure. As we are told that his statue had a bow and arrows attached to it, we might be tempted to imagine that he was a kind of Eros, and this would imply a foreign origin. But though the root LDD means 'to love,' 'to feel affection' for an object, it is never used in a sexual sense. Moreover, the statue in question bore not only a bow and arrows, but likewise a sword and a lance from which hung a flag; the god was also fully clad, and therefore does not look like a copy of the Greek Eros. Finally, it should be remembered that there were other Arabian idols which had weapons suspended to them.

The name Manāfī, 'height,' 'high place,' is also a kind of abstract noun. That Manāfī was worshipped as a god is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name 'Abd Manāfī, which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of J. H. R. R. N. J. 1896. Moreover, the poet Ijauran, in an inscription from the Ḥaurān, is derived from the name of this god (= Marāghṣ); he also makes the very plausible suggestion that, in an inscription set up in Hungary by an Oriental soldier, the sentence nisi patriae MN - PHO + et Theandri votum solvit is to be understood as a reference to the same deity.

3. DEITIES BEARING NAMES OF ANIMALS.

The Arabian deities which bear animal names are few in number, and it is naturally impossible for us to ascertain their true significance. That they were originally totems is scarcely probable, for of totemism no clear traces are to be found among the Arabs, and the hypothesis that these names date from a very primitive age does not rest on sufficient evidence. In the case of the Lion-god, whose existence is proved only by the mention of a man named 'Abd al-Aza'd, 'servant of the Lion,' belonging to the tribe of Quraish, such a supposition would be especially hazardous, when we compare the word for 'lion,' not the old word common to the various Semitic languages.

One of the gods worshipped by the contemporaries of Noah, according to the Qur'an (Sūra Ixxxi. 23), was Naṣr, 'the vulture.' The Talmud ('Abodah zara, 118), and the Syriac Doctrine of Addai (of the 4th cent.), p. 24, mention Naṣhrā, the Aramaic form of Naṣr, as an Arabian god. These statements, taken by themselves, might be explained as referring to some cult practiced among the Arab tribes in this period.

* For the idea of sexual affection the Arabic language has plenty of other expressions.

This is the reading now adopted, see CIL iii. 3068; Ephemer. Epigr. ii. 390, No. 26. We may assume that the original spelling, or at least the spelling originally intended, was MANA-PHO. Nordmann had before him the incorrect form MANAL-PHO, which rendered the identification all the more difficult.

2DMG xxix. 106. The god Theandrus (with some variations of form) occurs repeatedly in inscriptions from the Baurān. What Oriental name lurks under this Greek disguise we cannot say.

§ This point has been discussed by the author of the present article in the ZDMG, 1896; and E. Wunderle, Gesch. der urzeitl. sprachwissenschaft (Strassburg, 1904), p. 74.

* See the faith.

† This is the meaning which the word always has in Arabic. In the North-Semitic languages the corresponding form (with š) is applied to the eagle, but, in the case of large birds of prey, popular usage does not sharply discriminate between the various species. Even in the NT (Mt 2424, Lk 1797) carrion vultures are called a'tev.
Arabia, since elsewhere we undoubtedly meet with an Aramaean god Neshra, for instance, in the Syrian proper name Neshrubah, 'Neshr has given.' But it is to be noticed that the Nabateans likewise had a god called Nasr. Thus the worship of the god, once widely diffused over the Semitic lands; in Arabia, however, it became nearly obsolete. Ibn al-Kalbi was unable to find any personal name compounded with Nasr; nevertheless it is not impossible that the Nēsepātaw mentioned in the ancient inscription of Memphis * was an Arab, 'Auf, in the fairly common name 'Abd 'Auf, means 'the great bird (of prey).'</td>
period; there is reason, however, to believe that the god had a human form. We may accept arak of the Deity. It is true that it does not actually occur except in compound proper names of persons, *Qaṣṣālam, Warḥ El,* and many others. Some of these, such as Wabib, 'gift of El,' *Abdul, servant of El,* appear also among the Arabs of a later age, but at least in certain cases they must have been borrowed from the Sabean language, which in other cases they are the same as elsewhere north of Arabia. It may be added that the divine name *Iṣāl,* which occurs once in an ancient verse, is possibly a plural of majesty formed from *El; Uwaq* is a variation of the same name.

In the *Našāt,* the name Hubal, 'the god,' enters into the composition of numerous personal names among the Nabataeans and other Northern Arabs of an early period, e.g. *Zaid Ḫallāb,* 'increase of God' (that is, increase of the family through the son given by God), *Abd Allāh,* and so forth. In the Nabataean inscriptions Allāh does not seem to occur separately as the name of a god, but in the inscriptions of Ṣafā the separate use is found. Among the heathen Arabs of later times Allāh is extremely common, both by itself and in theo- nymic combinations with personal names. Allāh is the name of passages in which pre-Islamic Arabs mention Allāh as a great deity; and even if we strike out some passages (for instance, on the ground that the text has been altered by Muhammadan scribes), so many still remain over, and so many are quite above serious doubt, that the fact is clearly established. Moreover, Allāh forms an integral part of various dogmatic phrases which were in common use among the heathen Arabs. Of special importance is the testimony of the Qurʾān, which proves, beyond all doubt, that the heathen themselves regarded Allāh as the Supreme Being. Thus, men turn to Allāh when they are in distress (Sūra x. 33, xxxix. 65, xxxi. 51). Solemn oaths are sworn in his name (vii. 109, xvi. 40, xxxiv. 40). He is recognized by mankind as the Creator and the Giver of rain (xxix. 61 ff.). Their crime consists only in the fact that they worship other gods beside him; the three goddesses, Manāt, Allāt, and *‘Uzza* are believed to be his daughters (xvi. 59).

In the Nabataean inscriptions we repeatedly find the name of a deity accompanied by the title *Allāh,* 'the god.' Hence Wellhausen argues that the Arabs of a later age may also have applied the epithet Allāh, 'the god,' to a number of different divinities, and that Allats of inscriptions times were not aware that any such deity had existed, but certain phrases in their language clearly prove that he had once been known. Thus the term *‘oil of Allāt,*' or simply *‘Allāt,*' is applied to land which does not require rain or artificial irrigation, but has an underground water supply, and therefore yields fruit of the best quality. In this case the god seems to be regarded as the lord of the cultivated land. That here the word *Allāt* really refers to him is shown by the synonymous, or nearly synonymous expression *‘athkhatari,* derived from *Allāh,* a deity whose name had likewise sunk into oblivion among the Arabs of that period, whereas it appears in all the older Semitic languages with the usual variations of form (*Ashkhar, Aṭhkar,* and so forth). Again, the verb *bata* and other derivatives of *Bata* mean ‘to be bewildered,’ properly ‘to be seized by the god *Bata.*'

Among the Northern Arabs of early times, particularly in the region of Ṣafā, the word El, 'God,' was very freely commonly used as a separate name and a plural of majesty, formed from this noun, is used in Ethiopia, the ordinary word for 'God.'

In the days of Islam, *al-Malik* became one of the epithets of Allāh, and hence the name *Abd al-Malik* reappears among the same.

This applies primarily to the date-palm, which requires much moisture at its root but none above.
to the original meaning; hence it may be concluded that, when Muhammad first proclaimed his mission, popular ideas as to the relation between gods and men had already begun to grow dim. It is also to be noticed that, in consequence of the abbreviations which names of persons are liable to undergo in daily life, compound names were often deprived of their divine element; thus *Ausz Manât*, 'gift of Manât'; Zaid Allât, 'increase (bestowed) by Allât'; *'Abd Allâh, 'servant of God', respectively. In theophoric proper names the deity sometimes appears as a lord, while the human individual is his servant, his handmaid, his obedient subject (*faw'); sometimes, again, the deity is described as gracious, while the human individual is his gift, his reward, his act of favour, the aid which he supplies, his *protégé* who stands with him, etc. At other times the deity is represented as increasing the family, as sending a good omen and good fortune. The human individual is also said to be the 'man' of the deity, his companion, and so forth. Some of these compounds are of doubtful meaning. With the exception of a very small number of uncertain cases found in inscriptions, there are absolutely no names which designate a human being as the kinsman or descendant of a deity, like those which we find among the Hebrews and other Semites.†

### III. The Cult.

#### I. Idols, Altars, and Sacrifices.

It has already been remarked that the sanctity of our knowledge respecting the Arabian gods is largely due to the fact that our information dates, for the most part, from the close of the heathen period, that is to say, from a time when the Arabs themselves had no very clear ideas on this subject. The traditional cult was duly practised; but mythology, not to mention religious dogma, could scarcely be said to exist. Even as to the fundamental question of the relation in which the Deity stood to the sacred stones, idols, and other objects of worship, no definite belief seems to have prevailed. If the heathen Arabs reflected about such matters at all, they probably imagined that the block of stone was the 'altar' (after the primeval Semitic fashion so clearly portrayed in the OT) was venerated by a divine power, and, in its turn, exercised a divine influence. We have already had occasion to mention the black stone of Dusares at Palmyra, and we have another instance of the same object being used for both purposes. The vast human sacrifices offered, at a later period, by King Mundhir of Hira to the planet Venus, the goddess to whom Nius was also referred, have already been mentioned.‡ But in Arabia primitive traces of human sacrifice.** Possibly among the Arabs of the extreme North, the continuity, or it may be the revival, of the ghastly ancient rite was due to the influence of the neighbouring peoples, whose religion had remained barbarous in spite of their advanced material civilization.

At the period to which our principal authorities relate, the Arabs sacrificed camels, sheep, goats, and apparently less often, kine.†† We frequently find *Count Landberg, La langue arabe antique* (1898), p. 72, mentions a remarkable specimen of blood-ritual which is still practised in a certain district of South Arabia at the conclusion of a contract of service. The anointing of fetishes, as we find it in Gn 21:29, as it appears elsewhere, both of the North and the South Arabian peoples, is likewise to be considered a secondary form of homage.

‡ Similarly, at an earlier period, the altar in the sacred grove, probably near the southern extremity of the Sinaitic Peninsula, was the *'amūd Abū*, according to Agatharchides, cited by Diodorus, iii. 42.

§ In manner the 'Ablawa, a Muhammadan confraternity existing at the present day in the district of Tiemen, Algeria, perform a religious rite in the course of which they devour a beast raw, with the skin and hair—see Douét, *Les Astasènes d'Elfen* (Chalons-Marne, 1895). This is a mix-up of primitive African savagery; it was certainly not imported from Arabia. But there is reason to believe that similar things took place in the paroxysms of excoriation that attended the Dionysiac cult. The *'abuha* of Euripides contains no very precise evidence on the subject.

¶ Probably not the oasis Dumat al-Jandal, where Wadd was worshipped (see above, p. 902), but Dūma in the Bahrūn, which was also included in the p. s. of Arabia.

‖ These sacrifices may be compared with the savage custom of 'devoting' vanquished enemies, which was in vogue among the ancient Hebrews (see *Josh* ii. 20, 24; *2 Sam* vi. 12); of the North Arabian tribes.†

** The word *'adad*, 'conducted,' cannot be cited as an argument. When applied to a single individual, it denotes a person who is under the protection of another, or a bride who is brought to her husband. When applied to a sacrificial victim, it is always a collective, the singular being then *hadya*. Thus it would not be correct to say that a prisoner is called a *'adad*.†† The most usual words for animals offered in sacrifice are *'alu* and *'arîra*; hence we may conclude that the Hebrew *hâtar*, 'to treat, matter,' *tarîv*—divided by etymology, originally referred to sacrifice, accompanied by prayer, and to the effect which it produced on the deity.
read of the blood of the victims being applied to the sacred stone or pillar. The number of the animals slaughtered must sometimes have been very large, since the poets hyperbolically compare warriors slain in battle to a multitude of sacrificial victims. Offerings of other kinds are rarely mentioned, but new of a milk-offering presented to the god Wadd (see above, p. 682), and another passage refers to an oblation consisting of barley and wheat over which milk was poured. Most of the Arabs being very poor, these less pretentious kinds of offering may perhaps in ordinary life have played a larger part than we should first be inclined to suppose. But the words *swenāk, mandsīk, ‘outpouring,* which are applied to religious ceremonies in general, and have become part of the terminology of Islam, certainly do not refer, in the first instance, to drink-offerings of this sort (as is the case with the Hebrew *nēsekh,* but to the outpouring of blood. The flesh of the sacrifice was usually eaten by the worshippers, the god contenting himself with the blood. Sometimes, however, sacrifices were left to be devoured by vultures; hence the name (which is the name by which the Ka'ba was called *mut'im at-tawr,* ‘the feeder of the birds (of prey).’ In this case the god was probably imagined to be—through human instrumentality, it is true—an example of those vultures which we know from other Arab traditions to be symbols of hospitality and munificence. But originally every sacrifice, properly so called, was regarded as food consumed by the god, or at least as a means of gratifying his sensations.* Thus the sacrificial meal brought the worshipper into closer connexion with the Deity.

The Arabs, like the Hebrews, were in the habit of sacrificing the firstlings of their flocks and herds. But how far the custom extended it is impossible to say.† Soon after the birth of an infant, its head was shaved, and it was carried to the Ka'ba, and when offered on his behalf; perhaps this was originally a ransomed, offered as a substitute for the sacrifice of the child.

We may here mention a totally different kind of offering, namely, the practice of *setting an animal at liberty,* either in fulfillment of a vow or as an expression of gratitude to the deity for the increase of the flock; thenceforth the animal in question was not to be used for any purpose, except perhaps by needy travellers who might be allowed to milk it. There were several shrines of this kind, each offering various sorts, each denoted by a distinct term. But as to the precise meaning of the terms, no trustworthy information was possessed by later scholars, since the Qur'ān had abolished these customs, together with the religion of which they formed a part. It is probable that the animals to which we have referred pastured in districts sacred to the deity, and generally were held inviolable.

The practice of *marching round the sanctuary* on the occasion of a sacrifice, as the Saracens described by Nīhus, was called by them *mut'am* or *takīd,* corresponding, in modern Arabic, to the ‘hymn’ of the early Saracens. We may be sure that what the Qur'ān contemptuously calls ‘whistling and clapping’ (Sūra viii. 35) was not confined to the Meccan sanctuary. *The act of standing (‘ukfīf) in a devout posture before the sacred stone or image likewise formed an essential part of the ritual.*

In addition to these traditional forms, there were other means of influencing the gods, namely, extemporized prayers, requests for special favours, benedictions, and, above all, imprecations. The effect of an imprecation was heightened by its being uttered in a sacred month and at a sacred spot, for instance, in the month of Dhū 'l-qa'da at 'Okaṣ. We have already seen that the gods were represented not only by rude blocks of stone, but also by *statues* executed with more or less skill. The most usual word for a divine statue, whether of stone or wood, is *panām,* derived from the Aramaic *šēlam,* and perhaps introduced into Arabia together with the object itself. The other word, *wathān,* is certainly indigenous, and seems primarily to mean nothing more than ‘stone.’† Examples of *tree-worship* are likewise to be found among the Arabs. The tree known as Dhāt *nasīr, ‘an able man,* is the object of veneration, and is surrounded with ritual honours; weapons and other objects were suspended from it. We also hear of a sacred palm-tree which was decked with apparel. At Nahla, as has been mentioned above (p. 660), the goddess *Ar'īn* and *Uzās* is said to be adored in three forms by three trees. We may assume that the deity was supposed to stand in the same relation to the tree as to the fetishes of stone. The garments, rags, and other things which were placed upon it are to be regarded as a substitute for sacrifice.‡

The *kindling of a fire in honour of a god* was quite exceptional among the Arabs. It took place in connexion with the great festival of the pilgrimage, at the spot called Qozah; moreover, the term *as-Sa’wār,* which occurs in an ancient verse of poetry referring to some particular cult, may not improbably be explained as meaning ‘fire,’ ‘blaze,’ in accordance with the ordinary use of the word, rather than as the name of a god, although the latter interpretation might seem, at first sight, to suit the context.\footnote{Robertson Smith very justly remarks (*Rel. Sem.*, p. 340, note 2): ‘The festal song of praise (Ps. 98:6) properly goes with the dance round the altar (Ps. 106:39), for in primitive times song and dance are inseparable.\footnote{1 As to the distinguished between these two expressions the native authorities supply no trustworthy information.\footnote{2 Sacred trees, to which rags are attached, exist in Arabia at the present day, and still more frequently in Syria. They are found in other countries also, but the rites connected with them present many difficulties of interpretation. On tree-worship in general see Fraser, *Golden Bough,* I. 169 ff.\footnote{3 Among the Syrians we find the name *Bēthā haikūd, ‘servant of the temple.’}}}.

2. Places of Worship.—Temples, properly so called, were certainly very rare, unless we include buildings in the Graeco-Roman style erected by the Arabs of the extreme North. The primitive similitude of the Ka'ba, of which there were various forms, each denoted by a distinct term, the deity of which was suspended, is a well-known fact, and proves that the sanctuaries of Arabia are by no means to be imagined as imposing edifices. The three temples which stood, according to Agatharchides (Diod. iii. 45), on a hill near the Arabian seacoast, may have been somewhat hand-somer specimens of architecture, but it would seem that they were built by a foreign prince, probably a Sabean. Yet in spite of their humble appearance, they housed the gods of the regarded with extreme veneration, as is shown by the proper names *Abd ad-laḥār, ‘serving of the (holy) dwelling* (the ancestor of the family who were actually in charge of the temple at Mecca); *Abd al-baqi, ‘serving of the (holy) house*; and *Abd al-Ka'ba, ‘serving of the Ka’ba.* § The word *masjīd, ‘mosque,* ‘temple,* which has become part of the terminology of Islam, was originally derived from the

* Hence, wherever human sacrifices are offered—and this can be proved to have been the case among almost all peoples—we may assume that in the very earliest times cannibalism also existed. The idea that sacrifice is required by the gods appears, for instance, in Dt 28:88, but it is entirely rejected in Ps 136:21.

† The remarkable, but well attested, statement that the Arabs considered it unlucky if the firstborn of a woman was a boy, may perhaps be explained as a sort of posthumous revenge like the Hebrews, offered to the deity their own firstborn, as well as the firstborn of animals. That the father should have specially unwonted to sacrifice a boy is natural.
**ARABS (ANCIENT)**

Aramaic, as is shown by the occurrence of **maṣṣālḥā**, ‘place of worship,’ in the Nabatean inscriptions. The sanctuary in which an idol stood was usually not enclosed with walls, but marked off by means of boundary-stones, after the fashion described by **Nīthea**.

3. PRIESTS.—That all the details of the cult could not be mastered without special training is sufficiently obvious. In connexion with several of the sanctuaries and idols we read of ministrants, who bore the title of **sandā** (pl. **saddān**); this term often otherwise means who hold the curtain; this is, one who admits to the shrine. But it is improbable that in the times with which we are mainly concerned there were men who had no other function than that of priest. At an earlier period, it is true, such persons existed. We learn from Agatharchides (Diod. iii. 42; Strabo, 776) that a man and a woman acted as priests, during their whole lifetime, in the sacred palm-grove, and wore the costume of primitive ages, consisting entirely of skins. In the Sinaitic inscriptions several individuals are expressly designated as ‘priests,’ which implies that they occupied posts of some dignity. This conclusion is supported by the fact that some of the persons in question appear from the inscription to have accompanied the same family. Furthermore, Ibn al-Kalbi, in his account of the various gods, sometimes mentions the name of the priestly family by whom this or that god was served, and in the case of the **Ka‘ba** we possess a considerable amount of detailed information as to the division of the several departments of the cult among a number of families closely related to one another. Wellhausen points out that in some cases the ministrants of a sanctuary belonged to a tribe that was not known to us, the surrounding country. Usually this is to be explained by the supposition that the priestly family remained attached to the spot after their fellow-tribesmen had emigrated or been driven out. Occasionally it may have happened that a strange clan acquired control of a sanctuary by force or fraud; that was the case at Mecca itself is not impossible.† In the inscriptions the word for ‘priest’ is **kāḥin**, which seems to have been borrowed from the Aramaic. At the same time, it is interesting to note that one of the terms for the priestly office **kāḥin** is also a title (Sura cvi. 3); only a few modifications were introduced, but there is reason to suspect that the changes made by the Prophet chiefly affected those very details which, if they were not altered, would have been out of place or out of the original meaning of the whole. In particular, he abolished all the idols† after the capture of his native city, whereas he retained a sample of the most primitive fetishism, the Black Stone, connecting it, as he connected the **Ka‘ba** itself, with Abraham. According to one tradition, which has all the appearance of trustworthiness, the Prophet forbade his followers to march round the sacred spot naked; the practice in question must therefore have existed before the Prophet’s time. Indeed, it is probable that those who took part in the festival ought not to appear before the Deity in their ordinary garb; hence, if any one had not the means of borrowing a suit of clothes at Mecca, he was obliged to perform the ceremony in nudity. The custom of worshipping at a shrine in garments lent by the priest occurs also elsewhere in Arabia. In one case, we are told, a Bedawi, who belonged to the neighbouring tribe of Hudail, marched round the **Ka‘ba** with his buttocks uncovered, apparently imagining that this was a

**IV. MECCA.**

THE ‘OMRA AND THE HAJJ.—The **Ka‘ba** at Mecca was an unpretending edifice, erected, in the second half of the 6th cent. after Christ, on the site of an older sanctuary which had been destroyed by fire. The new building was constructed by a native of the Roman Empire, partly out of timber obtained from a stranded vessel, wood suitable for architectural purposes being a rare article in most parts of Arabia. To the heathen Arabs the **Ka‘ba** was an important centre of worship, and it afterwards acquired, through Muhammad and Islam, a worldwide fame, surpassing even that of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or of St. Peter’s at Rome. At what period a **Ka‘ba**, that is, a durable building with rectangular walls, ‡ was set up for the first time in that altogether sterile valley, we have absolutely no means of determining. It has been plausibly conjectured that the selection of the spot was due to the existence of the well called Zamzam, which has a tolerably abundant supply of water, and might naturally be regarded as a gift of the gods by the caravans which passed to and fro between Yemen and Syria, though the water of Zamzam, it must be admitted, is of an inferior quality, judged even by Arabian standards, and as compared with some other springs which are to be found not far away off. But, however this may be, the primitive structure in question, which was little more than a box containing, it is true, a repository for treasures, first appears in history as a sanctuary in the hands of the Qurānid, surrounded by a stretch of sacred territory (**sawrah**), and visited by strangers who performed a pilgrimage (‘omra) to the place. The traditions which relate to the early history of Mecca are extremely untrustworthy, and many of them have been perverted in the interests ofious parties; but there is no reason to doubt the statement that this territory, unattractive as it is in itself, had once, if not oftener, been overrun and seized by violence.* The ceremony of marching round the **Ka‘ba**, and of such an excursion between the two great stones, called **Sa‘īf** and **Marwâ**, which stood in the immediate vicinity, were rigidly fixed. The greater part of this ritual was incorporated into Islam by Muhammad, who from the first adopted the **Ka‘ba** as the temple of Allah (Sūra cvi. 3); only a few modifications were introduced, but there is reason to suspect that the changes made by the Prophet chiefly affected those very details which, if they were not altered, would have been out of place or out of the original meaning of the whole. In particular, he abolished all the idols† after the capture of his native city, whereas he retained a sample of the most primitive fetishism, the Black Stone, connecting it, as he connected the **Ka‘ba** itself, with Abraham. According to one tradition, which has all the appearance of trustworthiness, the Prophet forbade his followers to march round the sacred spot naked; the practice in question must therefore have existed before the Prophet’s time. Indeed, it is probable that those who took part in the festival ought not to appear before the Deity in their ordinary garb; hence, if any one had not the means of borrowing a suit of clothes at Mecca, he was obliged to perform the ceremony in nudity. The custom of worshipping at a shrine in garments lent by the priest occurs also elsewhere in Arabia. In one case, we are told, a Bedawi, who belonged to the neighbouring tribe of Hudail, marched round the **Ka‘ba** with his buttocks uncovered, apparently imagining that this was a

† A man named **Amādī** calls himself ‘a priest of **Uzza’ (Eutin, 650), and a certain **Habībīnī, son of Amādī, is also a priest (Eutin, 249). A second **Habībīnī** is likewise so described (Eutin, 345). In another inscription, which is unfortunately not preserved, a priest of Mecca is attached to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or of St. Peter’s at Rome. At what period a **Ka‘ba**, that is, a durable building with rectangular walls, ‡ was set up for the first time in that altogether sterile valley, we have absolutely no means of determining. It has been plausibly conjectured that the selection of the spot was due to the existence of the well called Zamzam, which has a tolerably abundant supply of water, and might naturally be regarded as a gift of the gods by the caravans which passed to and fro between Yemen and Syria, though the water of Zamzam, it must be admitted, is of an inferior quality, judged even by Arabian standards, and as compared with some other springs which are to be found not far away off. But, however this may be, the primitive structure in question, which was little more than a box containing, it is true, a repository for treasures, first appears in history as a sanctuary in the hands of the Qurānid, surrounded by a stretch of sacred territory (**sawrah**), and visited by strangers who performed a pilgrimage (‘omra) to the place. The traditions which relate to the early history of Mecca are extremely untrustworthy, and many of them have been perverted in the interests ofious parties; but there is no reason to doubt the statement that this territory, unattractive as it is in itself, had once, if not oftener, been overrun and seized by violence.* The ceremony of marching round the **Ka‘ba**, and of such an excursion between the two great stones, called **Sa‘īf** and **Marwâ**, which stood in the immediate vicinity, were rigidly fixed. The greater part of this ritual was incorporated into Islam by Muhammad, who from the first adopted the **Ka‘ba** as the temple of Allah (Sūra cvi. 3); only a few modifications were introduced, but there is reason to suspect that the changes made by the Prophet chiefly affected those very details which, if they were not altered, would have been out of place or out of the original meaning of the whole. In particular, he abolished all the idols† after the capture of his native city, whereas he retained a sample of the most primitive fetishism, the Black Stone, connecting it, as he connected the **Ka‘ba** itself, with Abraham. According to one tradition, which has all the appearance of trustworthiness, the Prophet forbade his followers to march round the sacred spot naked; the practice in question must therefore have existed before the Prophet’s time. Indeed, it is probable that those who took part in the festival ought not to appear before the Deity in their ordinary garb; hence, if any one had not the means of borrowing a suit of clothes at Mecca, he was obliged to perform the ceremony in nudity. The custom of worshipping at a shrine in garments lent by the priest occurs also elsewhere in Arabia. In one case, we are told, a Bedawi, who belonged to the neighbouring tribe of Hudail, marched round the **Ka‘ba** with his buttocks uncovered, apparently imagining that this was a

* The word **ka‘ba** occurs thus, as an appellative, in the **Muṣaddälīyat**, xxv. 72. ‘The castle of Sindâd with the **Ka‘ba**'
peculiarly effective means of appealing to the god. It is said that the Meccans and certain tribes known as ëHums, who were nearly akin to them, used to wear sandals when they went through the ceremony—a rule which may be explained by the supposition that they regarded the place as their home; members of other tribes, on the contrary, always entered the sacred precinct barefoot.

Wellhausen has had the merit of discovering and carefully pointing out that the solemn procession from the hill called 'Arafat to the valley of Minã, the real pilgrimage (hajj) or Ḥajj, once a holy thing within the haram and the Ka'ba.* It is true that the route followed by the procession lay, for the most part, within the limits of the haram, which was generally acknowledged to be the sacred territory of the Meccans; but the fact that the opening ceremonies, the hajj on of 'Arafat and the kindling of the lights on the hill of Iil, took place outside the haram—for which reason the Meccans and the Huns as a whole had no share in them—is quite sufficient to prove that the festival was not really connected with the city. Moreover, it should be observed that even at the present day, in spite of the changes introduced by the Prophet, who endeavoured to assimilate the ritual as far as possible to the theory of Islam, the festival, properly so called, in the end when the victims, which had been slaughtered at Minã, the subsequent visit to the Ka'ba is not an integral part of the hajj. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that by the time of Muhammad the pilgrimage had come to be closely associated with Mecca. The Qurãsh were sufficiently averse to appreciate the advantage which they derived from the sacrosanct character of their domain, and from the annual assemblage of pilgrims out of all parts of the country; these two circumstances together formed the basis of their trade, which rendered them intellectually far superior to other Arabs. The hospitality which they extended to the starving Bedawin at the time of the festival was amply repaid by the security guaranteed to the Meccan caravans.

In the Arabic the word hajj is a very ancient Semitic expression; whatever its original meaning may have been, it corresponds for practical purposes to our word 'festival' (see, for instance, 1 S 304). In Arabic the verbal form of this root is used also transitively, signifying 'to visit' a shrine. How familiar the idea of pilgrimage was to the ancient Arabs is shown by the fact that Ḥaggâqa, al-Ḥajjâj, 'he who is wont to go on pilgrimage,' appears not unfrequently as a proper name; furthermore, madâjâ, which originally meant a pilgrim-route, is used for a route in general, and ḥijâj, 'annual festival,' has become a synonym for 'year.' That the festivals attended by pilgrims could take place only at fixed seasons is obvious; thus the pilgrimages were intimately connected with the calendar, known as the sacred months, that is to say, months during which a universal peace prevailed, no vengeance could be executed, and even the murderer enjoyed security. How such an institution can have established itself, it is difficult to explain; it has remained a matter of unsolved mystery; in any case it was generally accepted among the Arabs. Its existence is attested by Professor Perz (2, 16), though, of course, we cannot be quite sure that the months to which he refers are precisely the same as those with which the concourse at Mecca was associated. The question is closely connected with the theory of the ancient Arabian calendar, about which some dispute still prevails. Nevertheless, however, that Rajab, the sacred month which stood by itself, which was the favourite season for sacrifices, and seems to have been the proper time for the pilgrimage ('umra) to the Ka'ba, normally fell between the spring and the autumn, is strongly supported by the fact that the great hajj took place, coincided with the autumn. Similarly, we learn from Nonnosus, who lived during the first half of the 6th cent., that two annual festivals were celebrated in the sacred palm-grove, which is probably to be identified with the grove described by Agatharchides (see above, p. 666), but is nowhere mentioned in Arabic literature.† At the beginning of the hajj a man who belonged to a certain family renowned for skill in such matters solemnly inaugurated the Feast of Pilgrimage by kindling a fire to contain an intercalary month or not; in this manner the calendar was fixed annually. But the methods employed by the Arabs were of a cruelly empirical kind, and hence, as we might have expected, their year was gradually shifted within a tolerable extent.‡ The pilgrims, who came to the festival from far and near, all wore a peculiar but very simple costume, known as the iyârûm, and abstained from shaving their heads until the ceremonies were over. It would seem that washing also was forbidden—a privilege which most of the Arabs probably did not feel very keenly. Among certain tribes it was the rule that no one might enter a house by the door so long as he wore the garb of a pilgrim; in other words, during the time of the pilgrimage they dispensed with every sort of shelter; if, however, a man found it necessary to enter his house, he was allowed to creep in at the back (see Sûra li. 185).§ The animals brought by the pilgrims had sandals, strips of plaited bark, and other objects attached to them, in order to show that they were intended for sacrifices. The festival began at 'Arafat on the 9th day of the month of Dhul-bi'bija (i.e. the month of the feast); here the assembled pilgrims made merry with lighted torches and probably with other adjuncts which are not very clearly known to us. From the first day of the pilgrimage, which this applies to the institution even in its Muhammadan form—the proceedings were conducted with much noise and, from a European point of view, without solemnity. On every side were heard cries of 'Labbaka!'; 'At thy service!'; but whether this invocation was addressed by every one to the same deity is uncertain. A little before sunset the whole of the vast throng, on foot or on camels, began to race towards Muzdalifa, a journey of some two hours; here they were joined by the force of a tradition. But how a widely dispersed and altogether uncivilized people, who had no code of law and no social sanctions, could have been induced to suspend their feud for the space of whole months, it seems quite impossible to imagine.

* In the Arabian calendar as given by Ephraemi (Harl. ii. 34), the month called Ḥugāṭ abi'a, i.e. 'pilgrimage to the holy house,' likewise falls to the autumn. According to Ibn Hayyân, the pilgrimage refers, not to the Meccan sanctuary, but to some other sanctuary.

† According to Agatharchides there were three months, of which hēctons of camels were slaughtered, took place every fifth year—a very remarkable statement.

‡ If the adjustment of the lunar months to the solar year had been carried out at all rationally, Muhammad would hardly have conceived the unfortunate idea of imposing upon his followers a purely lunar year without any intercalation whatsoever.

§ Similar naïve attempts to deceive the Deity occur among other peoples.

The grammatical derivation of this term is altogether obscure. Perhaps Professor Buxton is right in suggesting that it may be the Aramaic ḫappûk, 'towards thee (O God)!'
Quraish and their associates the Huns (see p. 668). At Qozah, in the immediate neighbourhood, a fire was kindled. During the night spent at Musalla every one remained awake, and as soon as the sun rose, the assembly started for the valley of Minä, about two hours farther on. On the way the pilgrims, at intervals, threw some pebbles upon a heap of stones. At Minä the sacrificial animals were slaughtered; part of the flesh was consumed by the owners on the spot, and distributed among those who had nothing to offer, while part of it was cut into stripes and dried in the sun for subsequent use. Thereupon the pilgrims shaved their heads, and the festival came to an end.

The practice of kindling lights on the hill of Ibl, the fire at Qozah, combined with the observation of the setting and rising sun as temporal limits, seem to indicate that the festival was held primarily in honour of the Sun-god. Just as the Saracens described by Nils were careful to offer their tribute early to the morning star before it vanished in the brightness of the dawn, so the pilgrims at 'Arafat regulated their proceedings by the sun. But whether the whole march from 'Arafat to Minä was determined by a single plan, having a consistent mythological significance, or whether, as other writers, each individual rite is to be regarded as an integral part of a mythological drama and is capable of being so interpreted by us, appears extremely doubtful, notwithstanding the ingenious theory which has been put forward.

The custom of throwing stones is particularly hard to explain. We have to take into account the fact that ceremonies of the same kind were performed by the Arabs in at least two other places, and occur in existent or extinct parts of the world. The great festival which we have described had gradually thrown all others into the shade. At several places not very far from Mecca, feasts, which originally had a religious character, were celebrated on fixed days in the course of the sacred months; but these assemblies became in process of time little more than fairs, where men came together for purposes of business or pleasure. This applies, in particular, to the fair held at 'Oqä. It must, of course, be understood that the seat of the fair itself was extended far beyond, and other secular objects. The influence of these gatherings extended over a vast area. Thus at the fair of Dhul-majaz, a place some four miles from 'Arafat, peace was concluded about the beginning of the civil war of the Persians; at Thumir, the residence of Mundhir, king of Hira, between the two kindred tribes of Bekr and Taghlib, who had long been deadly enemies, although the town of Hira and the territory of the tribes in question lay far to the north-east of Dhul-majaz.

It is necessary to add that there were certain tribes, not very distant from Mecca, who did not recognize the sanctity of the festivals associated with that city, and even went so far as to plunder the procession of the pilgrims. At the case of the tribe of the farak, who boasts that he slew a pilgrim at Minä in the midst of the festive throng, thus violating at once the holiness of the place and of the occasion, belongs to a somewhat different category, since Muhammad deliberately modified the connexion of the festival with the sun, for he ordered that the departure from 'Arafat should take place soon after sunset, and the departure from Musalla shortly before sunrise.

7. VARIOUS PRACTICES AND BELIEFS.

1. CIRCUMCISION.—The practice of circumcision (q.t.) was universal among the Arabs. Owing to its origin is, it seems highly probable that the rite in the oldest times was connected with religion. In historical times the Arabs regarded circumcision as obligatory, not offering any reason for it except that it had always been associated with it; hence, without any formal sanction, it was adopted into Islam.

2. THE SACRIFICE OF INFANTS.—It is possible that the habit of burying infant females alive, which prevailed very widely, was likewise associated with some crude religious belief. The child may have been originally offered as a sacrifice to subterranean deities. In any case it is important to observe that the victim was slain without shedding of blood. But the real motive for the act, was doubtless that which is assigned in the Qur'an (Sûra vi. 152, xvii. 39), namely, poverty. It is well known that the same cause has led to infanticide in other countries.

3. DEMONS.—In addition to the gods who were publicly recognized, though sometimes half-forgotten, we meet with a great mass of shadowy beings, everywhere present yet nowhere distinctly perceived, the demons or, as the Arabs call them, the Jinn. The name is probably 'covert' or 'darkness'; another form is Jân (pl. Jinnân), to which the Ethiopic Gânân, 'demon,' approximately corresponds. The demons are always, in the main, objects of fear, crafty, mischievous, or evil. For they are considered the acts of light, heat, and cold, and the invisible invaders of the world. The demons, who are regarded by the heathen Arabs as a benevolent seems to have arisen under the influence of Islam, which teaches that at least some of the Jinn are true believers, though they cannot be denied that, even in the pre-Islamic age, certain friendly acts may occasionally be ascribed to them: the Devil himself has moments of good temper, and strict consistency is not to be expected in a world of phantoms. The Jinn are usually invisible, but are capable of assuming various forms, especially those of snakes, lizards, and other creeping things; hence the word Jânn may be used to denote a snake. In this case also two separate ideas have been confounded: on the one hand, that of repulsive animal forms, pertaining to the Jinn; on the other hand, the invisible terrors of the desert. It is related that the Meccan clan of Sa'mah once suffered injuries at the hands of the Jinn, and accordingly marched out to a certain spot, where they proceeded to kill many snakes, beetles, etc., that the Jinn were forced to sue for peace; here the creatures slay are evidently regarded as being themselves Jinn. It was natural to suppose that these demons were appointed punishers of the infidel, to suit their loneliness or for their unhealthy climate. When Harb, the grandfather of the Khalif Mu'awiyah, together with another man, was engaged in clearing a marsh for purposes of cult.
vation, white serpents were seen to fly out of the burning weeds; and when both persons died forthwith, every one perceived that the Jinn had slain them. Perhaps we may hazard the rationalistic conjecture that their death was due to the poisonous air which they had breathing. There are many instances in which the Infant prematurely killed or consumed off human beings; their spiteful nature also leads them sometimes to prevent cattle from drinking. They utter a peculiar sound.* Their limbs are often very powerful; hence a strong man is said to resemble them. Occasionally they ride upon other animals, delighting in the habitation of the pure desert. A brave warrior is described as alarming even 'the dogs of the Jinn,' so that they growl. These are merely samples of the fantastic notions connected with them; as we might have expected, there were equally fantastic devices for the purpose of warding off their influence.

Frequently a Jinni (i.e., one of the Jinn) enters into a human being, rendering him possessed or mad.† But this belief, familiar as it was to the Arabian time, has become, as it appears, originally a foreign importation, or at least to have been greatly intensified through contact with foreigners. In the OT scarcely a trace of such a conception appears, whereas in the NT it is extremely common, phrases like δαιμόνιον, δαίμων, δαίμων, δαίμων, indicating deportation, were introduced from Palestine into Iran. The Persian word for 'madman' is دِعَوَانَا, literally 'demonic' (from دُعُو، originally دَعْوَ, 'demon'), whence comes the Arabic شَكْدآن (from شَكْدَ, which was used as the equivalent of the Persian دَوُ) passed into Persian in the form شکدَه. In pre-Islamic times the Arabs borrowed from their northern neighbours not only many of the elements of civilization, but also beliefs that were fanciful and superstitiously the latter class includes the belief in demonical possession. Even heathen Arabians poets speak of Palmyra as having been built for king Solomon by the Jinn; ‡ in this case the foreign origin of the legend is quite obvious.

The demons frequently use a collective noun in referring to demons; an individual demon has no distinct character, and consequently bears no personal name. To regard Shaitān as a proper name is scarcely permissible. It seems tolerably certain that this word was known to the Arabs before the days of Muhammad, and usually occurs as the name of human individuals; but its form agrees so closely with that of the Ethiopeic shaitān, which is derived from the Heb. שִׁדַּן,‡ which we are forced to translate as 'the demon.' The occasional usage of shaitān for 'serpent' is even less primitive than the use of jinn in the same sense.

Though the Jinn have no individuality, they fall into various classes, and certain of these are sometimes mentioned as particularly harmful. The most dangerous kind of all is the Ghūl (a feminine noun), of which the plural is Ghūlān or Ḡyāhēl; this word comes from a root signifying 'to destroy,' perhaps originally 'to assault.' The Ghūl is supposed to lie in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; she also entices them thither, especially by night. The Ghūl has carried him off' is sometimes merely a poetical expression, 'he has been perished.' She has the power of changing her shape, that is say, of beguiling men in order to destroy them. But

* The word applied to it is ʿasūr, apparently a bare, dull sound; it is also used to denote the changing of a bowstring.
† To be possessed is ʿijāna, and the participles maghāna means 'possessed.'
‡ The idea that Solomon was concerned in the building of Palmyra (Tadmor) is due to an ancient textual corruption in 2 Ch 29, where Tadmor stands for Tāmār (see 1 K 8:2). The demons were brought into the story because the existence of the city seemed too marvellous to be the work of men. From the Hebrew and the Aramaic several religious expressions passed into the Ethiopeic, and this has been developed through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries.

This is by no means the only Arabic word which was borrowed from the Ethiopic.

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usually she is described as a hideous monster. A poet relates how the Ghūl, 'the daughter of the Jinn,' came one night to the fire which he had kindled, and how he cut off her head. It was a frightful object, like the head of a cat, but with a forked tongue; moreover, she had the legs of an infant, and their infantile white skin, and a hairy skin, resembling that of a dog or a rough and crumpled garment. In another poet we meet with the phrase 'arrows sharp as the canine teeth of Ghūl.'

The poets also mention a kind of female demon called Si‘lāt, of which the plural is Sa‘lūt; this term scarcely ever occurs except as a simile, for the purpose of describing swift horses or camels, formidable warriors, and frightful women. A certain Arabian clan was supposed to have sprung from a marriage between a man and a Si‘lāt. Whether this ancestry was originally regarded as an honour or the reverse is doubtful; in any case no great importance can be attached to the story which was related on the subject.

In passages relating to the Jinn we occasionally meet with the expression Ḥabl, Ḥablīt, or some other derivative of the root ḤBL, which primarily means 'to destroy,' and is applied, in particular, to the destruction of the reason, or, in other words, to madness. Usually the term is employed in an abstract sense. It serves to illustrate the occurrence of the being, sometimes the beings so designated are conceived as personal; thus, for instance, a poet says to his wife, 'Leave me in peace, even though I should give away my substance to the Jinn and the Ḥahl.'

The mysterious tribe called Banū Uqaisih seem likewise to be a class of demons. In order to scare them away, it was the custom to rattle a number of dry skin-bottles one against another.*

The demons were never the object of a cult, in the strict sense of the word; but on certain occasions, as, for example, at the building of a house, it was thought prudent to conciliate them with some offering, lest they should frustrate the work.† The curious proper name ʿAbd al-Jinn, 'servant of the Jinn,' may here be mentioned. Whether it was actually in use does not seem quite certain; in any case it cannot have been common.

The belief in this motley assemblage of inferior spirits was, on the whole, maintained by Islam; in fact, the Prophet went so far as to recognize the existence of the heathen gods, classing them among the demons (see Sūra xxvii. 158). Hence these primitive superstitions not only held their ground in Muhammadan Arabia, but were further developed, spread over the rest of the Muhammadan world, and often combined with similar, in some cases much more elaborate, conceptions which prevailed among foreign peoples. Thus later narratives which refer to such subjects may, if examined with due caution, be used to illustrate the ideas of the ancient Arabs; but we must cast an earnest and fearful eye on accepting the testimony of the statements of those Muhammadan scholars who endeavoured to reduce demonology to a system.

4. SOothSAYERS AND MAGICIANS. — The notion that certain persons are under the immediate influence of the gods, and so possess the power of foretelling events or of performing other superhuman feats, prevailed generally in the ancient

Some words which are often understood as referring to demons really have a different sense. Thus zauda's is not a personal being, but simply 'a defilement.' (Sūra xxvi. 39) is an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning, applied to a demon; the edifice is not the seat of a particular class of demons. The belief current in later times, that the ʿAfīrin or ʿAfīrits are demons of a specially dangerous kind, is due to misunderstanding of an early period, through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries.*

Here we have an instance of the so-called 'foundation sacrifice' which is practised in many parts of the world; see, in particular, ZE, vol. xxx.
world. It is certainly significant that the term kḥīn, which, as we have seen (p. 667), retained among the Sinai-Arabs its original meaning of 'priest,' was used by the later Arabs in the sense of 'soothsayer.' In early times the Deity had bestowed revelations to His priests; the divine arrows of Hubal and of other gods—things which, we may be sure, only the ministers of the sanctuary ventured to use—survived as relics of a more primitive age.* In the various stories which refer to soothsayers, we find no other traces of their connexion with the gods properly so called. We are sometimes told, it is true, that a soothsayer or a magician had a 'follower' (tābī'); in other words, a familiar spirit † who occasionally revealed secrets to him, but was not always at his disposal. This spirit seems also to have been called a rā', 'one who is seen,' or perhaps we should translate 'seer,' assuming that the term was originally applied to the soothsayer himself, like the Heb. rā', the ancient word for 'prophet.' The Hebrew synonym ḫāšī has an exact equivalent in the Arabic ḫāšī; 'seer,' 'presager,' 'diviner,' which is often used, as well as the verb corresponding to it.‡ In the same category we may include the ṣārīf, 'sage,' who is acquainted with hidden things, to some extent the ḥāshī, 'physician,' literally 'skilful, well-informed,' who in many cases is an enchanter (rāqī), and even the man whose wisdom qualifies him to act as arbitrator (qākom). The word ṣādīr, 'one who knows,' must in early times have denoted the ḫāshī, 'physician,' or 'skilful.' Seer's sayings inspired by some higher power; afterwards it gradually became the technical term for a poet.§ In general, any one who possesses secret powers is called a sābī, 'magician.' Among the Arabs, as among other nations, the idea of the feminine soul made itself felt; we read both of female soothsayers and female enchanters. A female familiar spirit (rā'īya) is likewise mentioned.

Arabic literature contains many stories about kāhīna and many utterances which were attributed to them; but of all these only a very small proportion can be considered trustworthy, and a greater number are inventions in later writers. Nevertheless the passages in question enable us at least to form an idea of the style in which the soothsayers expressed themselves; the same style re-appears in the oldest chapters of the Qurān. The sorcerer of his time and the soothsayers embodied by Muhammad to a far higher level. He felt in himself an inspiration which proceeded from the one true God. But if he had not had before him the example of the heathen kāhīna, it is hard to believe that any such idea would have entered his mind; on the other hand, we cannot wonder that his prosaic fellow-citizens called him a soothsayer, a magician, and a "possessed poet." Nor is it impossible that his more fervent rival, Maslama ibn Ḥabīb of the tribe of Ḥanīfa, was likewise sincerely convinced of his own divine inspiration.¶

5. OMENS.—The belief in signs as betokening future events was, of course, no less common among the Arabs than among other nations. Some birds were regarded as lucky, some as unlucky. The animals that crossed a man's path and the direction in which they moved alike conveyed a meaning which hatfa has in this connexion remains obscure. One peculiar art consisted in scaring birds and drawing omens from their flight; this operation was known as ṣayr. Various other omens and signs might be enumerated, but such beliefs and practices do not properly belong to the domain of religion, and it is therefore sufficient to notice them in passing.

6. THE SOUL.—The Arabs, like all other Semites, identified the breath (nafs) with the principle of life, or the soul.* So completely did nafs convey, from the earliest times onward, the idea of human personality, that the word is used, with the addition of the possessive suffix, as an ordinary reflexive pronoun: nafsī, 'my soul,' means 'myself'; nafṣakā, 'thysel'; līnafṣikī, 'for himself,' etc.† When the nafṣ permanently quits a man, death is the result; but the words of the Qurān (43, lxxv.) 'the bodies of the souls to Himself when they die, and those who have not died (He takes) in their sleep,' presuppose the belief that during sleep also the soul is absent from the body.‡ It is true that the conception of the 'breath' as the principle of life does not harmonize very well with the theory that the life resides in the blood (see above, p. 665). But this latter view is much less popular among the Arabs than it was among the Israelites, and when the nafs of a woman was particularly mentioned in this sphere that the mysterious depth of the feminine soul made itself felt; we read both of female soothsayers and female enchanters. A female familiar spirit (rā'īya) is likewise mentioned.

* Cf. 1 S 307 etc.
† Hence any man noted for his intelligence is supposed to have a tābī', who reveals all manner of things to him.
‡ The root is no longer employed by the Arabs in the simple sense 'belonging to' even in Hebrew this usage is confined to the poetical and rhythmical style.
§ The connexion between poetical inspiration and the unseen world was not lost in later times, though in allusions which a poet makes to his 'demons' or 'Satan' are little more than jests. A very primitive stage in the development of this idea is represented by the stories of Nu 'Sāsā, Goldscheider, Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie, i. (Leiden, 1899) pp. 1-305.
¶ In the Muhammadians he was contemptuously called Musālīmā, i.e. 'little Muslama.'

One must partly account for the fact that his adherents were the only Arabs who displayed real courage and stubbornness in contending against Islam.

* The Ethiope nafṣ, 'that which contains the nafs (breath, life)' means the living human body (cf. animus, anima, etc.).
† The Arabic proper denotes the 'breath' only; its use in the sense of 'spirit' was unknown to the heathen, and when employed it is to be regarded as one of the foreign religious terms which were introduced by Islam.
‡ The corresponding forms are similarly used in Hebrew and Aramaic.

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†† The common phrase mode nafsā anfiṣū, 'he died a natural death,' similarly refers, it would appear, to a healthy breath, since the 'nose' (anfiṣ) is here associated with the idea of 'dying' (māṣa); but the special meaning which nafsā has in this connexion remains obscure.
††† See the Commentary on the Naqqāl of Jarir and al-Paradazq
These words, however, are probably to be taken as nothing more than a statement, based on ordinary experience, that the severing of the head puts an end to life, not as the expression of an idea opposed to the deeply-rooted popular belief which has been described above (see also footnote, p. 671). In reading the Qur'an we might be tempted to construe the words just as translated, and have concluded that the departure of the nafs as equivalent to annihilation; but in reality all that Muhammad's opponents denied was the novel, and to their minds absurd, doctrine of the resurrection and the other world.

The Arabs down to the 19th century commonly expressed it of course, vaguer, than the notions of Homer's fellow-countrymen as to the ψυχη. Nevertheless in an elegy composed upon his death the ancient formula occurs, 'May Shanfara be not far away'; the usual invocation addressed to the dead, 'Be not far away!' does not admit of any satisfactory interpretation, unless it presupposes the belief that the dead had a dwelling-place, and might be induced by entreaty to remain in the neighbourhood of his people. It is true that the formula in question dates from a period when such things were more vividly conceived. Sometimes we meet with substances of the following kind: 'May I say, when they bury me, 'Be not far away!' but what place can then be far away, if mine is not?'

Nothing seems to the Arabs more obvious than that blood must be expiated by blood. Hence one may address a slain beloved one, 'Sacrifice a shadd, the thirsts of the murderer'. These phrases must originally have been understood in quite a literal fashion; whence we may conclude with certainty that some sort of life was ascribed to the departed. On this subject strange fancies are disseminated. The soul of the murdered man is represented as appearing in the form of an owl, and as continually crying out, 'Give me to drink!' until vengeance had been executed. It must be remembered that the scene of the murder was, in most cases, a lonely spot where the weird cry of the feathered anchorite would not be out of place. The term applied to the departed is hāma, properly 'skull', the skull being the most characteristic part of the dead body; it is the voice of the departed.

The substitution of a blood-wit (dīyāt) for blood-revenge is a later modification. But in historical times the blood-wit had become very common; well-disposed persons eagerly furthered the device for maintaining peace, often at disastrous expense. Nevertheless it was not considered quite honourable (i.e. for camels or other animals that could be milked) instead of blood.

In reality, of course, the thirst for blood is felt by the surviving relations. The daughter of the slain man, Umm-Duraid the Simma, who was miserably slain by a Muslim just after the battle of Hunafā' (a.d. 630), says in a poem, 'When we march against them, may He (i.e. Allah) give us the blood of the noblest ones on the day of battle! ' This is evidently meant, but we can scarcely doubt that the phrase was coined at a time when men actually drank the blood of the slain enemies, partly in order to quench the burning thirst for vengeance, and partly to abate the strength of the vanquished. It must not be forgotten that, after the battle of Ubayt, Hind bint 'Otha, a woman of remarkable intelligence, gave to her fallen enemy Hamza, who in a previous battle, at Bedr, had had the aid of two companions killed him with his own sword, and her sword. Perhaps this use of hāma may be partly due to the notion that in the head, as the poet says, is the 'greater part' of the man, an expression which refers not to the brain, but to the external organs of sensation.
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fitting the departed is sufficiently obvious from the usage of modern Europe.*

The belief which exists among many primitive races, that the dead are malevolent, and seek to injure the living, is one of which no traces are to be found among the Arabs.

VI. MORALS.

It is almost superfluous to say that the Arabs had a generally recognized code of morals, which, we must admit, did not always reach a very high ethical standard. Some of Hindu origin, it is contained in the maxims, which the poets repeat in various forms, that the misuse of strength leads to calamity; † there are likewise narratives which inculcate the same doctrine. Moreover, the poets sometimes bring the Deity into immediate connection with the fulfillment of duties, for instance, as vindicating the sanctity of compacts. But in general it may be said that the maintenance of morality was due much more to respect for traditional usages and public opinion than to fear of Divine wrath.

LITERATURE.—L. Krehl, Die Religion der vorislam. Araber, Leipzig. 1852; M. Wellhausen’s Reise arab. Hindustans (= Steine u. Vorarbeiten, drittes Heft), Berlin, 1887 [1st ed. 1877]. Much of value was also published by the Oriental Society of the University of Edinburgh, 1889 (2nd ed. 1941), and in the works of Ignatius Goldschmied, esp. his Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie, erster Theil, Leipzig. See also 1859-1909 in the works cited in the body of this article. The present writer cannot recommend D. Nielsen’s Die altara. Mondreligion, Strassburg, 1898.

TH. NÜDEKER.

ARAKH.—A tribe of cultivators and field-labourers in Northern India, of Dravidian origin, which at the Census of 1901 numbered 76,456, practically all of whom are found in the United Provinces. They claim to be Hindus, but their religion is really an advanced form of animism, and they are never initiated into any of the orthodox sects. Their tribal goddess is Devi, whom they propitiate by a shower of goats, the service being done by a class of Brahmins of low rank. They observe the usual Hindu feasts, and at that of the Kavī Chath in October-November their women worship the moon by pouring water on the ground in the form of a conch. An earthen pot with gravel is burnt in Central India, as in the United Provinces, they are not assisted in their domestic worship by Brahmins, and their worship is chiefly devoted to a snake god whom they call Kartal Deo.

ARAMEANS.—See SYRIANS.

ARANYAKAS.—The Aranyakas literature of the Hindus holds a position intermediate between the Brähmanas and the Upanishads; in a formal and technical sense supplementary to the Brähmanas, but sharing generally the themes and subject-matter of the Upanishads, in which their turn are appended to or form a part of the Aranyakas (see art. UPAṆIṢĀDAS). These treatises are not stupidly inspired Scripture. The name indicates either that they were composed in the forest (aranyas) by the hermits who devoted themselves there to a life of seclusion and meditation, or that they were intended to be there read and studied. They are called the Indian view.

* The outburst of popular indignation which proved fatal to the victorious commanders after the battle of Arägnas shows that, near the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., notwithstanding the rationalistic doctrines of the Sophists, still adhered to the belief that funeral rites were of great importance to the dead. From the same standpoint we must regard the conduct of Antigonus; it is not merely a formal expression of piety.

† For example, one poet says, ‘Those who gaze on the posture of iniquity are smitten with pithlessness.’

Skṣyā on the Tatțātirīya Arāṇyaka: ‘The rule is that this

Perhaps both are correct. Strictly speaking, also, each Brähmana had its own Aranyakas, just as each śakha, or school of Vedant teaching, had its Brähmana; and the Aranyakas was completed and supplemented by a corresponding Upaniṣad.

This accepted classification of the Sanskrit sacred literature is not unconnected with the theory of the four āramanas (see art. ĀSrama). The Brähmanas were the text-books of the Brähman householders, upon which he relied for the due performance of his obligations as grahastha. Later in life, during his retirement, the Deity, on the contrary, is admitted to the stadium as vānaprastha, he devoted himself to the study of the Aranyakas, as sanctioned and adopted in the śakha to which he belonged.*

It has been shown that the Aranyakas literature in general is chronologically of more recent date than the sanikhidas of the Veda, which are known to it essentially in the form in which they have come down to us; and that it is later also than the Brähmanas. On the other hand, the greater part at least is anterior to the period of the śrutis, to positions, and the character and style of which the more recent portions of the Aranyakas approximate.

Pāṇini † is said to be unacquainted with them; but in this instance the supposed ignorance may be only a figure of speech.

The extant Aranyakas belong to the Rigveda and the Sāmaveda. There are no known Aranyakas of the Atharvaveda.

The Ātītayoga Aranyakas of the Rigveda is described as a distinct and separate treatise, not forming a part of the Alt. Brähmanas. It consists of five divisions, or aranyakas, of which the last two are ascribed to the authors Ādvayana and Śaunaka, and are written in a later style, suggesting the peculiar features of the āra. literature. Chapters 4-6 of the second aranyakas form the Uparjanapada. The first aranyakas detail the rules for the morning, mid-day, and evening offerings in the maṇḍala, or great vow day, and the parjanya-gāyana, the ‘procession of cows.’ The first three chapters of the second aranyakas treat of the allegorical significance of the sādān, the spoken word: 1 while in the third part is discussed, quite after the upanibahs manner, the meaning of the letters of the alphabet and their combinations.

The Kaṇḍākōṣa aranyakas also belongs to the Rigveda, but is attached to a different śakha, or school, that of the Kausānikas. It contains fifteen adhyayas, or chapters, some of which are connected with chapters of the Ātītayoga aranyakas. Adhyāya 3-4, according to the usual numbering, forms the Upanīṣad; but their position is said to vary somewhat. The first four chapters of the Upaniṣad had originally existed, and been in circulation apart from the Aranyakas.

Of the Yajurveda two Aranyakas are known, the Yṛhad- aranyakas and the Tatṭātirīya Aranyakas, belonging respectively to the White and Black Yajurveda. The former, the Sarvaparāja śatpāthā Brāhmaṇas, of which it forms the last six adhyāyas or five praṇāpākṣakas of the fourteenth or last book according to the Mahāyāna school; but in the śāstra the first four chapters of the Upaniṣad had been reckoned separately as the seventeenth book. Thus the Upaṇiṣad and the Brāhmaṇas coincide; but the whole of this book in the Madhyā is reckoned also sometimes as considered as the Aranyakas.† The Tatṭātirīya Ar. consists of 10 books or praṇāpākṣaks of which the first are the Aranyakas proper. These books discuss the mantras for various ceremonies, the teaching and Vedic studies of a Brähman, and the offerings to the Fathers. Books vii. to ix. are the Tatīt. Up.; and book x is supplementary, the so-called Mahānākṣāya Upaniṣad. The style and contents seem to betray a comparatively late date.**

aranyakas is for forest-study; it should be studied, therefore, in the forest, etc. (Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 1868, 290; A. B. Keith in J. R. A. S., 1890, 227). Aranyas Upaniṣad, 2: the śatapatha (baṣṭikāha) is to live without the mantras of the Vedas, but to observe the three daily ablutions, to meditate on the Aranyakas, and to recite the Aranyakas and the Upaniṣad’ (Deussen, Schopenhauers, 290, p. 150). Cf. W. Schubart, "Das Upanisatwesen," 110: ‘He who wishes to attain Yoga should know the Aranyakas’; Mahābh. 1,288: ‘this body of the Mahābhārata is truth and immortality; it is . . . like the Aranyakas from the Vedas.’ The last two quotations are in Maxim Muller, pp. 320 n. 2, 315 n. 1. See also E. W. Hopkins, Great Epic of India, New York, 1910, p. 9.

† About the latter half of the section on the Mahāyāna (O. Bohlen)’s attribution to an earlier date. See C. M. Woodhouse, Chronology of India, London, 1859, p. 7; Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, 420.

* The beginning of the Alt. Ar. is in fact a commentary on the Rigvedas (Max Müller, Aranyakas, i. 1, 1869, 215); P. Deussen, Schopenhauers, 290, p. 100 ff.; Max Müller, I.e. Deussen, 211, f.; Max Müller, p. 337 f.; A. B. Keith in J. R. A. S., 1895, 230 ff., who prefers the term śāstra-śakhasa.


** Max Müller, p. 334 ff.; Deussen, p. 213 ff.}
ARBITRARINESS—ARBITRATION


A. S. GHORDEN.

ARBIRARINESS is, according to the popular use of the term, that quality which is ascribed to an act of will (arbitrium), and whatsoever follows from it, not merely in so far as it is free, but in so far as the choice of the individual who wills is not influenced by consideration for others or subject for any law which is not self-imposed. Hence arbitrariness tends to imply capriciousness, irrationality, and an incausal character generally. It must be in this wider sense that the word is employed by critics of the indeterminist theory of the Free Will (wh. see above), when they say that that doctrine implies total arbitrariness of the will.

The theory of the arbitrariness of good, advanced by the Scotists, Occam and Descartes, is the doctrine that good is good because it proceeds from the undetermined will of God, who has chosen and commanded it; a moral act is not intrinsically good. Cf. Windelband, Hist. of Philos. (Eng. tr.) 392, 394.

G. R. T. Ross.

ARBIRATION is an arrangement by which two persons, having a difference, agree to submit it to the decision of a third, and abide by that decision when it has been given. Such an agreement precludes either party from instituting a suit in the ordinary Courts of law on the matter in question; and indeed those Courts are so favourable to arbitration that they will make the submission to arbitration a rule of Court, so that the decision of the third person, called the arbiter or arbitrator, may be enforced at law by either party against the other.

The reasons why induce persons who would otherwise become as litigants to consent to arbitration. As a rule, arbitration is cheaper than a suit at law; (1) that it does not involve the personal hostility caused by legal proceedings; (2) that it is more economical in its cost; (3) that the arbitrator is at liberty to consider the whole circumstances of the matter in dispute and arrived at a conclusion which is the best equitable solution of it; (4) that the arbitrator is a person selected by themselves upon the ground of his special fitness to deal with that matter.

It does not often happen, however, that the two parties at variance are able to agree upon a third who possesses equally the confidence of both. The ordinary form of arbitration is, therefore, the appointment by each party of a different arbitrator, and the appointment by the two arbitrators of a third, or of their conciliation, or of their appointment of an umpire, or of their appointment of a referee. The appointment of an umpire, or of a referee, is the appointment of a person who is not an arbitrator, and whose decision is not enforced at law by either party against the other.

The decision of the arbitrator or umpire, when duly arrived at, is binding upon both parties, and the Courts will not enter upon any inquiry whether it is right or wrong. He draws it up in the form of an award, and, speaking generally, the Courts accept that award as conclusive. There are cases, however, where it may appear to the Court that the arbitrator has been guilty of such negligence or bias as to deprive the parties of the benefits of the principles of justice, as by refusing to hear evidence, or has not brought his mind to the consideration of the subject, or has not disposed of the question reasonably and truly, or has in some other way failed in the due exercise of his functions; and the Court will in such case either refer the matter back to him, or hold that it is not ousted of its own inherent jurisdiction to determine that matter.

For these reasons the parties in their choice of an arbitrator, and the arbitrators in their choice of an umpire, should be careful to select a person who, whether a practising lawyer or not, has a mind imbued with the principles of law, and has some experience in their practical application, as well as an expert knowledge of the definite questions at issue.

In certain cases, in order to avoid the cost of litigation, a recourse to arbitration has been prescribed or authorized by statute. The Savings Banks Acts, the Friendly Societies Acts, the Building Societies Acts, and the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts contain such provisions.

In the case of the Savings Banks, including the Post Office Savings Banks, all disputes between a depositor or other claimant and the Bank are to be settled by the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and the jurisdiction of the Courts of law is thus ousted. As, however, the depositor has no choice in the matter, this is in effect only the creation of another Court having final jurisdiction, and using cheaper and more speedy methods than those of the ordinary Courts. In the other cases the statutes enable a society to provide by its rules that all disputes shall be referred to arbitration, and to define in those rules the manner in which the arbitrators shall be chosen. Where the rules contain such a provision, the jurisdiction of the Courts is much as a rule eliminated, and the arbitrator or other claimant has no other remedy than to avail himself of the arbitration thus provided.

In regard to the trade disputes between employer and employed, which frequently lead to much suffering and loss when pursued by the ordinary Courts of law, various methods of trade arbitration are adopted in the United States in cases of conflict between capital and labour, as when, in the great miners' strike of 1902, President

...
Roosevelt appointed a Board of Arbitration which satisfactorily settled the disputes in question. Some States, as New Jersey, have regularly appointed State Boards of Arbitration.

Another still more important development of the principle of arbitration, rich in its promise for the peace of the world, has been the application of this principle to the disputes between nations. Such disputes, even more than those between individuals, are apt to be coloured with local prejudice, amour propre, and all the elements that go to make up the sentiment of patriotism. The difference is only that for the people of one country, party to such a dispute, to appreciate the strength of the cause of the other party, the nation's honour and prestige are thought to be at issue on the result of the dispute; and nothing is easier than to create an unreasonable popular clamour for war. To substitute for the appeal to arms—with all its consequences to both countries in bloodshed, suffering, waste, and demoralization—an appeal to argument and to calm reason is a triumph of civilization. The supersession of the ancients led them to think that the gods would defend the right, and even in Christian times we have seen two hostile armies each appealing to the god of battles for success upon that ground; but, instead, the recourse to war is nothing but a resort to brute force.

An instance in point is afforded by the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. A question arose between those two countries in certain portions of the territories called British Guiana. In 1890 the Venezuelan Government proposed a reference to arbitration on this question, which Great Britain refused. Thenceupon the Government of the United States of America interposed, upon the ground that any hostile action taken by Great Britain against Venezuela would be an infringement of the Monroe doctrine, and President Cleveland took upon himself to appoint a Commission to ascertain the just grounds. The British Government, however, refused to recognize this Commission, a war of words ensued over the United States, and if popular excitement had not in any way, a war between two great and kindred nations would have resulted, with all its horrible consequences, arising out of a matter of no real importance to either. Fortunately, better counsels prevailed, and Great Britain and Venezuela agreed to a reference to arbitration. The result of that arbitration was a concession to Venezuela of territory which Great Britain had more than once offered to that State, and the confirmation in other respects of the contentions of the British Government.

A still more famous instance is that known as the 'Alabama' arbitration. During the Civil War in the United States, resulting in the death of so many of the citizens of both the United States and the Confederate States and in the destruction of a vessel built at Birkenhead, which was allowed to leave England and made a voyage to the United States, in defiance of the United States Government, the United States ambassador had complained to the British Government of the breach of neutrality involved. The British Government replied that it had no such orders, and that the vessel in question had been under the charge of a British officer. Then British vessels were refused permission to enter American ports, and the war between the two races kindred nations would have resulted, with all its horrible consequences, arising out of a matter of no real importance to either. Fortunately, better counsels prevailed, and Great Britain and Venezuela agreed to a reference to arbitration. The result of that arbitration was a concession to Venezuela of territory which Great Britain had more than once offered to that State, and the confirmation in other respects of the contentions of the British Government.

The government prevented the celebration of the Supper and the Agape at night, and compelled the observance of the former in connexion with the open preaching of the word in the daytime, and perhaps the gradual abandonment of the latter. The catechumens were then dismissed before the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and the rite of baptism continued by itself. The catechumenate afforded a period of probation. In the first part of it the candidates were instructed in the general principles of religion. It was just before their baptism that they were instructed in the mysteries of faith. Thence was derived the doctrine of the Trinity which explained the formula of Baptism, were not imparted to them until just before their baptism; and the Lord's Prayer not until afterwards. The example of the heathen Mysteries was felt. Those who had been admitted to the Communion, having gone through the grades of the catechumenate, and having transacted successive renunciations and exorcisms, were spoken of as 'The Initiated.' Finally, it became usual to regard the full members of the Church as excluded from the Episcopal Church, due to the necessity of opposing its authority to the Gnostic sects and their teachings. The rites of the Church were thought to have no validity apart from the bishop; and those performed by them were invested with mysterious awfulness. To this conception of Divine worship, Roman Catholic writers have joined the notion of a secret tradition of doctrine from the first Apostles, to the present time, teaching of the NT. To this tradition they ascribe, for instance, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and also the reverence for images and for the saints.

This Secret Discipline, beginning about A.D. 175, was in vogue until the end of the 6th century. Its features may, perhaps, be best set forth by the following quotations from Fathers and teachers of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Text. (Prescr. Hort. xiii.) 'To begin with, it is doubtful who is a catechumen and who a believer; they have all access alike, and if the same things are allowed to be said to one and to the other, they happen to come among them. That which is holy they will cast to the dogs; and their pearls, although (to be sure) they are not real ones, they will fling to the swine. They have to consist in the overthrow of discipline, attention to which on our part is that which we have received delivered to us in "a mystery" by the tradition of the Apostles; and both of these in relation to true religion have the same force.'

In a note in Nicea Fathers, vol. viii. p. 41 Am. ed., Photius is quoted: 'In this work Eulogius (Palaeologus of Alexandria 579-607) says that of the doctrines (oιδηωνα) handed down in the church by the ministers of the word, some are αποτελματα, and others εισεργοι. The distinction is made between concealment and prudence, and are often designedly passed with obscurity, in order that holy things may not be exposed to profane eyes or ear. The mysteries are either κερνετα, on the other hand, are announced without any concealment.'

For we are not,' Basil continues, 'content with what the Apostle or the Gospel has recorded, but both in preface and conclusion we add other words as being of great importance to the validity of the ministry, and these we derive from unwritten teaching. Moreover, we bless the water of baptism and the oil of chrism. It is true that the Saint Martin Martyr describes the worship of the Church, and the fact that the followers of Marcion had not the practice, show that it was not usual before the third quarter of the 2nd century.'

There is no reason to suppose that the celebration of the Holy Supper by the congregations in Apostolic times was virtually private. Danger of persecution led to concealment of the Christian assemblies and rites. The measures of the Roman
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who laid down laws for the Church from the beginning thus guarded the awful dignity of the mysteries in secrecy and silence, for what is bruited abroad at random among the com-
mons. This is the reason for our transactions of unwritten precepts and practices, that the knowledge of our dogmas may not become neglected and connived at by the multitude of the laity. "Dogma" and "Rergy" are two distinct things: the former is observed in silence; the latter is proclaimed to all the world.

Our Lord, who together with the Holy Ghost from the beginning thus guarded the awful dignity of the mysteries in silence, was brought up in the Due Conformity of the Old Testament, as is known in the interpretation. But this is not the point we are endeavoring to establish. We do not presume to shroud the evidence in silence, and then, in the spirit of the conversion of the Empire and the prevalence of Infant Baptism, the old catechumens of adults fell away, the Disciplina Arcani ceased to be, although in the Greek Liturgy the distinction between a Missa Catechumenorum and a Missa Fuldecium is still marked by pros and cons to all the catechumens to go out of the church.

LITERATURE.—Art. on "Archaischpel" in PREP (v. Zesch-witz) and PRP (Bonwetsch). 'Disciplina Arcani' in the Dict. Catechumenorum, Harzmann, D. F. (1890); Gemeindelehrer-
dienst im apostol. u. altskathol. Zeitalter (1854), esp. pp. 3-60; Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Images upon the Christian Church (1898), pp. 293-308; John Dallassch, Die griech. Quellen des Verherrlichens der Inneren Weisheit im Mittelalter der Frühzeit (1898); Adam Joseph von Bingen, Anecdota Christiana in der Liturgie (1890); W. Scholz, Denkschriften der katholischen Kirche (1890); also a number of other works, which I refer the reader to in my Disciplina arcana (1893); R. L. Poole, Theology and the Church. (1894); A. Schleider, Der Einfluss des Christentums auf die christliche Liturgie (1894); Horn, Outlines of Liturgy on the Basis of Harnack's Text, 1894.

EDWARD T. HORN.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—I. Archæology is a descriptive science, dealing with the interpretation of the remains of past phases of human civilization. Etymologically, the name denotes the study in general of 'origin,' 'original' (originis, 'original'), and strictly it implies that the remains which it studies are interpreted as members of an original or developmental series, irrespective of their nearness to the present time. Popularly, however archæology is restricted to mean the 'study of antiquity,' and is understood to mean the interpretation, either, generally, of all the available evidence for past phases of civilization (in which sense it includes formal 'history' among its subdivisions); or more particularly, of such evidence as is furnished by the material remains of human handiwork. In the latter and commoner sense, archæology stands alongside formal history, which is concerned with the interpretation of documents; and it is to be regarded essentially as the study of objects which, though not contemplated only in so far as it may be possible to test interpretation (e.g. of the evidence for an obsolescent mode of manipulation) by re-constituting now the presumed conditions of the ancient process, so as to attain an analogous result.

It is only in its wider signification that archæology comes into contact with the study of religion or ethics. Ancient technology and ancient aesthetic, considered specially, occupy their own domain apart. But there are few, if any, religions which have not prompted the production of monuments, ornaments, utensils, and other ritual accessories; or, in other words, decoration of the instruments of daily life. And as these material expressions of religious ideas, once produced, are capable of preservation independently of their makers, they may, and often are, the only evidence which has been preserved of the religion of an extinct race whose beliefs and traditions have perished with it.

2. Archeological evidence may establish the occurrence of an act or a custom within assignable limits either of (a) space or of (b) time. (a) To prove the distribution of an occurrence in space, the method of archæology is geographical. The instances which have been observed are tabulated in their geographical context, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary may be presumed to have a continuous distribution over the intervening areas. Such evidence to the contrary would be supplied inter alia by diversity of physical circumstance, exempting humanity locally from the need, or the inducement, to act in the manner presumed; or by evidence locally of other human observances inconsistent with the act or custom in question. The quality, as well as the quantity, of evidence requisite to give archæological proof varies almost indefinitely. But in general, quantity is incomparably more cogent than quantity, and positive evidence than negative: a single really well-authenticated occurrence (e.g. of an object of human manufacture or of recognized style in a given area), not only supplies the contradictory instance, but all negative generalities, but gives a positive though indefinite presumption that further instances exist. This characteristic, archæology shares with all branches of knowledge which are concerned with discontinuous series; the area actually open to inspection is at the same time an arbitrarily assigned, and so small a proportion of the whole, that the probable value of every positive instance is in any case somewhat greater, and of every negative instance somewhat less, than it would be in a region of which the large area is known.

This theoretical consideration is in the main confirmed by a retrospect of the archæological work of the last century. As in geology, a very small number of well-selected data from small areas isolated from each other, and indicated by accidental circumstances, have permitted a hypothetical re-construction of the human culture of wide regions, which subsequent evidence, more copious, continuous, and cogent logically, has done little if anything to modify, or even to confute. The archæological work of the last century, in which our complete confidence is placed, was an exercise of archæological imagination, the theoretical basis of which is a tacit recognition that the evidence which we actually possess is, in most cases, the only evidence which we shall ever possess, and that we must surmise the whole of what is missing from the evidence, and as far as we can, supply the gaps in our evidence from the best possible analogues. The work of the last century was done by men who had no wish to imagine, but who, having deliberate wishes to fill gaps in the evidence, were, perhaps, more ready to imagine than the men of our own time. There is no reason to expect that the imagination of our time will not be more accurate than that of the last century; and the work of the last century was, indeed, done by men of great sagacity and with many qualifications which the men of our time have lost.
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cance (such as the monuments of a hated ruler or an alien creed) disappearing most readily, and causing the most serious breaks in the record.

(2) To prove the distribution of similar occurrences in time, or the sequence of dissimilar occurrences, archaeology depends, again, like geography, upon the comparison of the remains from the same locality or indirectly, comparison of style. The latter method, however, gives, strictly speaking, a series which is only morphological, not historical; it is evidence of change, not of development; and in many cases such a series is capable of being read in either direction, since no precise criterion exists to distinguish immaturity from decadence. When doubt arises from this cause as to which is the initial end of a series, recourse must be had in the long run to the evidence of stratification; but the results obtained can frequently be con- structed if it is possible to correlate a number of concurrent series.

For example, on a given site, a large number of tombs may be found containing pottery, metalwork, stone-work, and other manufactures, of varying design. There is a probability that the tombs represent burials of a consider-
able number of generations. The pottery, weapons, and so forth, form morphological series, independent but approximately concurrent; i.e., phase $D$ of the pottery is always found with phases $e$ or $e$ of the metal-work; phase $D$ always with phases $p$ or $q$ never with $o$ or $r$. In these circumstances, clear evidence as to the direction of the change, or where any one series is to be read biologically is conclusive for the remainder, and for the culture as a whole; and such evidence would be supplied if any one kind of object began to appear suddenly and copiously as a useful implement at $k$, for example, and was replaced by the phases of less frequent occurrence for a time, or forms, or materials, or otherwise clearly imitative. If these after-types occur at $z$, it, and after, the historical order of the whole series is from $k$ to $z$; if at $j$ and before, the order is from $z$ to $a$.

It is, of course, often the case that a purely morphological series is concurrent at one or more points with another series which belongs to a "historic" civilization, that is, to one in which the relative antiquity of each phase can be represented by an "absolute" or chronological date. In these circumstances alone is it possible to deter-
mine the actual rate of technological progress, and thereby of other elements of a civilization.

Such cases of contact between concurrent series representing the civilizations of different areas or régimes can only show valid contemporaneity when the proof is bilateral.

ARCHITECTURE.

American (L. H. Gray), p. 683.
Celtic (G. Dottin), p. 692.
Chinese (Chiu Tao Tung), p. 693.
Etruscan and Early Italian. — See Art (Etruscan).
Greek (J. B. Stoughton Holborn), p. 726.
Hindu (Vincent A. Smith), p. 740.
Japanese. — See Architecture (Shinto).

ARCHITECTURE (Egean). — Of the architect-
ure in Greece lands before the true Hellenic architecture appeared upon the scene we know com-
paratively little, but even that little is great com-
pared with our almost entire ignorance of the subject a generation ago. The account of the great

In locality A, for example, a group of objects of diverse styles are found together as the result of a single act of deposition, such as a burial, or the laying of a foundation stone. In such a case, obviously one must compose the group can be of a later date of manufacture than the date of its deposition in that group. On the other hand, any of them may have been of an inscrutable age already, at the moment of deposition. External evidence (of custom, craftsmanship, and the like) alone decide in each case whether the indigenous objects as included in the find-group fairly representative of the culture $A$, at which it has been ascertained that the group was deposited in the place where it was found. Now, if this find-group at A contains, not only indigenous objects but of relative date $a$ in the series characteristi of this locality A, then among the number of objects $b$, the circumstance (otherwise demonstrated) that the object $b$ is of the relative date $b$ in the series characteristic of the phase $a$, to which the group as a whole belongs, is contemporary with phase $b$, but not that it is of any later date; for the object $b$ may have been of any age as yet at the moment of its deposit at A. If, however, a single object of origin $a$ and date $a$ is found at B with objects of origin $b$ and date $b$ in the Beries, then by the same reasoning $a$ is not of later date than the objects $b$, with which it has been found. And if so, the proof is complete, that $a$ and $b$ are contemporary; for it was already known that an object $b$ could not be of later date than $a$.

It is a matter of accurate observation to determine whether in any given case it is certain that the exotic object was really deposited contemporaneously with the rest of the find-group, and not intruded into it at some later time.

3. The combination of evidence derived from distributions in space and sequences in time gives archeological proof of the transmission of new characters from one centre of civilization to another.

A character $z$ which has already appeared at phase $y$ in series (or region) A does not necessarily appear at the same phase $z$ in series (or region) A; it is absent, moreover, from series C until phase $k$. Here alternative interpretation characterizes the character, the character may have been introduced from A to B, or it may have arisen spontaneously also at B. At C, moreover, it may have arisen spontaneously, or have been introduced directly from A; or in addition, it may have been introduced directly from B, and only indirectly from A; or in addition, it may be increasing directly with that of the series or regions in question. The conclusive proof of direct transmission is given only when, in addition to objects of chronological strata of the archetype at A, but of demonstrably local origin, B yields an object which demonstrably originated at A. Such proof is furnishes most clearly by unmediated evidence supplied by the physical composition of the object; e.g., knives of an unusual style but made of bronze occur on an island B which yields copper and tin but not iron; there is no adequate proof that these are not due to indigenous invention. But if there occurs also at B a knife of the same style but made of iron, and iron knives of exactly this exotic style are also found in an accessible iron-yielding area, the probability becomes very strong that the knife found at B is exotic, and the proto-
type of the bronze examples, which differ from it only in being of indigenous manufacture. However, the conclusive only when it is shown that bronze, or this particular variety of bronze, was not in use at A. Otherwise there is still the possibility that the bronze knife may have been imports from A or from some other region C which culturally is dependent on A.

JOHN L. MYERS.
very existence the greatest scholars were sceptical, reads like a fairy story. Since then a longer series of excavations, carried out with greater and greater scientific precision throughout the whole Egean area, has provided for us a mass of material which it will probably require the scholarship of many years to analyze and reduce to any systematic conclusions so that yet no conclusions can be more than tentative.

This pre-Hellenic architecture can hardly be considered the parent of Greek architecture: its influence was on the whole smaller than might have been expected, and the fine balance between primitive and developed, which serves to emphasize the originality and independence of the Hellenic style that came after. It is convenient to term this architecture and the civilizations to which it belonged ‘Egean,’ as it flourished not only in Greece itself but throughout all the coasts and islands of the Egean Sea. But, at the same time, although there is a certain continuity of development with no decided break, such as exists between itself and the architecture of the Hellenes, it is nevertheless marked that these peoples, whatever their race, were all basically agricultural and could not for long remain away from the sea. Their conceptions were developed, it is quite as certain, as the influence of the obisidans, ofMelos, Crete, the Aegean, to Phylakopi. In this very remote era the neolithic remains at Knossos contain obsidian, and Melos is the only known source of obsidian anywhere near the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. Obsidian beads are found in Egypt in the third millennium, which a rough date of the seventh millennium may be assigned, and obsidian flakes occur there some 900 years or so later. By the time of the foundation of the first city at Phylakopi the trade with the north, which rendered these fortifications necessary. They apparently first made their appearance upon the mainland, and worked their way southward, the cities of the Mediterranean time of Crete remaining unwalled, probably on account of that very sea power. The great brick city of Troy, the second in the series, already shows this type completely developed, and its final destruction must have been at least as early as B.C. 2000. The second city at Phylakopi is of this type, and it was probably founded somewhere about B.C. 2000, reaching its remains, and to the other arts, and begins to show signs of decadence while they are still in some ways advancing. It may seem strange to sum up a period, running into many hundreds of years, as though there were a single style throughout the whole of our knowledge, particularly in the extreme uncertainty of the chronology, some such simplification is necessary if lengthy controversial matter is to be excluded. Very approximately it may be said that the architecture was at its finest at a time ranging round the 17th century B.C. But certain broad general characteristics may be noticed. The materials and construction used seem to have differed very considerably locally, such intractable material can be seen at Phylakopi, and limestone, gypsum, brick, all show in other places; and varying from the roughest blocks, hardly shaped at all, to the finest jointed masonry, such as we see at Phaistos or in the walls of the great megaron at Knossos. Even early in the period there is good sound work with headers and out almost as scattered groups of buildings, yet in the main preserving a certain parallelism of plan, although they do not seem to be arranged along definite street lines. The building is rough rubble work of comparatively small stones built with clay and mud, and plastered over with the same; lime mortar is not yet used. So far there are no signs of any religious buildings, and indeed throughout the whole of the Egean development there seems to have been hardly anything of the nature of religious architecture. This is one of the essential contrasts between the religious buildings of the Egean and those of its Greek successors. The religious buildings were of such marvellous excellence and occupied so prominent a place in their style. The nature of the architecture, however, is of importance for the purposes of this article, as it is necessary to grasp both the resemblances and the differences between the architectural principles of the two styles, in order fully to understand the position of Greek religious architecture in the history of the art.

(3) A third architectural stage is reached roughly about B.C. 2000 when a closer system of town building, generally although not necessarily fortified, is adopted. It is marked by an elaborate system of street planning, with a distinct preference for rectangular rather than convergent systems. There is a very considerable advance in the art of building, with a regular drainage system beneath the streets. We find lime beginning to be used. There are great walls and fortifications, and the towns in the generality of cases are no longer open. The probable cause seems to have been pressure from the north, which rendered these fortifications necessary. There apparently first made their appearance upon the mainland, and worked their way southward, the cities of the Mediterranean time of Crete remaining unwalled, probably on account of that very sea power. The great brick city of Troy, the second in the series, already shows this type completely developed, and its final destruction must have been at least as early as B.C. 2000. The second city at Phylakopi is of this type, and it was probably founded somewhere about B.C. 2000, reaching its remains. Of the general character of building, it may be said that it passes from a comparatively rude to a highly developed style, and indeed might be divided into periods. But the variations of type are far greater than any purely architectural development. This period is the one that tries to combine the logical aspect, which latter is much more visible in the paintings and the minor arts of pottery. Architecturally, the second city of Troy is more akin to the great sixth city than either is to any period of Knossian architecture. The architecture seems to reach its zenith somewhat earlier than the other arts, and begins to show signs of decadence while they are still in some ways advancing.
stretcher roughly shaped, as at Phylakopi. On
the whole, work on the Greek mainland is rougher
and less carefully finished, the so-called cyclopean
masonry at Tylryns and elsewhere being typical.
This would point to the civilizing influence proceeding
from the south northward. Troy seems to be
somewhat outside the main stream. Its archi-
tecture, particularly its fortifications, is very
advanced, although in other particulars its civilization
seems to be behind the rest of the Aegean.

There is a great tendency from the first to use
rubble for interior walls and for less important
structures. This is faced with plaster and
frequently elaborately painted, as in the fresco
of the Flower Gatherer at Knossos, or the abso-
dutely delightful example of the Flying Fish at
Phylakopi. Another method is to build one or
two courses with great blocks of ashlar masonry
and raise the rubble walls upon the top. In
outside work some such foundation is almost
necessary. In the early second city of Troy,
built mainly of sun-dried brick, there is a sub-
structure of stone to protect the brick from the
wet. Rubble tends to become more common in
later work, and sometimes later rubble walls are
found built upon older stone foundations. The
system may be the origin of the orthostati of
later Greek architecture (q.v.). Sometimes there
is also a projecting plinth, as in the case of the
limestone blocks below the gypsum in the West
Court at Knossos, or the reverse arrangement,
with the gypsum blocks below, on the southern
terrace (fig. 1). This is quite possibly the origin of
another Greek feature, the stylobate [see Archi-
tecture (Greek)]. Another method, which on
account of its material was not likely to survive
to our day, seems to have been something of the
nature of tall timber construction, in which
courses of short lengths of timber set transversely
in plaster across the wall were used at intervals
in the ashlar, or plastered rubble, as the case
might be (fig. 2). There are grounds for sup-
posing that we have the remains of such a course
in the megaron at Knossos. In interiors the ends
of these were masked by rosettes or medallions.
In the last phase of Aegean architecture, the
over the doorway of the so-called Treasury of
Atreus (see p. 688 and figs. 3 and 17).

On the whole it may be said that there is a
distinct architectural decadence which in Crete
becomes obviously marked about the 14th century
B.C. But in the north it seems to be otherwise,
and the masonry continues to improve until a later
date, as, for instance, in the very fine beehive tombs
at Mycenae, which may be not much earlier than
the 13th century. This may be accounted for by
the fact that the artistic impulse spread from the
south. Hence the north would be longer in develop-
ing; and, on the other hand, a northern subjugation
of Crete, which seems to be probable, would have
greatly arrested progress there.

The spanning of openings seems in most instances
to have been with timber lintels, and in early work
the stones are not even gathered over above.
Stone lintels, however, were sometimes used. The
jambs of doors were very commonly of stone, and
in later work certainly an inward inclination was
usual, which is very possibly the origin of the same
feature in Greek doorways (figs. 3 below and fig. 8.
Architecture [Greek]). Windows, as contrasted
with Greek architecture, seem to have been of
frequent occurrence. They appear to have had
timber lintels, jambs, and sills, and we may notice
a remarkable anticipation of the modern window
in the division into 'panes' of which we have
clear evidence in tablets found at Knossos (fig. 3).
The nature of the filling is unknown; it may
have been oiled cloth or parchment, and is indicated
in red colour on the tablets. Timber seems to have played a large part in
the construction, especially in the columns, which
were commonly of wood, although with bases of
stone. The columns, and generally the bases, were
circular in form, and it is noticeable that the col-
umns tapered towards the lower end (figs. 4 and 12),
the exact contrary of columns in Greek architecture.
The taper, however, is generally exaggerated in
drawings. The charred remains of actual columns
were found both at Knossos and at Phaistos. Stone
examples of similar shape but of much later date
occur at Eleusis and Mycenae. They were treated with different kinds of fluting as ornaments, sometimes vertical, sometimes diagonal (fig. 4), and this may even have suggested the Doric flute. The anta was used both in stone and in wood, and is possibly the prototype of that feature in Greek architecture. It is interesting to notice that when stone columns were used they were almost always square in section, especially in early work, as in the case of the Northern Portico at Knossos, the so-called 'pillar rooms' at Phylakopi, and at Knossos both in the palace and in houses outside. They are also of rectangular shape in the court at Phaistos, and by the N. entrance at Knossos, and even in the megaron itself, although there they are recessed. This is important in view of the discussion regarding the origin of the Greek column [see Architecture (Greek)]. The inter-columns were wide, and the architrave apparently was a wooden beam upon which the upper masonry rested.

In spite, however, of the use of wood, it does not seem to have been used for floors. The floor joists were of circular logs of wood, and above these was laid clay, and upon that a fine hard cement or a pavement. On the ground floor cement seems to have been the favourite material for exterior work, and is often laid over paving; but in interiors fine gypsum slabs are not uncommon. The ceilings, where there was no floor above, were in all probability of thick reeds covered with plaster. Remains of plaster have been found at Phylakopi, clearly showing the shapes of the reeds embedded in the plaster (fig. 5).

The plans are in almost all cases characterized by numerous offsets, angles, and returns in the outer walls, which must have given a most delightful effect of light and shade to the complete elevation, and which are carried out with a lofty indifference to the extra work that they must have entailed (figs. 6, 8, and 9). Where fortifications occur, an arrangement may also be noticed by which the entrance is guarded by a complicated and circuitous means of approach, as at Syros and Siphnos, and which attains its fullest development at Tiryns (fig. 8, E). This seems to have been due to northern mainland influence, and gradually to have spread southward. The buildings of greatest importance were the palaces of the kings, which show in almost all cases a remarkable complexity of plan; but there are certain marked variations. Both in the north and in the south there is a distinct parallelism in the arrangement, but the Cretan plan is more regular and conceived more definitely as an artistic whole. The equal balancing of the main masses about a central court is also a southern feature. In the north this is less obvious, and the court partakes more of the nature of a fore-court, and is surrounded by a colonnade. The greater regularity is doubtless mainly because in the islands the question of fortification was of minor importance. In the north the buildings were castles as well as palaces. But there is also a difference in the artistic motif that cannot thus be explained. The northern plan tends to rooms comparatively square in shape; the Cretan type is long and narrow. The difference is most noticeable in the small chambers and magazines, which are very characteristic features of the style (figs. 7, 8, and 9), but it holds good throughout, and is true even of the great halls. Tiryns and Knossos, the finest examples and the best known, may be taken as typical (figs. 8 and 9). The fortress of Goula or Gl in Boeotia, although northern in its main features, is to some extent an exception, and shows affinities with the southern type. Propylae are common throughout, but here a northern type
can be distinguished which is almost the exact counterpart of the later Greek examples (fig. 10).

**ARCHITECTURE (Ægean)**

Knossos.

**GENERAL PLAN.**

(The magazines are the narrow chambers on the left.)

But the most marked difference between north and south is in the megaron itself. The northern megaron is a broad rectangular chamber with an antechamber and a portico, and contains the hearth in the centre. Above the hearth was probably an opening, and the sides of the opening were normally supported upon four columns which in all likelihood carried a sort of clerestory admitting light and allowing the smoke to escape. The typical Cretan megaron, on the other hand, has no central hearth, possibly on account of the warmer climate; but it has a feature peculiar to itself in the open chamber at the end of the hall, apparently open to the sky for the admission of light. This "light-well" is found alike at Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada.

The southern type also contains columns which presumably supported the roof; but they are arranged in lines, as the square arrangement around the hearth is unnecessary. Moreover, whatever may have been the case in the north, there is no doubt that in Crete there were halls upon different storeys one above the other.

The northern type, although belonging to the ruder style, eventually superseded the other, and we find it appearing in the south in the late third city at Phylakopi (compare the examples in fig. 11). In this northern type we see a plan closely resembling that of the classical Greek temple; and if it is really the origin of the temple form, it may be considered the most important of the Ægean influences upon later Hellenic architecture.

It is, of course, natural that we should know a great deal more about the plans than the elevations, but we have a certain amount of valuable evidence about the latter. In the south there is no doubt that there were several storeys, and in each storey the column played an important part. As in Spanish architecture, the main architectural features were in the interior, but the deep wells, with their tiers of columns and great staircases, must have produced a fine effect (fig. 12). There is some evidence that columns played a part in the external façade also. In the north, upper storeys, above the megaron, were unlikely because of the hearth.

On the whole, it may be said that the northern influence is much more marked in the temple architecture of Greece than any influence we can trace to the southern types.

The columned storeys rising magnificently one above another are startling indeed, occurring at a date some 18 centuries before Christ, in a European civilization of which we had never previously heard; but the elaborate drainage system is almost equally surprising, finding its parallels only in the beautiful systems of the best work of the Middle Ages, and in those of modern times. Street drains were generally built of stone with large flat slabs above and below, but an open terra-cotta channel sometimes occurs. In small underground drains terra-cotta pipes with a collar were used (fig. 13), whereas in the great palace systems the main drains were well built passages large enough.
to allow of a man entering them for cleaning purposes. Sanitary conveniences were supplied; and if there was not the extensive accommodation that was demanded in the Middle Ages, where in many instances every room has its own separate arrangements, at least there is no reason to suppose that it was less than satisfied the last generation, or than is commonly found on the Continent to-day. The same remarks apply to bath-rooms, which were plentiful, and often elaborately treated. Sometimes there was a sunk bath with steps, sometimes merely a move-

able bath with a channel all round the floor to carry off any splashings.

Such is a very brief description, enough to indicate the highly developed character of the style. When we turn to consider religious architecture, it is obvious that there was little or none, and the main importance from that point of view is the influence exerted upon succeeding styles. Yet there are just a few points that may be noted. We have in the 'pillar rooms' at Knossos and Phylakopi something of obvious religious significance. It does not seem to be necessary to suppose that the pillar was not purely structural in its function,—even a sacred sign upon the top does not preclude the possibility of its supporting other blocks. Many of the blocks of the palaces in Crete are marked with sacred signs, which may be paralleled by the numerous masons' marks upon our own medieval buildings. But there does seem to have been a special sacredness attaching to the pillar form, and in the case of a 'pillar room' in a house at Knossos, a great number, some 200, of little inverted cups were discovered, beneath which were found the charred remains of small vegetable offerings (fig. 14). If we cannot

say that these rooms are examples of religious architecture, it can at least be said that some religious significance was attached to their architecture.

We have also a fresco, mentioned above, which in the light of the secular architectural discoveries of the palaces, admits of interpretation, and seems to represent a temple or shrine (fig. 16). Below we have the great gypsum blocks that we have seen in the palace, and above half timber work with its frescoes on the plaster. The pillars, presumably of wood, are of the usual inverted form of Ægean architecture, and their sacredness is thought to be indicated by the horned cult object set before them. An interesting frieze, resembling that of porphyry-like stone found at Knossos (fig. 15), or the alabaster example from Tiryns, occurs below the central opening. This seems to be

the progenitor of the triglyph frieze of the Doric order. The triglyphs in this instance, judging by the colour, were apparently of wood. There is also indication of the blue glass paste or enamel which occurs at Tiryns—a delightful form of architectural decoration—the κάμμιος of Homer, so long a stumbling-block to the critics. In this connexion may also be noticed some little gold ornaments found at Mycenae, which are also generally supposed to represent a shrine (fig. 16). The lower part is again of ashlar masonry, the upper part is apparently of timber. There are three timber-framed doorways through which appear columns; but it is difficult to say whether they are meant to be within the building or form part of the façade. In front of them are the same sacred horns. The most interesting point is that the central part is higher than the sides, and it certainly does suggest a nave and aisle construction with clerestory lighting. On the other hand, it might equally well represent a lantern rising above the hearth, which would, of course, be visible from a point of view a little distance in front of the shrine, and could therefore quite legitimately be represented pictorially in the plane elevation.
They are found widely distributed over the Greek mainland, where the best specimens occur, but have been found at Phaistos, Palaiokastro, Praisos, in Crete, and also in Melos.

The chambered form is that of a square chamber cut in the rock, with a gabled roof and approached by a doorway, or passage. It seems probable that it is merely a development of the shaft grave, and the dromos is simply a means of closer and more ready approach to the tomb itself for the worshippers of the shade of the deceased. This finally develops into the great domed chamber out of which, in some cases the tomb itself opens, and which can hardly have served any other purpose than one connected with religious ceremonies in relation to the deceased. This development is borne out by the shaft-construction of the grave at Orchomenos, in some respects the finest example of these beehive tombs. It is, however, not in as perfect a condition as the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, which was a trifle larger than this example (fig. 17).

In both cases a large domed chamber, of beehive shape, about 47 feet in diameter, is cut out in the hill-side and lined with masonry of large blocks built on the corbelled system (fig. 17). Opening out of the central chamber is a smaller side chamber, which in the case of the Orchomenos example was, like the shaft graves, clearly excavated by a shaft sunk from the top. The bottom was first lined with small stone masonry and then covered with marble slabs. This was roofed over with great slabs of green schielet elaborately decorated with a typical Mycenean

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pattern (fig. 18), and the marble walls were decorated in the same way. Above was another chamber to relieve the ceiling of weight, and above that again the shaft was filled up with débris.

The vault part is marked with numerous holes, some still containing bronze nails, and, as was also the case with the Mycenean example, it was covered with bronze rosettes.

The fine doorway to the latter tomb can be restored with some degree of accuracy. A great door, narrower at the top than at the bottom, is flanked by two half columns, which taper downwards and are adorned with zigzag flutings. Above is an enormous lintel, the pressure upon which is relieved by a great triangular space originally filled with a light triangular slab. The architrave was ornamented with a pattern, clearly recalling the short log construction mentioned above, and below this was probably a series of lions' heads.

LITERATURE.—There is no work on Mycenean Architecture as such, but some of the most useful sources of information are: T. J. Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion, Athens, 1902; C. Schuchardt, Schliemann's Excavations, tr. Eugenie Seliers, London, 1891; Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos, conducted by the British School at Athens, London, 1904; C. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt, The Mycenean Age, London, 1897; see also the Annual of the British School at Athens, esp. vol. vi. f., London, and Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei, Rome.

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ARCHITECTURE (American).—Both in character and in material the dwellings and temples of the American Indians present the widest variety, ranging from the brush wigwam of the Pai Utse and the snow igloo of the Eskimos, to the elaborate stone palaces of the Mayas of Yucatan. This diversity, however, must not be construed as racial in origin, since closely related neighbouring tribes frequently have dwellings of different types; nor is the cause any essential intellectual limitation. The diversity is climatic and economic in source. The snow-covered wastes of the extreme north, the forests of the Atlantic coast, the prairies which once abounded in herds of bison, the arid regions of the south-west, and the tropical luxuriance of central America, each produce a distinct type of architecture. The dwellings of the American Indians admit of a triple classification: temporary, portable, and permanent, the first being exemplified by the Pai Utse wigwam, the second by the Dakota tipi, and the third by the stone pueblo.

i. The temporary dwelling is represented in its simplest form by the wigwam of Arizona. This is constructed by placing branches about 10 feet in length so as to form half or three-quarters of a circle. The tops are then brought together and smaller branches are thrown over them. The entire structure is, therefore, little more than a wind-break, and may be a development of the kis of the Hopis, which is a rough shelter set up in the fields to protect those who watch the flocks. This general type of temporary dwelling is especially characteristic of the less developed tribes of the western desert, where the arid soil furnishes little building material beyond brush and mud. Closely akin to the wigwam is the Navaho Hogan, a hut built either of branches or of poles plastered with mud; and the same statement holds true of the Pimas and Mohaves. Such dwellings are frequently abandoned, since the materials of which they are composed are not portable, and the region affords no other kind. Religion also enters into the migrations of these tribes, since they do not occupy a dwelling which has been entered by death. Here too may be mentioned the grass houses still built by the Wichitas but formerly part of the Cadouans (except the Pawnees and Arikaras, who built, instead, the 'earth lodges' noted below).
2. A higher grade of American architecture is found, under more favourable economic circumstances, among the prairie tribes. Here the *wickup* yields place to the *tipi*. The typical form of this structure is found among the Omahas, and is constructed by tying twenty or thirty long poles together at the top, and spreading out the bottom so as to form a circle. This is covered with skin or canvas, and an opening is left at the top for the escape of the smoke. Yet these tribes were by no means restricted to the *tipi*, since in the summer they sometimes built lodges covered with bark, and in their congener the Algonquian *wigwam*, and the latter what may be supposed to have been an earlier stage of *pueblo* construction. At all events, both represent a transition to the permanent dwelling. While the *wickup* is naturally devoid of any ornamentation, the *tipi* often received somewhat elaborate adornment, this decoration being frequently totemistic, and sometimes the result of a vision or other omen. Here the form of the dwelling is conditioned by the material at hand, since trees are comparatively rare, while the poles, although not only ranged in the plains, furnished an abundance of skins to form the covering of the poles. According to Dakota tradition, the tribes formerly dwelt in houses of bark in the present State of Minnesota, and were forced by the invasions of the whites to adopt a more sedentary life, and, in consequence, portable houses.

3. The *tipi* thus forms the transition from the temporary dwelling to the permanent. The latter form of house is characteristic of a settled people, and is, therefore, found among the most highly civilized American Indians. In its simplest form it may be exemplified by the *wigwam* of the Algonquins, which is constructed of a framework of poles, as are the *tipi* and the *wickup*, but is covered with bark instead of brush, mud, or skins. This type is possible only in a wooded country, where the abundance of game and other necessities of life renders a certain degree of permanence possible. At the same time, the dwelling is capable of enlargement, and thus seen in social life. The permanent type of dwelling was common throughout the continent at the time of its discovery, being found not only among the Algonquins and Iroquois, but in the Mississippi valley, Florida, the North-West Coast, and Arizona, and, in its highest form of development, among the Maya.

From the permanent house was evolved, moreover, the permanent village, in contrast to the temporary encampments found, for example, among the Pai Utes and the Dakotas. These villages were frequently defended by palisades, as among the Algonquin Leni-Lenape, the Virginians, and the Cadonos of the Mississippi valley. A remarkable feature of many of these permanent dwellings was their elevation on mounds of earth, which were frequently covered with its original mounding had, in the main, sanitary, dampness being thus avoided. This practice was also common among the natives of Florida, where these artificial elevations are described as being a kind of platform or raised earth, the mound which is large enough to give room for twelve, fifteen, or twenty houses, to lodge the cacique and his attendants. At the foot of this elevation they mark out a square place, according to the size of the village, and place in the leading men have their houses. . . . To ascend the elevated house is by a straight passage-way from bottom to top, fifteen or twenty feet wide. Here steps are made by massive beams, and others are planted firmly in the ground to serve as walls. On all other sides of the platform the sides are cut steep' (quoted from Garciíasso by Thomas, Mound Explorations, p. 647). The temples naturally stood at a still higher elevation than the houses of the people. Even dwellings of the permanent type here described, however, were liable to speedy decay if long abandoned for any reason, and the ruins of such houses no longer exist. Yet in them probably lies the secret of many of the mysterious mounds so common in the Ohio valley, which, according to the present theory, is the work of a race differing widely from the American Indians. Excavations of these structures have shown that their builders were simply American Indians, differing in no respect from them but in their material. Yet it is not impossible that the religious mounds were not necessarily of this origin, and that they were supported by those tribes to whom mounds were unknown.

To conclude, there are some data which suggest that the great majority of mounds are doubtless mortuary in origin, and thus do not properly come within the scope of architecture (cf. Yarrow, Introduction to the Study of Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians, Washington, 1880, pp. 17-20). Others, such as the Serpent Roubay and the Ohio valley or the pyramid of Cholula in Mexico, were structures designed for purposes of religion, the latter, at least, serving as the base of a temple. Yet it is not impossible that the religious mounds were of considerable development, and were, in origin those designed to support ordinary dwellings. The *hodenesotes*, or 'long houses,' of the Algonquian and Iroquoian stocks—are developments of the *wigwam* noted above—and find analogues in the slab houses of the West Coast. Here the abundance of cedars, which may readily be split, renders it possible to construct houses of planks instead of poles and bark, these structures being more permanent than the eastern wigwams. In the dwellings of this type, moreover, as in the Iroquois *long house*, separate rooms were partitioned off, thus marking a distinct step forward in civilization. Farther to the north, the Alaskan Aleuts construct their houses of ribs of the whale, driftwood, stone, turf, or any material which may be at hand in that barren region. The dwellings are not infrequently built entirely of turf cut in slabs. The most curious form of American Indian architecture, in some respects, is the Eskimo *sinojoo* (properly *qiyungkin*, 'house snow'). This is a structure of putting compact blocks of snow, which are so laid on a circular form as gradually to slant towards the centre, thus forming the only case of a true arch among the North American aborigines. A house designed for occupancy throughout the winter is some 12 feet in height and 18 feet in diameter, and is supported by stone lamps filled with seal oil, while additional light is admitted by a window of ice or the intestine of a seal. Whenever his supply of material renders it possible, however, the Inuit constructs a still more durable dwelling of whale-ribs, driftwood, and the like, thus approximating to the Aleut house. In this same region, moreover, were semi-subterranean dwellings, especially among the Aleuts, Eskimos, coast Salishans, and kindred tribes. Their origin with the subterranean hole of the Gilyaks, Kamchatskans, Koryaks, Chukchis, and Yukaghirs of North-Eastern Asia is too striking and too close not to be due to borrowing from the part of the American Indians (Jochelson, XVI's Congress International des Américanistes, Quebec, 1907, li. 115-128). Among the Pawnees, as among the Arikaras, Osages, Omahas, Poncas, and other tribes, are found 'earth lodges,' also semi-subterranean and somewhat analogous to the Navaho hogans mentioned above.

Of these dwellings have a short series as follows (in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 411): 'These tribes are said to have abandoned the grass house of their ancestors at some distant period, and, going to the bottom of aquatic animals, to have learned to construct the earth lodge. According to their ceremony, the animals, not only the animals were concerned with its construction—the boulder digging the holes, the beaver sawing the logs, the bears carrying them and all obeying the directions of the whale—
but the stars also exercised authority. The earlier star cult of the people is recognized by the star-worshipers in what may be termed the central group: Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, Kabah, Zayi, and Labna in Yucatan, the so-called Mexican pueblos, are as follows: 

In the Rio Grande pueblos are built in the permanent dwellings of the Iroquois and on the North-West Coast, reaches a high stage of development among the ‘cliff-dwellers’ and the Pueblo tribes. In the deserts of the South-western United States the country is arid and treeless, although verdure at once springs up if irrigation be successfully practised. Caves and cliffs abound, and the caves in the sides of these precipices, often modified artificially, are utilized as dwellings, especially since trees of any considerable size are extremely rare. A cliff-dwelling, moreover, is usually comparatively difficult of access and easy to defend, an important consideration when hostile Apaches stand ready to attack less warlike tribes. The houses in the cliffs are not hewn but are constructed of various kinds of materials, and are modern. The crevice on the face of the rock carefully walled up, both for shelter and for protection. An excellent example of this kind of dwelling is found in the Mesa Verde, where in a large crevice in the cliff is constructed the circular pueblo, forming a marked contrast to the simple wall on the edge of the rock. The crevice is frequently modified to suit the requirements of its inhabitants, and the cliff-dwelling is divided into rooms. These apartments were usually occupied by a family, and are sometimes, average height 10 by 17 feet in area. The only communication with the outer world is by a door, which is usually approached by steps cut in the face of the cliff. The floor was levelled off, and an effort was evidently made to avoid dampness by constructing low adobe ridges, across which poles covered with skins may have been laid. The general rule of the cliff-dwellers were the Northern Rio Grande valley, the valley of the San Juan, the San Francisco mountain range, and the valley of the Rio Verde.

Where cliffs were not available, and, perhaps, where a higher grade of civilization had been attained, the American Indians of the South-west constructed buildings of a so-called communal type, and it is not improbable that many of the American Indians of the North-West Coast, and on the other hand among the American Indians of the South Americans of Lake Maracaibo. These adobe dwellings were frequently constructed on foundations of stone, while the temples, as already noted, were elevated on high platforms of earth or stone, the Toltec pyramid of the sun at Teotihuacan having measured 580 ft. in altitude and 100 ft. in width, and the height of the so-called pyramid is, in fact, one of the chief characteristics of Aztec, Toltec, and Maya architecture. It differs essentially from the Egyptian pyramid in its object, since it is designed mainly for mortuary purposes, or as a temple. The Allied structure was a gigantic tomb. The Great Mound of Cholula is almost 1000 ft. square at the base, and reaches an altitude of 200 ft. The pyramid of Huiztilopochtli and Taloc in Mexico itself had five terraces, the lowest 360 ft. square and the highest 70, and was ascended by a flight of 113 steps, the processions to the chapels on the summit winding round each terrace before mounting to the next. Not only temples but palaces were so constructed, so that the Maya palace of Palenque stands on an oblong mound 310 ft. in length by 260 in width, and 40 ft. in height.

5. North and Central American architecture reached its zenith among the Mayas of Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala. Over all this territory are scattered ruins of ancient cities, and many more, hidden in the tropical vegetation, doubtless still await discovery. The final history of the art and architecture of this region cannot, therefore, be written for another, but what has been common at any rate are scattered ruins of ancient cities, and many more, hidden in the tropical vegetation, doubtless still await discovery. The final history of the art and architecture of this region cannot, therefore, be written for another, but what has been common at any rate is more likely that even more extensive and important remains may yet be found than are thus far known. The sites hitherto best described are as follows: in Yucatan, Uxmal, Kabah, Zayi, and Labna in what may be termed the central group; Chichen-
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Itza and Tuloom in the east; Izamal, Ticul, and Aké in the north; Ləphakin in the south; in Honduras there are Tenampu, Calamun, and, above all, Copan; and in Guatemala mention must be made of Quirigua, Cinacah-Mecallo, Patanimit, Utalpan, and Tikal. Here, too, must be classed the ruins of Palenque, in the Mexican States of Chiapas, which are akin to those of Yucatan, but with western Yucatan the line of architectural remains in Central America seems to be drawn.

Of the sites here noted—the list does not pretend to be complete—the most important for knowledge of Central American architecture are Palenque, Uxmal, and Chichen-Itza. From these three centres a general idea may perhaps be gained of the main outlines of a Maya city, supplementary information being obtainable from a study of other sites. It becomes, therefore, advisable to give a brief summary of the principal structures still preserved at each of these three cities. At Palenque the chief ruins are those of the Palace and the Temples of the Three Tablets, the Cross, and the Cenote. A palace is, of course, no evidence that it was actually intended to be a palace. This structure is erected on a quadrangular pyramid some 40 ft. high, measuring about 200 by 310 ft. at the bottom, originally faced with stucco, perhaps two or three inches thick, and plastered and ascended by broad central stairways on the east and north. The palace itself, which nearly covers the upper surface of the pyramid, measures about 180 by 235 ft. and has a height of 30 ft. In the outer wall were some 40 doorways, 5 ft. high and 9 ft. wide, while above them runs a cornice pierced with small holes which may have held poles for the support of an awning. The main building is found to consist of two corridors, formed by three parallel walls and covered by one roof, which extend entirely round the circumference of the platform, and enclose a quadrangular court measuring about 150 by 200 ft. This court also contains five or six buildings, some of them combined with the main edifice, others separate, which divide the court into four smaller ones (Bancroft, Native Races, iv. 308). The walls of the corridors vary between 2 and 3 ft. in thickness, and the corridors themselves have a width of 9 ft. and a height of 20 ft., the latter half of which is formed into a broad day-way through the central wall is found a trefoil arch, and niches of similar form occur frequently on either side of it. The pavement of the interior courts is 8 or 10 ft. below that of the corridors, and is approached by stairways. Of the buildings which divide this court into four parts, the most remarkable is a tower of solid masonry about 50 ft. high, in its present state, resting on a base about 30 ft. square, and with three storeys, each receding boldly from the main edifice to the solid core of each side. The pyramid itself contains apartments, or galleries, with walls of stone plastered, but without ornament, of the same form and construction as the corridors above. The stairways from the hierarchal courts to the upper houses or windows leading out to the surface of the pyramid; the other galleries are dark and damp.

These rooms are variously regarded as sleeping-rooms, dungeons, or sepulchres, according to the temperament of the observer (Bancroft, op. cit. p. 320). The restoration of the palace given, for example, by Bancroft (p. 323), well illustrates the high architectural abilities of the Mayas. Mention should also be made, in this connexion, of a bridge in the vicinity of Palenque, built of hewn stone, with a convex conduit 9 ft. wide. The bridge itself is 56 ft. long, 42 ft. wide, and 11 ft. high.

At Uxmal the ruins are still more extensive than at Palenque, the principal remains being the Casa del Gobernador, Casa de Tortugas, Casa de Palomas, Casa de Monjas, and Casa de Adivino, as well as a number of pyramids. The most remarkable of these is the Casa de Monjas, or 'Nunnery.' This is perhaps the most wonderful edifice, or collection of edifices, in Yucatan, if not the finest specimen of aboriginal architecture and sculpture in America. The supporting mound of this building is, in general terms 350 ft. square, and its sides are nearly facing the cardinal points. The southern, or front, slope of the mound, about 70 ft. wide, rises in three grades, 21 ft., 8 ft., and 19 ft. high, respectively, from the base. There are some traces of a wide central stairway leading up to the second terrace on this side, but none of the steps remain in place. This platform stand four of the typical Yucatan edifices built round a courtyard, with unequal intervals between them. The southern building is 270 ft. long, 39 ft. wide, and 18 ft. high; the northern building, 294 ft. long, 28 ft. wide, and 25 ft. high; the eastern, 323 ft. long, 21 ft. wide, and 24 ft. high; the latter is the largest in the 'Nunnery,' each 13 by 33 ft., with an ante-room at each end measuring 9 by 13 ft. . . . The rooms around the Casa de Monjas, 58 in number, were built entirely with a thin coat of hard white material like plaster of Paris. Those of the southern building average 24 ft. long, 10 ft. wide, and 17 ft. high. They are the present dayey, of the upper room of the building, the lower is converted into a chamber or store-room, and the stairway is divided into two galleries, each with a roof. The rooms are circular, with carved wooden ceilings, wooden lintels, stone rings, or hinges, on the inside of the doors, the whole being covered with wooden floors, entire absence of any openings except the doors. . . . The platform on which the buildings stand forms a vast promenade, 10 ft. in width, round each, both on the exterior and on the court. The entrance to the court is by a gateway . . . in the centre of the southern building. It is 18 ft. high and about 14 ft. high, the top being formed by the usual triangular arch. . . . Opposite this gateway . . . a stairway 95 ft. wide leads up to the upper terrace, which supports the northern building. On each side of this stairway . . . on the slope of the terrace, is the ruin of the usual construction, but nothing serious may be traced. . . . Instead of the upper building, the lower is covered with a roof. . . . The court is approached by doorways. Above this cornice the whole surface, over 24,000 sq. ft. for the four buildings, is covered with elegant and elaborate sculpture. The bases of the columns, the cornices of the court are pronounced by all beholders the chefs d'oeuvre of aboriginal decorative art in America. The art is realistic, and at the same time less complicated and grotesque, than any other fronts in Yucatan. . . . The northern building, standing on a terrace 20 ft. above the platform, consists of the other structures, and consequently overlooking them all, was very probably intended by the builders as the crowning feature of the Casa de Monjas. Its eastern façade was crowded with sculptured designs. . . . Apparently from no other motive than to obtain more space on which to exercise their talent for the reproductive art, and thus to render this front more striking, the builders extended the front wall at regular intervals above the upper cornice, door in the centre of each side, placed generally above the doorways' (Bancroft, op. cit. pp. 173-179, 187.)

The chief remains at Chichen-Itza are the Nunners, Akab-Tzab Maya, 'Writing in the Dark,' and its walls, at nearly the same level with the plain instead of on a mound, but with the ground surrounding it excavated, the Castle (or Pyramid), the Gymnasium (also called the Temple, and by the natives the Iglesia), the Chiachanchob ('Red House,' or 'House by the Fraser'), a series of 360 pillars from 4 to 6 ft. high, receding to the 'Hall of Columns' (on a miniature scale) at Mitla, and the Caracol. The last is the most curious structure and is unique of its kind. It is a circular, domed building, 22 ft. in diameter and 24 ft. high, with two narrow corridors surrounding its apparently solid core. It rests on a
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pyramid of two rectangular terraces, the lower 150 by 223 ft., and the upper 55 by 80 ft.

As already noted, many other ruins of Central America are of deep interest. Here mention may be made of the Casa de Justicia at Kickab; the Casa Grande at Zacay with its three storeys built around (instead of upon) a mound, the first storey being 120 by 265 ft., the second 60 by 220 ft., and the third (on the summit of the mound) 15 by 150 ft.; a room with an acute-angled roof at Nohcabab; the Castle at Tuoloom; and the great fortress of El Rincón, words at Wietla and Cen, having in open space in the centre. Those of the Quatos of the Amazon are about 4 metres square and thatched on the sides with leaves (Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, Berlin, 1905, pp. 177-178), while the Lenguas of the Paraguayan Chaco construct dwellings of long, low, rough booths, either of papyrus reed or of sticks thatched with grass, although for stormy weather they place poles in a circle, and then bring them together to be covered with leaves, leaves, and similar materials (Grubb, Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, London, 1904, pp. 72-73).

On the Pampas tents were used, consisting of a framework of poles covered with horse-hide, and in Patagonia likewise. The walls of these latter structures were frequently between 10 and 12 ft. in length, 10 in width, and 7 in height, and the interior was divided into a number of rooms, thus forming a sort of small communal dwelling. In the north of the other hand, with its far inferior civilization, wretched huts are built of sticks wattled with grass or rammed with mud, marking one of the lowest types of architecture to be found on the American continent.

7. Midway between Mexico and America stands the architecture of the Antilles. The majority of houses on these islands were round, pointed huts, with leaf roofs and wattled sides, often of perfumed reeds and elaborately adorned. The villages were small. There were, however, large houses, especially in Cuba, where some lodged between 100 and 200 men, and the residences of the caciques naturally received special adornment.

The larger dwellings frequently had covered porches, and were divided into rooms. While it is not impossible that in the most archaic period the inhabitants of Porto Rico, Haiti, Cuba, and other West India islands were, at least in part, troglodytic, by the time of the first discoveries they were largely village-dwellers, their groups of some 15 to 20 families being typical. The villages were small. There were, however, large houses, especially in Cuba, where some lodged between 100 and 200 men, and the residences of the caciques naturally received special adornment. The larger dwellings frequently had covered porches, and were divided into rooms.

8. Architecture reached its zenith in South America among the Chibchas of Colombia and the Quichuas of Peru. The ordinary houses of the former people were built of straw and earth, and were frequently 100 ft. long and 20 wide; and even in Cuzco the common houses were of wood
and thatched with straw (Botero, Relazioni universali, Venice, 1600, i. 234). Stone structures, however, were unknown, even in the case of the temples. This is the more remarkable since sculpture was known to the Chibchas, who were also acquainted with the column. The architecture of the Peruvians forms the South American counterpart to that of the Maya, although its spirit is entirely different. The Peruvian buildings which have survived are mostly of stone, and many of them, unlike those of Mexico and Central America, are true examples of cyclopean construction. Mono-liths form the gateway at Tiahuanaco measures 13 ft. 5 in. in length, 7 ft. 2 in. in height above the ground, and 18 in. in thickness, with a door 4 ft. 6 in. high and 2 ft. 9 in. wide. At this same site are a large number of monoliths bounding a rectangle 446 ft. in length by 388 in width. These pillars vary from 14 ft. to 24 ft. in height. Elaborate sun-circles, bounded by monoliths, also occur, as at Sillustani; and the latter site and its vicinity are also of importance for the chuipas, or funeral towers. These are plain to square and, with corbelled cupolas, and measuring from 16 to 40 ft. in height, containing, within walls of extreme thickness, a very small funerary chamber (cf., further, art. DEATH and DISPOSAL of the DEAD [Peruvian]).

The chief sites of ancient Peruvian (and Bolivian) remains are Pachacamac, Callao; Quebrada de Chima, Marca Huamachuco, Huancuno Viejo, Vilcas Huamán, Cuzco, Ollantaitambo, Pisac, Sillustani, Titicaca, and the islands of Lake Titicaca. At Pachacamac are found the ruins of the Temple of the Sun and the House of the Virgin of the Sun. The former covering an area 600 by 450 ft., and the latter one of 350 by 200 ft. Over the four hills which form the site of the ancient city are scattered the remains of other large structures, including communal dwellings which recall the pueblos of New Mexico. But Pachacamac, like Ancon, is more noteworthy for its necropolis than for its architecture; nor are the coast sites of Peru, generally speaking, as important in their contributions to a knowledge of the ancient architecture of the country as the more inland remains. Nevertheless, mention should be made of the elaborate fortress at Paracanga. Here a hill about 825 ft. high, surrounded by an adobe wall, sustains a fortress of three terraces with a detached quen-bastion of similar construction. Another, more extensive, wall is found at Marca Huamachuco; and the presence of such structures in Peru is the more noteworthy when it is remembered that in the corresponding culture-regions of Mexico and Central America the sole clear example is found in the Maya site of Tulcön. This wall at Marca Huamachuco is nearly 10 ft. high, and it encloses the still imposing ruins of two oblong rectangular buildings, originally of three storeys, surrounded by courts. The exact purpose of these buildings, known locally as the Church and the Castle, is uncertain; but close by are the undoubted remains of extensive llama-stables. On a third hill—the Cerro de la Monja—surrounded by a triple wall, is the Tesoro, an appellation which may not be without reason. The entire group of structures at Marca Huamachuco is dominated by the Cerro del Castillo, where the rulers evidently dwelt; and the entire community was, accordingly, thus divided, running from north to south: Cerro de Amara (residence and citizens), Cerro del Castillo, Cerro de la Falda (lama-stables), Cerro de la Monja (nunnery), and Cerro Viejo (purpose unknown).

Huancuno Viejo, which, according to the conquistador historian Xerez, covered an area three leagues in circumference, still has a perimeter of nearly a league, even when the dwellings of the people have disappeared, and only the palace, baths, temples, and wall surrounding the principal buildings remain. The building material is hard grey stone, and a noteworthy feature is the baths ‘se composant de onze piscines en pierre et surmontées de parois d’un appareil admirable, pourvu de fontaines, dont des quielles sont fixés des bancs en pierre’ (Wiener, Pérou et Bolivie, p. 211). Mention should likewise be made of the elaborate system of courts and of an avenue with four large pyloonic gates. Vilcas Huamán is noteworthy chiefly for the truncated rectangular pyramid in three stages, ascended by a flight of steps, and surrounded by a wall with doors whose sloping sides resemble those of Huamucno Viejo. The structure is strikingly suggestive of the Aztec and Maya pyramids.

Peruvian architecture reached its height of grandeur in the structures at Tiahuanaco and the islands of Lake Titicaca. At the former site are the remains of the Temples, Temple, Plaza, Hall of Justice, and Sanctuary. The Temple measures 388 by 455 ft., with a sunken court 290 by 190 ft.; while the Hall of Justice is a cyclopean platform 133 by 23 ft. with a group of seats at each end and in the centre, these groups being separated by a monolithic door. Copper claws were used to hold the stones together. (On the entire site cf. Strübel and Uhle, Die Ruinenstatte von Tiahuanaco, Breslau, 1882.) On the islands of Titicaca and Coati are structures dedicated respectively to the sun and to the moon. At the latter the Palace of the Incas (also called the Temple of the Sun), the Houseof the Sun, and the Bath of the Incas. The Palace, or Temple, 51 by 44 ft., is in two storeys, and originally had painted and stuccoed walls; while the Bath is 40 by 100 ft. and 5 ft. in depth. The island of Coati is especially famous for its Palace of the Virgins of the Sun, which, also in two storeys, is 183 by 80 ft. It contains numerous apartments, but, rather curiously, none of the structures on these two islands is cyclopean in type, nor is the approach to such monuments as the monolithic gateways at Tiahuanaco, mentioned above.

Although less ornamental than the Maya structures, Peruvian architecture is of a higher type. The arch is occasionally found, especially at Pachacamac and Vilcas Huamán, and windows were not unknown in the interior, though they do not seem to have been constructed on the coast. The most important advance over the architecture of Mexico and Central America, however, was the roof, which obliterated the necessity of the excessively narrow loopholes which forms so marked a characteristic of the more northern style. The smaller structures seem to have been covered with a hip roof, at least in some cases, while in the larger buildings it has been suggested that the interior
ARCHITECTURE (Assyro-Babylonian) was lined with wooden columns supporting a sort of verandah which did not cover the entire floor space. Although there is, naturally, no trace of columns in the present condition of the Peruvian ruins, this hypothesis is confirmed by the small footpaths which border the interior of the walls. Such a roof, roof, moreover, would admit the necessary light to the dwellings, and the entire structure would thus present an analogue to the Roman atrium. Rooms were formed in the Peruvian houses by curtains. The doors varied remarkably in form, some of them being trapezoids, while others were truncated ovals, and still others resembled the reversed spade of the conventional playing card. A noteworthy feature of Peruvian architecture was the niche in the wall, usually either a rectangle or a trapezoid, sometimes perhaps serving for a closet and again for ornament. Stairs of considerable elaboration were frequent. Again, deviating from Maya and Aztec architecture, many of the larger structures, especially the temples, contained only one or two rooms, presenting ground-plans of much complexity, as in the palaces at Chimu. Structures of several storeys were erected, as in the case of the palace at Marca Huamachuco and the palace of the Inca on the island of Tapia. The palaces for the shrines of the sacred temple of the latter structure being entirely different from that of the first floor. Some buildings, notably the fortress of Paramonga, almost suggest the pueblo type of North America in their pyramidal form, although, as far as we can judge, they were not, like the American type, at all analogous. A decided analogy of form also exists between the Aztec tecolallis and the Peruvian huacas, although the latter were used, not as pyramids to support the temples, but as places of sacrifice. Furthermore, it may be noted that the Incas—altogether the most civilized race of South America, and the rivals even of the Mayas of Yucatan—were able to construct bridges of stone and elaborate aqueducts, as well as admirable roads and cyclopean terraces.

LITERATURE.—Delenbaugh, North Americans of Yesterday (New York, 1901); Thomas, Introduction to the Study of North American Archaeology (Cincinnati, 1898); Hodge, Handbook of American Indians (Washington, 1907), i. 77-82, 515-519; Brasseur de Bourbourg, Monumentos antiguos del Mesopotamia (Paris, 1878); Charnay, Choses Chinoises (New York, 1887); Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, iv. (Berkeley, 1897); Oppler, Peru (1877); Wiener, Peru and Bolivia (Paris, 1880); Waetz, Anthropologie der Naturvölker, ii. (2 parts, Leipzig, 1885-1886); T. M. Prudden, The Great American Plains (New York, 1907); and many monographs, especially in the reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology, United States National Museum, the Field Columbian Museum, the Peabody Museum, and the American Museum of Natural History.

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ARCHITECTURE (Assyro-Babylonian).—In the absence of clear statements as to the history of the architectural forms found in the sacred buildings of the Babylonians and Assyrians, much doubt as to their origin naturally exists. The two principal forms are the temple on its earthy foundation, without any upper storeys, and the temple-tower, or zigurrat, in stages. It is probable that the former preceded the latter in date. As elsewhere, the temple in Babylon has been regarded as originating from the tomb—a very natural development, in view of the probability that certain of the gods of the Babylonians were nothing more than venerated heroes or mortal ages who had become deified. So far, however, no sepulchre which may be called an edifice in the true sense of the word has been found, either in Babylon or Assyria. The form of the temple probably originated from small beginnings, as is suggested by a document of about 2000 B.C. in the British Museum. In this Nuri-šu finds a temple to Nuri-šu (or Lugal) and Sullat (probably Merodach and his spouse Zer-panitu*), and dedicates it for the preservation of his life. * One priest only is named, so the building was probably a very simple structure—an oblong hall with a recess at one end for the statues or emblems of the deities to whom it was dedicated, and one or two rooms for sacred utensils and robes. In this case the motive for the foundation seems to have been to provide a temple for the gods of Babylon in a district where the sun-god was the patron deity, and it seems not improbable that other temples and shrines may have been founded in the same way.†

One of the most interesting temple plans is that of the goddess Nin-mah, as excavated at Babylon by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft (Delitzsch, Im Lande des einstigen Paradises, p. 39). The ruin lies on the eastern side of the Istar-gate, and, as is usual in the sacred buildings of Babylon and Assyria, has its corners towards the cardinal points. It is of sun-dried brick, and its remains have even now traces of white decoration. The entrance on the N.W. led into a large vestibule communicating, with a room on the left, and giving access to a court-yard with six other doorways serving the remaining chambers, eleven in number. Four of these had smaller rooms, probably the sanctuaries where were kept the statues or deities. The temple proper was square, and the temple E-mah probably resembled others in Babylonia in associating certain companions with the principal divinity. The first hall was entered from the court-yard by a doorway nearly facing that giving access from the vestibule, and this, in its turn, led to the inner hall—the holy place. There seems to have been no rule for the position of the small rooms which probably contained the statues or shrines, although some were placed in the upper storey, while others were used in the N.E. and S.W., and at the N.E. end (when the room ran N.W. to S.E.). The court-yard was not in the centre of the building, but set more towards the S.W. side, so that there was space on that side for only one row of two narrow rooms, whilst on the N.E. side there are two rows of rooms, narrower and longer, with sanctuaries for statues or shrines. Beyond the ‘holy place’ are two narrow rooms only. To all appearances the temples of Babylonia and Assyria were built upon the same general plan. From the outside the visitor gained access to a vestibule, which, in its turn, admitted him to the court-yard, or to a hall around which were the doorways leading to the remaining halls and chambers.

More ornate, to all appearance, than the temple of Nin-mah at Babylon was that built by Sargon of Assyria at Khorsabad. This edifice lay in the ‘temple-court’ of the palace, on the S.E. side of which were the ‘priests’ rooms, the temple itself being on the S.W. side of the court, facing the state-apartments. A flight of stone steps gave access to a platform of crude brick (faced by a retaining wall of black basalt with a veneer of grey limestone). Two chambers were traced, floored with a mixture of stone and chalk. The fragments of black basalt bas-reliefs found here showed that the ornamentation was the same as that in the palace, but the subjects were religious.‡ A better example, however, is the Assyrian temple excavated by Sir H. Layard in the mound of Nimrud (Calah). This lay at the S.E. angle of the great temple-tower, but was apparently unconnected with it. Here also we have an outer court, an entrance leading into a vestibule, a side-chamber (with two entrances), and a hall with a

* JRAS, Jan. 1899, p. 103 ff.
† A temple of these modest dimensions may have been simply an enlargement of the popular household sanctuary.
‡ Rawlinson’s Monarchies, vol. i, pp. 586-571.
ARCHITECTURE (Assyro-Babylonian) recess at the end. It differs from the Babylonian temple of Nin-mah, however, in having no interior court-yard. Its importance for Assyrian art, on the other hand, was considerable, many slabs of a religious nature having been found; and its pavement-slabs give the history of the reign of Assur-našar-āpil (B.C. 856–850), its builder. Its main entrance, was flanked, with winged male-headed lions, and the entrance leading into the side-room had reliefs showing the deity expelling an evil spirit, represented as a winged dragon, from the place. At the side of this doorway the altar stood, the Babylonian Representation of the king (Assur-našar-āpil) in his divine character, with an altar before it, implying that sacrifices of some kind were made to him. The smaller temple apparently had no vestibule, and the visitor entered at once into the holy place, which had a recess for the statue or shrine at the left-hand end. Chambers supplying the place of the vestibule were constructed at each end. Altars for libations were placed in angles made to receive them on each side of the main entrance. These oblong niches were hollow, and were decorated with gradines, similar to those of the walls already described.

One of the sculptures found at Khorsabad is a small building which has been regarded as a fishing-pavilion, because built on the banks of a stream, and also by some, as a small temple. It is one storey high only, and is built, as usual, upon a platform. The roof is supported by two columns resembling the Doric of the Greeks. Above the columns the entablature broadens out into a deep cornice, which is embellished by gradines like those above the walls of the temples and temple-towers, but rather smaller. No doorway is shown, so that the building looks like a mere shelter from the rain. That it is really a temple is also implied by the similar structure sculptured on a slab from the palace of Assurban-āpil in the British Museum. It shows a temple on rising ground beside a terrace on arches (possibly the 'fanging gardens' of Babylon). It is flanked by thickish columns, and has two sides of twelve paces, and the conclusion of the columns is shown. The entablature above the columns has gradines, but its cornice is provided with a more elaborate moulding. On the left is an outbuilding surmounted by a shallow moulding and gradines, but all supported by the columns shown. The animal-headed stele in front was evidently detached from it. It has the figure of a Babylonian king in the usual conventional attitude, and an altar like those found by Layard at the smaller temple, at Nimrud, already described.

Though there may be doubt as to the origin of the Babylonian temple—whether it was a development of the tomb or of the simple household shrine—the testimony in favour of the temple-towers of Babylonia being exceedingly strong, and is rendered still more so by the analogy of the pyramids of Egypt, which they resembled in their general appearance. Ctesias says (Diodorus, ii. vii. 1) that the great sepulchral mound built by Semiramis at Nineveh on the Tigris was erected over the body of her husband Ninus; and Ovid (Metam. iv. 98) speaks of the 'tombs of Ninus,' under whose shadow the tragedy of Thésbe and Pyramus took place. On the other hand, this tomb-theory of the origin of the Babylonian temple-towers is quite unsupported by the older writings (Gn 11:4; Berosus, ap. Euseb. Chronicon, 15, Prop. Evangel. ix.; Jos. Ant. i. iv.; Symmachus, Chron. 44), which state that the tumulus for Babylon was for the purpose of reaching heaven. As far as the Babylonian records are known, this statement is likewise unconfirmed, though the use of the Bab. term (ziqquratu), applied to them to indicate the 'peak' of the mountain on which the temple-towers were placed, would seem to support the idea that these erections were for the purpose of getting nearer to the deity when sacrificing, and likewise, probably, when offering prayers. It has also been suggested that the original inhabitants of the plain of Sillar, having come from a mountainous country, desired to break the monotony of their new home, and therefore built these mountain-like structures, which they turned to pious uses.

Apart from the descriptions given by explorers, perhaps the best history of a Babylonian temple-tower is that of Herodotus when describing the temple of Belus at Babylon (i. 181–183)—the building called by Nebuchadrezzar 'the Tower of Babylon.' Herodotus describes it as a massive tower 200 yards square at the base, within an enclosure 400 yards each way, and provided with gates of bronze. The stages, or 'towers,' of Herodotus calls them, amounted to eight in number, and, like the temple-tower found by the French explorers at Khorsabad, were provided with an inclined pathway on all four sides of each, enabling the visitor to reach the top. About the middle of the ascent (apparently the fourth stage) was a stopping-place, with seats to rest upon. On the topmost stage was a large cell, with a couch and a golden table, but no image, as the god himself was said to descend thither when he visited the woman chosen by him to pass the night there. The image of the god was in a cell below, with a table, probably for offerings, and an altar outside. Image, table, and altar are all said to have been at the entrance of the temple, but no sucklings only. An altar for full-grown animals, and one for frankincense on the occasion of the god's festival, were also there. See ALTAR (Sem.), p. 333.

A detailed description of this famous temple is much needed, till these lines have been added to the list of ancient mounds being altogether inadequate. The late G. Smith was once fortunate enough to have in his hands a Babylonian tablet in which the building was described, and this is probably the most trustworthy account of it in existence. Adopting his estimate of the metric system used, the 'grand court' of the temple measured 1156 ft. by 900 ft., and the next, the 'court of Ístari and Zaggara,' 1056 ft. by 450 ft., with six gates admitting to the temple. The next division is described as a space or platform, apparently walled, called, in Semero-Akkadian, kigalla or sur, and in Semitic Babylonian kigâlu or birûtu—words apparently meaning an enclosed and levelled space. It was described as square, 2400 ft. each way (this is possibly the portion described by Herodotus as 'the temple' or sacred precinct, which measured 2 stadii—1213 ft. 6 in.—each way, and was furnished with bronze gates). In accordance with the usual Babylonian custom, the angles indicated the cardinal points, and each side had an altar on it. The enclosure, at the time the tablet was written, stood some kind of erection 200 ft. square, connected with the ziqquratu, or tower, and having round it's...
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base the chapels or temples of the various gods, on
all four sides, and facing the cardinal points.
On the E. side was a building 70 or 80 cubits
long and 40 broad, containing sixteen shrines,
the chief ones being dedicated to Nebo and Tašmēt,
his consort. On the N. were temples to Ea or Ia
and Istar; on the S. a single temple dedicated
to Anu and Bel.

It was on the W. side, however, that the principal
buildings were to be found—a 'double house'
or temple with a court between two wings of
different height, but the long side at the back
was 125 cubits by 30. Mr. Smith was unable to
make out with certainty the disposition of all the
erectures, but in the W. chambers stood the couch
of the god, and the throne of gold mentioned by
Herodotus, besides other furniture of great value.

The main building was the zigurrat, or temple-
tower, square, and with its corners towards the

architectural decorations of Babylonian architecture.

The second stage was 250 ft. square by 60 ft. high.

The third stage commenced a regular series all
equal in height, namely, 1 gar or 20 ft., but
decreasing in size. The third was 200 ft. square, the
fourth 150, the fifth 100, and the sixth (the actual
dimensions of which were omitted) apparently
110 ft. high. On this was the topmost stage, the
seventh, which was the upper temple or sanctuary
of the god Bel-Merodach. Its dimensions G. Smith
marks as 80 ft. long, 70 ft. wide, and 50 ft. high,
the total height of the tower being 300 ft.,
exactly equal to the dimensions of the base.
The raising of the base above the level of the ground
would naturally make the height above the plain
greater than this.

Weissbach’s estimate of the measures does not
differ greatly from that of G. Smith; he makes the
base to have been about 100 metres, or 328 ft.

The differing heights of the stages of the great
'Tower of Babylon' are in contrast with the regularity of the
structure at Khorsabad. At present this latter
shows portions of four stages on a low platform;
and those who visited it gained the summit by
means of the gently sloping exterior passage lead-
ing to the first or topmost portion, which was about
140 ft. above the platform. Though in their restorations Perrot and Chipiez† do not place any
chambers in the structure, it is not improbable
that such existed, if not at some intermediate
level, at any rate on the topmost platform.

Exceedingly noteworthy, however, are the
cavations made by Layard in the ruins of the
temple-tower at Nimrud (Calah). Wishing to find
out what authority there might be for supposing
that the city of Ovid was intended when it was
inhabited, he cut through the masonry in certain places, and was
at last rewarded by finding a vault on the platform-
level 100 ft. long, 12 ft. high, and 6 ft. broad.
There is no doubt that this discovery permitted
him to regard these temple-towers as being
even tombs, as stated, but that it is 'the
tomb of Sardanapalus which, according to the
Greek geographers, stood at the entrance of the
city of Nineveh,' must be left doubtful, notwithstanding
that Calah (Nimrud) may have been regarded
as part of Nineveh, at least in later times.

Layard’s statement that it had been entered at
some unknown period by people who must have
known exactly where to make the opening, is
also in favour of his supposition: they had appar-
tently entered for the purpose of rifting the tomb.
The vaulted gallery found by Layard runs east
and west. Details concerning the upper part of the
monument are unfortunately wanting. Layard
regarded it as having been a tower in five stages,
which is probable enough, but the dimensions of
the tower are small but the length of the back
was built massively with a thick facing of stone,
exactly 20 ft. high, and finished at the top with
a line of gradines. The stones were carefully
fitting together, without any mortar, though mud
may have been used instead, as at the present
time. As far as preserved, the upper part is of
brick.

As has been pointed out by Canon Rawlinson,
the Babylonians and Assyrians made their temples
the object of religious devotion with the dwellings
of their kings, thus apparently not imitating
the Egyptians. As the Babylonians and Assyrians,
like all the Semitic nations, were exceedingly
reverent, this shortcoming was probably due
to the stone extent at which the use of
suitable building-stone; perhaps, too, more of the
temple-revenues may have been appropriated by
the priests. The want of stone was more especi-
ally felt in Babylonia; the Assyrians made use
of it largely, though not to the same extent as brick.
The possession of stone enabled the Assyrians to
adorn their temples with many fine bas-reliefs.

As an accessory of a temple, and therefore belong-
ing to religious architecture, may be mentioned
the Istargate, a festival-street of various stages,
the ruins of the temple of Ištu-, and consists of
massive walls—the sides of the gate—decorated
with bulls and the fabulous creatures called
sirrusha—strange and impossible serpent-dragons.
These alternate vertically from top to bottom,
and are exceedingly well preserved. The beauty of
the workmanship and the excellence of the enamel
were not surpassed even by the artisans of the
Persian period. From the Istargate a ‘festival-
street’ led northward to ‘the place of Fate,’†
and the Medes laid up there the sacrificial ashes.
Thus decorated with tiles imitating valuable stones.

In the temple of the Sun at Abū-ḥabbāb (Sippar,
identified, though doubtfully, with the Biblical
Sepharvaim), let us add a word or two. Here was
the main road; on each side of the rooms, was found an earthenware cofier
containing the celebrated ‘sun-god stone’; (see
ART [Assyr.-Bab.]). Receptacles for sacred objects
were probably made in all temples in Babylonia.
It seems likely that there were but few erec-
tions of the kind which had not closed recesses,
at each corner, for the reception of the cylinders
recording the building, re-building, or repairing of the edifice.

Naturally there are a number of religious
erections whose real use is at present difficult
to discover or to prove. At Babylon, on the site
which the German explorers regard as being that
† Layard’s Niniveh and Babylon, pl. 2, and p. 123 ff.
The stones ‘were bevelled with a lathing level, and the turn-
ning of the wall were eight recesses or false windows, tour on each side
of a square projecting block between the pilasters’ (Layard, p. 123).
The northern side had a semicircular hollow projecting in the
centre, flanked by three pilasters on the E. and five on the W.
The western side had no projection, but the recesses were eleven in number.
The eastern and southern sides were perfectly
plain.

† The inner walls of this building, Nebuchadrezzar states,
had been overlaid with silver; but this he took away, substitut-
ing impure gold.

‡ See H. Rassam’s ‘Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian

* Das Stadtbild von Babylon (1904), p. 23. The site of this
temple-tower is the rectangular depression now called Salahān,
which is of the dimensions stated.

of 'the place of Fate,' several chambers were found, which may have formed part of that edifice. This seems to point to the probability that the oracles of the Babylonians and Assyrians were declared in special buildings, though such things may, from time to time, have been delivered in the temples, such as are described above. At present we know nothing concrete concerning the oracles, or of the rites which accompanied their declarations of events, so that the nature of the building they needed receives no illustration from the ruins which have come down to us.

The walls were the grading number of cells whose uses seemed to be religious, though in what way was not clear. Some of them contained a bronze figure of a kneeling bull upon a shank or tang, others had a figure of what has been described as 'the god with the firestick.' They were accompanied by inscriptions on stone dedicating them to a deity. The figures are thought to have been for the protection of the buildings in which they were found. Here and there tanks and cisterns occurred, suggesting some connexion with the temple in which they were found. These cisterns, however, had no special designation; any deity, it may be supposed, could be worshipped there. Perhaps, as they were regarded as the abode of the god without specifying his attributes, any worshipper could enter, and perform his religious duties there. That it was simply an emblem of divinity, or of the presence of the divinity, without any walls to shield it from the gaze of the careless passer-by, seems, from the inscriptions, to be unlikely. The places where oracles were declared must have contained chambers where the oracles worships occurred when it was intended to examine their entrails or other parts.

The bricks used by the Babylonians and Assyrians varied in size from 1 1/2 in. square and 2 1/2 in. thick to 12 in. square and 3 in. thick, but usually from 9 in. square and 2 in. thick. Sometimes crude and burnt brick are used in alternate layers each several feet in thickness, but more commonly the unbaked brick was used for the internal parts of a building or for the core of a temple-tower, and the baked brick for the parts exposed to the weather. The layers of reed-matting which are found seem to have been used for buildings of unbaked brick. The use of this is exemplified by the ruins of the temple Wenonah (Bethel), dedicated to Baal, which is now called Bowartiah; 'reed-mats.' The mass of the structure is of unbaked brick, the lower part butttressed with baked brick. That these buildings have resisted so long is remarkable, but they must have been unsatisfactory. As a contrast to the temple of Ishtar at Erech may be mentioned that of Nebu at Borsip (the traditional Tower of Babel), where there are masses of brickwork of extraordinary hardness. The ruin still awaits complete excavation.

Besides brick and Babylonian, and brick and stone in the inscriptions are cedar, terebinth (?), oak (?), palm-wood, cypress, pistachio-wood, etc. Nebu-

chadrezzar speaks of the cedar-beams from Lebanon which were used for the roofing of the temples of Babylon, which he adds, were overlaid with shining gold. Besides this, silver, bronze, copper, rare stones, and ivory were used for their adornment. As before mentioned, baked and unbaked brick took the place, with the Babylonians, of the building-stones used by the Assyrians, bitumen being generally used for mortar, as stated in Gn 11.

Concerning the ornamentation, the inscriptions give but little information. The principal architectural decoration of the upper terminations of the walls were also the grading number of cells, large recesses in the brick or stone walls in a vertical direction, and, when well carried out, had a sufficiently decorative effect.

Failing stone, certain of the buildings of Babylon were decorated with reliefs of enamelled brick; and though this cannot be proved for the temples, it is extremely probable that some of them at least were made of bricks, either more especially as some of the fragments found seemed to have been parts of fabulous or mythological beings (see ART [Assy.-Bab.]). In these there was an attempt at reproduction in natural colours, and there were inscriptions in white characters on a blue ground—a habit, but the whole showing considerable knowledge and skill.

The Babylonians seem often to have employed, however, the same method of decoration as the Assyrians, namely, fresco, traces of which have been found. In the case of the temple E-mah at Babylon, the distemper, as far as preserved, is white, probably chosen as the groundwork for decorations in colours, similar to the more or less geometrical flower-forms of the painted tiles and other decorations of the temple called Kidmer at Calah. The centres of the tiles, which were circular or lozenge-shaped, are generally provided with a knob pierced with a hole, probably for the purpose of hanging a lamp, though no remains of lamps are stated to have been found. Other Assyrian ornament consists of rosettes between two colored borders, and red, blue, and black rosettes above a similar border supported by a kind of arcade-ornament—perhaps the original suggestion for the true arcades of architecture. The colours in the distemper-ornamentation were exceedingly bright.*

The principal portals of the temples of Assyria were guarded by colossal bulls and lions, with the usual sacred figures, which, in the case of the smaller temple at Nimrud, were generally covered with inscriptions. The bas-reliefs always represent religious subjects. The exterior walls of this building seem to have been faced with enamelled bricks, some of which were found. Whether the temples at Babylon had their entrances flanked by colossal winged bulls or not is not certain; it seems probable, at least in some cases, as they are to all appearance referred to by Ashur-bani-apli, king of Assyria, in his account of the destruction wrought by his grandfather Sennacherib at Babylon on the occasion of his final conquest of the city (see Ashur-bani-apli's great cylinder, transl. iv. line 70).

T. G. PINCHES.

ARCHITECTURE (Celtic),—We have no definite information about the religious architecture of the Gauls. In the case of the Celts, ancient writers never describe places devoted to worship by the word saos or adts; they make use of vaguer

* See Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, 1st series, p. 86, 87

This art. deals with pre-Christian Celtic Architecture; for Christian Celtic Architecture see ASCENTEAE (Christian).
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terms, such as locus consecratus (Caesar, de Bb.
Gall. vi. 13. 17), tepor (Diod. v. 27. 4; Strabo, iv.
4. 5; Plut. Caesar. 26; Dio Cae. lix. 7; cf. xxvii.
90), templum (Livy, xxiii. 24. 11; Suet. Caesar, 54),
témeus (Strabo, xii. 5. 2; Diod. v. 27. 4), and σηχος
(Strabo, iv. 1. 13).
The term of the ancient Celts, therefore, resembled neither the sanctuary of the Greek
temples nor the great buildings which constituted the
temples of the Romans. There is no doubt
that they were enclosures frequently situated in
the woods. Lucan (iii. 399-425) describes a sacred
area of wood near Marseilles where sacrifices were offered
to the gods with barbaric ceremonies, and
where there were altars on which cruel rites were per-
formed; all the trees in the wood were purified
with human blood; the miserable effigies of
the gods were devoid of art—shapeless masses of
 trunk-tree. Pompianus Mela (iii. 2. 17) remarks that
the large sacred woods of Gaul lent a pleasing
appearance to the country. Caesar mentions the
sacred place in the territory of the Carnutes where
year by year the Druids assembled to administer
justice (de Bb. Gall. vi. 13), and states that in
the sacred places of many races were to be seen pieces
of spoil taken from enemies, and that a Gaul would
never go away from a place of the hundred oaks, in his
hurt, or carry off anything from these stores (vi. 17).
The Arvernii had hung up in front of a temple (τεφις λεόβοι)
the little sword that Caesar had left with them
during a battle. Plutarch (Caesar, 20), who reports
the traditions, refers to the practices of the
Greek and Roman custom, and we cannot conclude
from this statement that a building was referred to.
At Toulouse the sacred places included lakes, where
great treasures were eventually accumulated under
the water (Cass. xlix. 1. 13; Justini. xxxii. 3. 10).
There were temples among the Galatians; and it was to
one of them that the Boii brought their boot and the head
of the consul Postumius. There
my head made into a cup hooped with gold,
and it was this sacred vessel that was used by
the priests of the temple on their feast-days (Livy,
xxiii. 24). Polibus mentions a temple (τεφος τεφος)
of Athene among the Insurians where the ensigns
of war were kept (ii. 32). There is nothing to show
that these temples were anything else than
ordinary buildings.
The Britons in the time of Queen Boudicca
had sacred places, and they offered human sacrifices in
the sacred wood (τεφρος τεφρος) of the goddess Adrastia
(Dio Cae. lixi. 7). In B.C. 61, Suetonius Paulinus
occupied the sacred woods of Mona, which were
devoted to savage superstitions, to be cut down
(Tac. Ann. xiv. 30).
The council of the Galatians of Asia Minor met
and judge cases of murder in a place called
περμερον. The second part of this word means, in
Celtic, ‘sacred wood.’ It probably refers to a place
consecrated to worship (Strabo, xii. 5. 1).
It must further be added that the Druids were
regarded as the inhabitants of the forests. Accord-
ing to Mela (iii. 2. 17), according to Lucan (i. 493) they lived, in caves or
secret glades. Pliny states that it was in oak-
trees that they gathered mistletoe. The oldest
tymology of the name ‘Druids’ made them ‘the
men of the oaks,’ from the Gr. τεφος (Pliny, xvi. 56,
293). If we may calculate the shape of the sacred
enclosures from the ruins of Gallo-Roman temples,
ye were almost perfectly square. But nothing
more can be determined concerning the Gallic
period from the numerous stone temples of which
ruins have been found in Gaul, and which date from
the Roman epoch. If there were small buildings
sacred to the gods in Celtic countries in ancient
times, these buildings, like the Gallic houses, were
made of wood and wicker-work (Strabo, iv. 4. 3;
Caesar, v. 43; Vitruvius, vi. 1. 5). The Gauls did not use stone except for building the walls of their
oppida, and even then it was unhewn stone, ad-
justed by means of wooden cross-pieces and iron
bolts (Caesar, vii. 23). They seem to have been
ignorant of the art of building stones and joining
them with mortar.
They probably found it as ridiculous to enclose
the gods in any kind of house as to represent
them in human form. Diodorus tells that Brennus
laughed very much on seeing wooden and stone
statues of anthropomorphic gods in a Greek temple
(xxxii. 9. 4). Lucan, when describing the sacred wood
near Marseilles, and Caesar, when speaking of the
Gallic Mercury (vi. 17), use the word simulacra to
denote the representations of the gods. Does this
refer to more or less rough wooden statues similar to
the ἔστρα of primitive Greece, or to shapeless
stone statues like some of the extinct menhirs?
It is possible that the Gallic races employed now the
same method of representing their deities and now
the other, according to the nature of the soil. The
deities of the Gallo-Roman period—the Bull, the
Woodman, the god with the mallet, the god with
the wheel—undoubtedly arose from a new religious
and religious superstitions. No text gives evidence of the Druids having for-
bidden idolatry, and no text states clearly that
there were real statues of gods among the Celts;
therefore we cannot affirm that their sacred en-
closures contained wooden symbols similar to those of savage tribes. The
huge bronze statue of Zeus which the Galatians
had at Tavium was probably of Greek origin, like
the cult of the god whom it represented (Strabo,
xxii. 5. 2).
There do not seem to have been any buildings
devoted to worship in pagan Ireland. Idols were
apparently erected in the open air, as, e.g.,
the large stone idol called ‘Crom Cruch,’ which was
surrounded by twelve smaller idols covered with
brass and bronze ornaments. There were similar
idol-places in various parts of Ireland, and some of
them were believed to deliver oracles, e.g. the
famous ‘Lia Fail’ at Tara. The idol Bel, in honour of
which bonfires (through which cattle were made
to pass) were kindled on the summer solstice,
does not seem to have been enclosed in a temple any
more than the other idols.
As regards the civil architecture of ancient
Ireland, it is practically the same as that of races at
the same stage of civilization. The houses were
usually round in shape, built of wood and wicker-
work, and covered with thatch. They were very
small. The chief room served as kitchen, dining-
room, drawing-room, and bed-room. Among
the higher classes of society, small recesses were fitted
in along the walls, each containing one or more
beds. But the common people undoubtedly slept
on beds arranged along the wall, as was the custom
in Gaul and in Scotland during the same period.
The fire was in the middle of the house, and smoke escaped through an opening in the roof.
The beds were placed in such a way that the
sleepers had their feet towards the fire. Each
bed contained often two and sometimes three persons.
It was only in the houses of chiefs that arrange-
ments were made to avoid too complete promiscuity,
and that beds were surrounded with curtains.

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toire et les traditions, Autumn, 1879; Jullian, Histoire de la Gaule,
Paris, 1902, ii. 165-227; Dottin, Manuel pour servir à l’étude de
l’antiquité celtique, Paris, 1906, pp. 129 f., 153, 250-254; Joyce,

G. DOTTIN.

ARCHITECTURE (Chinese).—As the world
is still in the dark with regard to the whole
problem of China and the Chinese, so is it with
Chinese architecture. From an architectural point of view, this is a very novel and interesting subject. A style never dreamed of by Europeans is adopted quite freely, and a design which they call irrational and unnatural is executed with success. Little wonder, therefore, that we find few students of Chinese architecture, and those few touching on the subject but superficially.

The style of the architecture is a combination of the trebled and arced systems, the materials consisting of wood, brick, and stone. The curved roof, with the skyward-projecting eaves, forms the principal feature of the building. This feature is especially noticeable in Southern China. Generally speaking, however, both the plan and the elevation are monotonous, and the whole structure is rigidly symmetrical. The mode of decoration is strikingly peculiar. The exterior is usually coloured bright red; and temples and palaces are sometimes decorated with ornamental sculptures and paintings. Gorgious colours are applied to the interior, and the whole appearance of rooms and furniture is very picturesque. Red is the prominent colour, and green, blue, purple, and yellow (gold). Northern China is destitute of trees, as rain falls only once a year. Hence the building materials are principally brick and stone. Consequently a trebled system of wood and an arched one are the only forms known. On the other hand, the abundance of trees in the South has given an impulse to a considerable development of wooden buildings, with deeply curved and boldly projecting eaves. As to the origin of the concave outline of the roof, there is diversity of opinion. The present writer considers it but a natural result of the necessity of making a gradual change in the slope of the roof as it approaches the eaves, and of the maintenance of harmony with their curves. The fact is that the bold curvature always follows the bold concave of the roofs. It is rather strange that the plan of Chinese architecture is always an arrangement of rectangular blocks; not a single example of roofing on irregular plans is known. This is due to the direct transmission of the ideas of primitive times, and is a good illustration of the stagnant mind of the people.

Chinese architecture may be called the architecture of colouring. Without colours it is a bare, rugged skeleton. Both without and within colour are profusely adopted. The fondness for red betrays the primitive mind. But this primitive colouring is in harmony and uniformity with the taste of the primitive plans and elevations. The simplicity and coarseness of the construction and the carelessness of workmanship are beyond expression, especially in the productions of recent date. The exaltation of art and the execution of details have been entirely ignored by modern architects.

Historically, Chinese architecture may be arranged as follows: (1) Chinese architecture proper (B.C. 2200–A.D. 68, i.e., from the earliest historical age to the introduction of Buddhism: Hsiia, Shang, Chou, Ch' in, and the earlier Han Dynasties); (2) the rise of Buddhist architecture (A.D. 68–A.D. 608, i.e., from the introduction of Buddhism to the Six Dynasties: the later Han, both Chins, Sung, Ch' i, Lian, Chén, and Sui Dynasties, and also Wei, Ch' i, Chou of the North Dynasties); (3) Buddhist architecture in full splendour (A.D. 618–A.D. 1290, i.e., T'ang, Wu-tai, and Sung Dynasties); and (4) the introduction of Lámaism (A.D. 1260–present day, i.e., Yuen, Ming, and Ch'ing Dynasties).

(1) The first was the period of palace building. Unfortun ately, there are no remains in existence for our investigation. From a study of the time, however, we find that there existed during this period magnificent palaces and towers, great in design and majestic in style, such as A-Fang of the Ch'in emperor Shih- Whu-an Ti, and Chang-Lè, and Wei-Yang of the Han. The relics which show most clearly the structural aspect and treatment of details of that time are the relics of Wu-Lian-Tzu, though the monument itself belongs to the later Han dynasty. We can trace long projected wooden eaves, halafatored towers, various kinds of carvings, richly decorated roofs, etc.

(2) The second period may be divided into the earlier Han and the North and South Dynasties. During the North and South Dynasties the influence of Buddhist architecture began to be felt. The style of Buddhist architecture remained without much alteration, any change being confined to the inner arrangement and decorations. This feature is especially noticeable in Southern China. Generally speaking, however, both the plan and the elevation are monotonous, and the whole structure is rigidly symmetrical. The mode of decoration is strikingly peculiar. The exterior is usually coloured bright red; and temples and palaces are sometimes decorated with ornamental sculptures and paintings. Gorgious colours are applied to the interior, and the whole appearance of rooms and furniture is very picturesque.

(3) The third period may be divided into the earlier T'ang, the later T'ang, and Sung. In the earlier T'ang, Buddhist architecture and all other branches of art had reached the height of their grandeur, and from the later T'ang to Sung they began to decline continuously. During that time elaborate Taoistic temples were also built. The pagodas of T'ou-wen-ssu and of Chien-foo-ssu, at Si-an, Shensi, are specimens of the earlier T'ang. The two pillars and the two stone pagodas of Ling-yin temple at Hang-chow, Che-k'iang, are probably remains of the Five Dynasties. Besides, dissipated temples and exceptional pagodas belonging to the Five Dynasties and Sung are found in various parts of Southern China.

(4) The fourth period is divided as follows: (a) The Yuen. With the introduction of Lámaism changes were brought about in architecture. A fine specimen of this time is the temple near Pe-king. There are also the rock-cut sculptures at Fe-héi-ling, at the front of Ling-yin-ssu, Hang-chow. (b) The Ch'ing. Remains of this period are abundant in the old palaces at Nan-king and several of the Pe-king palaces are examples, and there is also an innominate number of pagodas. (c) The Ch'ing. Somewhat noteworthy relics belonging to the reigns of the emperors Kung-hsi and Ch'ien-lung are in abundance, but the productions of later date are valueless.

The Chinese architecture developed rapidly with the introduction of Buddhism and reached its golden age under the T'ang Dynasty. From the Sung it gradually degenerated down to the present day, when its ancient splendour has entirely vanished.

For convenience' sake, we may classify Chinese architecture according to the religions which have influenced the thoughts and arts of the people: Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Muham- madanism. Others, such as Zoroastrianism, Mani- chaeism, Nestorianism, and Judaism, were of a transient nature, and have left no architectural remains. Then we have a group of secular architecture: castles, palaces, dwelling-houses, etc., which will be treated below.

I. Confucian Architecture. The religion which has spread all over China, and is found only by all the people, is Confucianism. Temples, known as Hsin-shih-miao or Wén-miao (the latter different from Wu-miao [see § 3]), are dedicated everywhere in cities and towns. The most celebrated one is in Ch' u-fou-hsien, Shantsu, the birthplace of the sage. The temples of Pe-king and of Nan-king are well known, the former on account of the stone drums in the Ta-ch'Ieng-mén, and the latter on account of its immense size. But from an architectural point of view they show very little variety of plan and elevation.

The main edifice of the temple is the Ta-ch'Ieng- tien, built on a high platform, two-storeyed, and mostly hip-roofed. In the centre of the interior the tablet of Chi-sheng-k'ung-tzu (the most sacred of Confucius) is enshrined. To the right of the tablet of Chi-sheng-k'ung-tzu, the tablet of Tsung-sheng-te-t'ang-tzu and Ya-sheng-t'ung-t'ien, and to the right, those of Fu-sheng-yuen-tzu and Shu-sheng-tzu-tzu-tzu, are arranged. As a rule, there are also the tablets of the twelve disciples. In front of the gate is the Lung-t'mén, and in front of the men is a pond, and still farther forward is a pai-lou (popularly known as the Ling- hing-men). On the sides of these buildings there are the East and the West corridors. Occasionally behind the Ta-ch'Ieng-tien there is a building which is sometimes called Ch'ung-sheng-tu. Within the
Ta-ch'ing-mên there are sometimes a bell-tower and a drum-tower facing each other. The general arrangement of these buildings resembles that of the Buddhist temple: e.g. Ta-ch'ing-mên stands for Fou-tien, Ta-ch'ing-mên for Tien-wang-tien, etc. As a rule, the Wên-miao is combined with the intorial. One of the most famous institutions is Pai-ma-szu, at the foot of Wu-lao-fêng, a south-east peak of Lu-shan in Nan-kung-fu, Kiangsi. This was established by Chu-tzu. The largest among numerous buildings in the compound is Tchang-hsien-shu-yuan. Within this temple are the Three Taoist styles, Confucian teaching; hence the relation of schools to the Wên-miao is similar to that of monasteries to the Buddhist temple.

2. Buddhist Architecture. The most important fact from the development of Chinese architecture is Buddhism. History says that in the reign of Ming-ti of the later Han the new religion was first introduced into China (65 A.D.), and Pai-ma-szu was built at Lâ-yang. Henceforward it spread and flourisheth continuously, with the result that the city of Lâ-yang, the seat of the most important Buddhist temple, was built in Yung-ning-szu by the Empress Dowager Hu of the North Wei. It is said to have been 900 ft. high, with a finial of 100 ft. But Buddhism suffered from the corruptions and disorders that were prevalent from the later T'ang to the Five Dynasties, and no temples of any importance were built. A temporary revival began under the earlier Sung, resulting in elaborate temple-building in Southern China during the Sung Dynasty. Ta-Chou (Kiang-su), Chiang-ling (now Nan-kings), and their neighbourliness were the centres. Under the Yüan Dynasty, Lâmaism was made the State religion. The architectural style of Lâma temples does not differ from that of the Buddhist temples, except in the Tibetan style to details, and the importation of new images and ritual articles. One new feature is the introduction of a pagoda which is a direct copy of a Tibetan model. Since the Ming Dynasty, Buddhism has been in a dormant state, greatly influenced by Lâmaism. In earlier days, Buddhism was divided into thirteen sects, but under the later T'ang only three prevailed: Vinaya sect, Dhyâna sect, and Sukhâvati sect. Dhyâna was subdivided into five sects. At present this is the ruling sect, other shades of belief being indistinguishable. We may say that the architectural features are practically common to all sects. Among the temples now existing are Yung-wo-kun in Pe-king and several other temples on the Western hills of Pe-king. The architectural city in Shan-si, Tientsai-shan, Pu-t'o-shan, Tien-t'ung-shan, Tienomu-shan in Chê-kie, Lu-shan in Kiang-si, Womei-shan in Szechuan, etc., are widely known, but they are almost in ruins and deserted, without a trace of their former splendour.

The common arrangement of Buddhist architecture is as follows:—In the main front there is the first gateway (shan-mên), wherein usually two guardian figures (er-tien) are kept. Then comes the t'ien-wang-tien ('temple'). In the centre of this temple an image of Maitreya with the features of Pu-tai is enshrined; behind Maitreya, and back to back, is a standing figure of Veddaveda. In the four corners are the su-tien-wang ('four heavenly kings'); in the North-east is Virûpâksha with a harp, in the South-east is Dhriti-kashtri with a sword, in the North-west Vaisravana with an umbrella, and in the South-west Virûdhaka grasping a serpent. Behind the t'ien-wang-tien is the ta-tien, known by various names, such as Ta-hsing-pao-tien or Fou-tien, where the Buddha and eighteen Arhats are enshrined.

Still further behind the ta-tien are sometimes the fa-t'ang ('preaching hall'), tsung-ch'ing-kê ('library'), and fan-ch'ang ('cloister for head priest'). To the right and left of the above buildings are corridors, divided into sections, used for various purposes. Generally there are the ko-t'ang ('reception hall'), ch'ieh-tien ('shrine for the guardian god'), tsu-shih-tien ('shrine for the founder of the sect'), shên-t'ang ('meditation hall'), ch'i-t'ang ('court hall'), yin-shui-t'ang ('cloister for mendicant priests'), etc. To the right and left of the t'ien-wang-tien a bell-tower and a drum-tower stand facing each other, sometimes with the addition of a pagoda.

The pagoda is the most interesting and tasteful of Buddhist buildings, there being numerous varieties of form. Its origin is the stûpa of India, obviously transported from Central Asia and India. The process of the modification of form is not yet plain, as even the pagoda of a very remote period seen on reliefs and carvings are many-storied, already losing the shape of the original stûpa. The pagoda of Ts'en-szu, Si-an, is the oldest now in existence, and is said to be a copy of a model from Central Asia. The pagoda of the T'ien-szu-shih-t'ang is in plan. Others are mostly seven- to thirteen-storied, octagonal, and built of brick. One in Tien-ningsz, Pe-king, is an example of the kind. In the Southern China and Yanzê valleys seven-storied and hexagonal pagodas are also seen. The Lâma pagoda is merely a copy of a Tibetan model, the origin of which is an Indian stûpa. They are abundantly seen in Northern China, and a beautiful example is that of Pai-ta-szu of Pe-king.

3. Taoist Architecture. The special style of architecture in Taoism, as it is practically borrowed from Buddhism. With a slight modification of the images and ritual articles, a Buddhist temple gives a good idea of the Taoist temple, such as is represented in Pe-king and Chou-tu-shih. Behind the entrance pai-lou there is a shan-mên; and then comes a ling-kuan-tien, where at the centre and in the four corners the images of Lin-kuan are enshrined, corresponding to the t'ien-wang-tien of a Buddhist temple. Then there is the yu-huang-tien, where Yü-huan is worshipped; the luo-lu-tien for the seven sages of Taoism; the ch'iu-tou-tien, and the su-yu-tien successively follow. In the last hall even the 'Eight Treasures' of Lâmaism are contained.

Temples for Chinese gods owe their origin to Taoism. The architectural style is Buddhist, with the following exceptions: at the front they have a stage for theatrical purposes, and before the stage there is an extensive court-yard; the architectural city is on in Shan-si, and the decorations more elaborate. The Kuan-ti-miao, or Wu-miao, is seen everywhere in China. Here Kuan-yû is worshipped, always attended by his two followers, Ch'ou-.tsang and Kuan-ping. The cheng-huang-miao is a guardian temple of town and village. Numerous temples of Wên-miao ('Temple of the Star-god'), T'ai-shen-miao ('Temple of the god of Wealth'), Huo-shen-miao ('Temple of the god of Fire'), Fên-shen-miao
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(‘Temple of the god of Wind’), Shui-shen-kun (‘Temple of the god of Water’), ... of art, has endeavoured, in the light of what he did understand, to interpret things which he did not understand.

In later days the art of temple building was gradually developed. The buildings were usually covered with an arched-shaped roof. In the Northern Wei period the house of the imperial family in the capital Chang-an was built in large style. From this time the art of temple building in China may be said to have been established.

4. Muhammadan Architecture.—Since the first mosque was built at Canton in the 7th cent. A.D., Muhammadanism has seen many ebbs and flows during the course of time, but it is flourishing far and wide. Ardent adherents are numerous, especially in the provinces of Kan-su and Shen-si. All the buildings are similar in plan, and pagoda-shaped towers, instead of domed like the mosques in other countries, are built, with a mihrab, and decorated with arabesque and Arabic characters. The tower is usually divided into front and back parts and is arched at the upper part. The interior is divided into the right-hand corner of the back hall, where decorations of arabesque and Arabic characters are again executed here and there. Near the bell there is sometimes a fountain, and sometimes a hall for purification. Occasionally halls for the head priest, for receptions, etc., are arranged as in a Buddhist temple. Often even the interior of the hall is of a Chinese style, entirely losing all signs of Muhammadanism. Thus in a Chinese mosque there is neither dome nor minaret; but it is a slight modification of an ordinary Chinese temple.

5. Tombs.—The ancient Chinese tombs were simply low artificial mounds where coffins were kept. Later on, monuments were erected, accompanied by stone figures of men and animals. This custom was prevalent as early as the later Han Dynasty, and still exists at the present day. Massively designed mausoleums of the T'ang Dynasty may be seen in the neighbourhood of Si-an. Earth is raised in a mound, and human and animal figures of stone and stone statues of the emperor and empress are placed in the north, east, west, and south. In the T'ang period the mausoleums of the Ming Dynasty were built of the same design: pai-lou, ta-hung-mên, pei-lou, stone-men, stone-animals, and then again gates and archways leading to the last mound. The mausoleums of Tai-tsu and Tai-teung of the present dynasty are near Mukden. They are simply copies of the Ming mausoleum. In the tomb of an ordinary person there are no stone-figures. It is a little cone-shaped mound, often enclosed by earth with an opening on the back. Sometimes the coffins are placed in a cave made on the hill-side and covered with stone slabs. Sometimes a stone chamber is built to contain the coffin. The tombs of priests are pagodas of either brick or stone, or probably a combination of both.

6. Secular Architecture.—Castles, palaces, meeting-halls, dwelling-houses, and the like, are distinguished from ecclesiastical architecture. The castle is surrounded by high battlements, with embrasures, are erected on the walls. The entrances consist of double gates (yu-chêng): beyond the first the path turns sharply and leads to another. The upper part of the two-towered tower, and beneath it is a vaulted passage, which can be closed at will by huge doors strengthened by bands of iron. On a large building in the main street of the city there stand bell- and drum-towers for reporting the time, the upper part being the tower and the lower the passage. The present mode of palace architecture in general is the same as that of the past. The Pe-king palace is similar to the old Ming palace of Nan-ch'ing. It is called Chiu-chang-tien-mien (Nine-fold system). The front part, which is used for public audiences, is called chao, and the back, for private audiences, is t'ing. The architectural mode of the tien and the mên does not differ from that of the temples already described. Here the T'ai, or platform, for natarevo of the temple, is extended, for which the Tien-t'an at Pe-king is so famous.

A building called hui-kwan is an assembly-hall for colonial clans and commercial guilds. The club-system is wonderfully developed in China, and there are magnificent buildings for the purpose. In front they have a theatrical stage facing an extensive court-yard, which is surrounded by corridors.

Dwelling-houses in Northern China vary in some respects from those of the South. In the former, the premises are covered by high wings. At the entrance is a gate with a cell, and then a court-yard. A second gate with corridors, a second court-yard, a third gate with corridors, a third court-yard, etc., are repeated in the same manner and disposed according to the wealth and rank of the occupant. The house itself is a simple repetition of rectangular blocks and corridors. The unsuitable materials, the heavy mode of construction, the defectiveness of lighting and ventilation, etc., detract from its architectural value; but, on the whole, with its fantastic features, it presents a picturesque appearance.

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ARCHITECTURE (Christian).—Although it is possible to discuss the different edifices erected by Christians in divers times and places, it is most important, at the outset, to dispel any of those misconceptions which would suppose that there ever was any Christian style as such. The Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages has often been spoken of as Christian architecture par excellence, and undoubtedly it is the most important of the styles in which Christians have erected their buildings, and being the style of our own country, it naturally demands the largest share of our attention. But it is not to the medieval Church that we could create, a style of architecture, any more than it could create a style of mathematics, or science, although it may make use of all of them. It has used buildings of the Latin, Byzantine, Moorish, Gothic, and Renaissance, and even the Greek styles, which differ from each other as much as one style of architecture can differ from another; and the differences are due to differences in the aesthetic expression of the people. These may be associated with other differences of character which may affect the forms of Christianity itself, but they are both the outcome of causes behind; the one is not the cause of the other. A certain type of man will produce a certain type of art and a certain type of Christianity, but the type of Christianity does not make the type of art, any more than the type of art makes the type of Christianity. Even schools of science or philosophy may be coloured in the same way. The failure to grasp this very simple fundamental principle has led to much absurd and unscientific assumption of the understanding of art and architecture. Doubtless the cause lies in the fact that to be a Christian it is not necessary to be an artist, and many a good Christian, quite innocent of any knowledge of art, has endeavoured, in the light of what he did understand, to interpret things which he did not understand.
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All this does not alter the fact that a church is a definitely Christian building erected for Christian purposes, and as such it may in many ways reveal this fact; but, at the same time, its principal architectural qualities are aesthetic rather than religious, and a building such as St. Paul’s is architecturally more akin to Castle Howard than to Westminster Abbey, which, in its turn, claims a closer kinship with Westminster Hall or the town halls of Belgium. The architecture of the Middle Ages was as much an architecture of castle and hall as of cathedral and church, and as is closely related to the spirit of chivalry and romance as to Christianity. Medieval Christianity, chivalry, romance, and architecture are alike the outcome of the medieval man; one is not the cause of the other, even although there is a certain amount of interaction. To speak of Christian architecture, then, as a parallel term with Greek architecture, is entirely illogical. Herefore, we can examine Christian buildings in various styles of architecture, although we cannot strictly speak of Christian architecture as such. It may also be possible to show how Christian building doubtless left some impress upon the several styles of which it made use.

1. Latin Architecture.—The earliest form of church with which we have an intimate acquaintance is the so-called Christian basilica, and its origin is exceedingly difficult to trace. One thing at least is clear; it is not directly derived from the Roman basilica, as was absurdly suggested in an uncritical and unhistorical age. The Christian church naturally developed from humble beginnings, where two or three might gather together; and such a lordly prototype is impossible. It used even to be suggested that the actual basilicas were the first Christian churches. But, as Christianity was over 300 years old before the conversion of Constantine, the Christians could not have had the remotest chance of using these buildings. Moreover, even after A.D. 312 (the date of Constantine’s conversion), the basilicas were still required for their original purpose, and could not have been handed over to, what, even at that time, was but a minority of the people. During all these three hundred years the Christians had required places of worship, and undoubtedly a more or less definite arrangement of their buildings by that time had become crystallized. As an instance of the futility of the argument, not to say the gross perversion of the contexts, we may note the following passage, one of the main passages quoted in favour of this theory:

In a laudatory piece of writing by Ausonius addressed to the Emperor Gratian thanking him for the consulship, we find the following passage: ‘Qua, inquam, locus est, qui non beneficis tuis agit, inquam? Nullus, inquam, Imperator Augustus, qui admiramenta speciem tuo venerandissimis inscit; non palatum, quod tu, cum terram sacrossecpas, amabile presidiis; non forum, et basilia olim nobiles plena, nunc volat, velatque pro tua salus expectat.’ The passage is given by Professor Baldwin Brown in his admirably suggestive work, From Schools to Cathedral (1900), and, as he points out, was, for an Emperor’s welfare in palace, forum, basilica, or senate house (mentioned later), are scanty evidence that any one of these was converted into a church, and why the basilicas should be singled out from the others with which it is coupled remains a mystery.

Leaving such puerilities, it remains perfectly true that the Christian basilica in the 4th cent. A.D. bore some resemblance to the Roman basilica, although it has never been proved that the Roman basilica was ever roofed in; but one might as well argue from a modern fleet as to the appearance of the Spanish Armada, the interval of time being the same, and the development of Christianity as rapid as that of our fleets. What was the case in A.D. 350 is of little value as evidence for what was the case at the beginning of the Christian era, in architecture as in anything else.

The earliest Christian services were held in the Jewish synagogues, and in private houses; and in comparatively early times we find the Christians locally occupying the position of the sodalicia, which correspond to our Friendly and Burial Societies. These Societies often possessed a scuola, or lodge-room, where they held their banquets in honour of the deceased.

These three forms of building may all have influenced the early form of the Christian church, although it should be noted that the scuola, with its aper, was probably itself derived from the large private hall, which often had an apsidal termination.

On the whole, the largest influence may be assigned to the private house (fig. 1). Certainly such houses were made over to the Christians for their use, and it may be even more than a coincidence that we find in the atrium of the early church the atrium of the Greco-Roman house, in the cloisters the peristyle of the house, and in the church itself the hall, acco, or principal chamber, as at St. Ambrogio, Milan (fig. 2), or the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, where the atrium is reduced to a simple narthex.

The narthex, which gradually disappears from the Christian church, was the outer vestibule into which catechumens and penitents were permitted to enter, who were not admitted into the church itself. It is probable that the atrium originally served a similar purpose, and the idea may be derived from the Court of the Gentiles in the Jewish Temple.

Some of the earliest actual places of meeting that still exist are the little chapels such as that in the catacomb of St. Agnes (fig. 3); but their value as evidence is slight, as the conditions were peculiar, and the form caused by throwing two or three cells together was the result of necessity rather than choice. The several cells may suggest divisions between the sexes or simply be...
between clergy and laity, the clergy fairly obviously occupying the end cell and the bishop the seat at the end. The altar must have been somewhere in the body of the chapel, and as there is no trace of it, it was presumably in the form of a wooden table. But even this cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 250, and there is room for much change in a couple of hundred years.

What, then, are the characteristics of the early Christian basilica when first it emerges into the light of history? It is a three- or five-aisled hall, with the central aisle rising higher than the others and lit by a clerestory. At the end of the central aisle, generally the west end, is an apse containing the seats of the clergy. The entrance is at the opposite end, and beyond that is a narthex, and sometimes a complete atrium. The baptistery, commonly of circular or octagonal form, is usually in a separate building, on the other side of the atrium, or of the narthex, as at Parenzo. In the latter arrangement we may possibly see the origin of the German two-apsed church.

Occasionally, particularly in Rome, there is a space in front of the apse, and a great arch is thrown across the last pair of columns, known as the triumphal arch, as in Santa Maria in Trastevere (figs. 6, 7, and 10).

In this space is seen by some the origin of the later transept, but it does not occur in the Ravenna churches, and the later transept probably has a double origin; and this is, at any rate, not the only factor. The building was apparently roofed with a simple open timber roof. The flat ceilings that occur in some Roman examples are late Renaissance, although they may possibly represent something older. They are rarely found elsewhere, but are supposed to have been a feature of the Roman public basilica (fig. 6). The walls were generally of brick, and comparatively thin, as there was only the wooden roof to support. Unlike the Roman basilica, it had no galleries, and consequently we find a very large wall space above the line of columns (fig. 7). This formed an excellent field for pictorial decoration, and at the same time distinguished it from the public basilica. Neither were the columns returned across the end opposite to the apse, at any rate in Italy, as was the case with the Roman building.

On the whole also, it seems probable that the apse was not a usual feature of the public basilica, and, when it did occur, it was practically in a separate part of the building. The columns in the Christian basilicas, particularly in the case of Rome, were stolen from earlier buildings, and it is very usual to find that they do not match. This also accounts for the poor proportions of the earlier Christian buildings in Rome, as compared with those in Ravenna, where there was no such available spoil to hand, and the builders had to fall back upon their own resources. At first the horizontal entablature is more common, but it is gradually superseded by an arcade of arches, which gives an appearance of greater height to the building, although the necessarily wider intercolumniations detract somewhat from the effect of length. The principal entrance was perhaps more often at the east end, following the arrangement of the temples of Greece. But the question of orientation was of little moment, and churches faced in any direction. After the custom of having the entrance at the west, and the altar at the east, came into vogue, as in England to-day, it was hardly ever more than a Northern fashion. Moreover, the first fashion was exactly the reverse way, with the altar at the west. The first church that we know to have had an altar at the east end was built in A.D. 470 (St. Agatha, Ravenna). Of the early churches in Rome 40 out of 50 have net their altars at the east.

The altar or table in the 6th cent. was at the opposite end from the main entrance, but in the body of the church in front of the apse, so arranged
that the faithful sat round it, the clergy on one side and the laity on the other. Of course, this arrangement in most instances has been altered, but the following churches in Italy show the old plan more or less undisturbed:—Torcello Cathedral, St. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, and Parenzo Cathedral (figs. 8, 11, and 4). (The bishop presided in a raised seat in the centre of the apse, very much as did the president at the table in the early senate.) Outside Italy, in the East, where there has been less change and alteration, such churches are quite numerous, but the following instances will suffice:—Ezra, Fitzounda, Mochwi, Bedochwinta, Abu Sargah (fig. 14), Dair-as-Suriani. Bedochwinta has the seats at the back and down both sides, advancing even beyond the altar (fig. 9).

Churches with the altar in the body of the church, and the bishop’s seat behind, but without the other seats, are familiar in Italy. There seems also to have been an arrangement, at any rate sometimes, for the lesser clergy and choir, whereby they occupied all the space immediately in front of the altar and were separated from the laity by a low screen. In the old church of St. Clemente in Rome, this screen, part of which is built from the actual pre-existing screen, may be taken to represent the original arrangement.

The floors of the churches were of ordinary marble mosaic, but this has often been altered in later times, and we see the so-called Cosmati work made with large pieces of coloured marble, surrounded by small mosaic, and this, again, by bands of white marble. A good example of the basilican church is S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome (fig. 10). This, although almost entirely a modern restoration after the fire of 1823, is still the best representative of a great five-aisled basilicas that has come down to us. It is 400 ft. long and 200 ft. wide, with a central aisle of 78 ft. The complete atrium of Old St. Peter’s is here represented only by a narthex. The bema hardly projects beyond the aisle walls, and is peculiar in being double. It is in area among the largest churches in Christendom; but it is quite a simple thing to build these comparatively low buildings, with their light wooden roofs. There are 19 columns with pseudo-Corinthian capitals and a sort of Attic base. They are without flutings, and carry a series of simple, round arches. Above is a cornice, and where there would be the gallery in a Roman basilica, or the triforium in a Gothic church, is a series of medallions. The triumphal arch is carried upon a pair of columns on plinths. These columns have Ionic capitals, and the whole arch forms a very imposing feature, although not comparable with the great arches of the crossing in a Gothic cathedral. The general vista is fine, although, partly from excessive breadth, and still more from an inadequate marking of the bay divisions, which is so well managed in a Gothic cathedral, the length here is not felt. The church at present has a rich coffered ceiling, but it is doubtful whether this would have been the case with the original church of the 4th century.

In Ravenna perhaps the noblest example is St. Apollinare in Classe. It illustrates the characteristics of the place, which on the whole shows the indebtedness to Greek work even more than to Rome. As a result, the work forms a far more complete artistic unity. Everything is designed for the position that it occupies, and is not the spoil from other days. The church is a three-aisled basilica and has no transeptal space before the apse, this, as already stated, being what we should expect in Ravenna. In the dosseret above
the capitals, as at S. Vitale (fig. 12), and the polygonal exterior to the apse, we see Byzantine features.

The capitals are carved for their place. Above the nave arcade is a series of medallions, as in S. Paolo fuori le mura. The apse is raised, with a small crypt below it, and it retains the seats round the altar on the side opposite the entrance. The brick exterior is bald to hideousness.

In the Eastern Empire one of the best examples of the Latin or basilican style is St. Demetrius at Salonica. It has certain features, more or less characteristic of the East, which should be noted. The columns are returned across the building at the entrance end, which in this case is the west, and so form a sort of inner narthex. Over the aisles are galleries for the women—another arrangement common in the East. The capitals are finely carved, as we have here the still living Greek influence. This, as already indicated, was felt in the West. It was long before the Italians could carve capitals or lay mosaicq for themselves, and either they made use of the old work, as we have seen, or else the new work was executed by Greek workmen. Even in the 8th and 9th centuries, when the Italians began to copy the old work, theirs is very inferior and rude in comparison. In St. Demetrius there are fairly clearly defined projections which perhaps may be termed transeptal, but they are at the extreme end of the church, even projecting beyond the apse, and they are cut across by the main arcade of the church which makes them more or less invisible, and, in short, they are side chambers rather than a transept. Consequently there is no triumphal arch.

Other modified forms of the basilican church are found in Egypt and in Syria. In both cases there seems to be a tendency to keep the form of the apse only on the inside and to make the outside of the building square. The Coptic churches in Egypt are generally triapsidal with three altars, an apse occurring at the end of each of the side aisles—a form we shall meet again later (fig. 14). Syrian churches generally show a marked reminiscence of the style of Ancient Greece, and are finer in their work than those of the West. Not only were there many remains of ancient Greek work, but doubtless after the conquests of Alexander there was a certain admixture of actual Greek blood in the population. In many cases piers, and not columns, are used, and the church is divided into a few great square bays. The result is curiously suggestive of some of the later Romanesque Gothic churches. Almost invariably there is a narthex, and above this, and outside the building, often a gallery with columns, forming a sort of loggia which makes a very pleasing feature (fig. 15). A point in Syrian construction might be noted which is possibly another reminiscence of Greek tradition. There is a distinct aversion to the arch construction, and often an arch is merely an arch in form, or is reduced by corbeling to the smallest possible limits (fig. 16). Note also another common form shown in the figure.

The Christian basilicas, then, may be considered as a type of building, but hardly a style of architecture; and although we have seen that it was erected in various styles, they are all more or less a
continuation of the later Roman manner, affected
nevertheless by different influences, as in Ravenna
or Syria. It is perhaps convenient to group the
whole together as the Latin style, and remember
that other buildings than churches were built in
it, but, as is natural from the lack of sacred
association, they have very largely perished.

2. Byzantine Architecture.—In Italy, although
Greeks to a great extent executed the work,
they were trammelled by the traditions on an alien
soil, and by the masters they served; but when the
seat of the Empire passed to Byzantium they were
able to build more freely on their own lines, in
their own country, and among their own traditions.
The result was marvellous, and we find the speedy
growth of one of the greatest styles of the world,
culminating under Justinian, which itself gave
birth to descendant styles, and is still a living
influence. There are two great ways of cover-
ing a square space so as to leave all the sides open
—the intersecting vault and the dome. The first
was used by the Romans, yet the full compre-
sension of its principles and possibilities was not
grasped until the Gothic architects invented the
tรรue rib. The dome was used by the Byzantines,
and although they cannot exactly be said to be the
inventors, they perfected the system, and herein
lies the great achievement of the style. The
problem involved is the fitting of a hemisphere
upon a square. Now, the circle may be made to
 touch either at the corners or at the centres of the
sides. In the one case it is too big; in the other it
is too small (fig. 17, I and II).

In the former case we may carry up the sides
of the square, so to speak, cutting off the over-
hanging portion of the hemisphere, and the dome
then rests upon the points of the square, and, pro-
vided a sufficient abutment is brought, the outward
thrust upon the arches formed by this process,
the dome is stable (fig. 17, I and III).

Now, it is interesting to notice that these arches,
formed by the intersection of the planes of the
sides of the cube below the dome, are semicircular,
and, further, the intersection of a sphere by a plane
always gives a circle, and therefore it is always pos-
sible to raise such a dome upon semicircular arches;
moreover, it is always possible to place one such
dome up against another, and it is not necessary
for the two domes to be of the same size. It is only
necessary that the chords upon which the arches
rest should be of the same length; the arches them-
selves will always be semicircles. It may also be
put conversely that the intersection of two spheres
is always in a plane circle, and therefore the inter-
section of two domes always allows of the building
of a plane arch; and thereby the Byzantine archi-
tect escaped the greatest difficulty of the Gothic
builders, who found that the intersections of their
vaults were not in planes. This was perhaps the
principle (a) in the formation of individual character-
istic of the Byzantine style, which, in certain of
its aspects, can be described as a congeries of
globular forms growing out of one another, as in
the case of a mass of soap bubbles, which perfectly
illustrates the system (fig. 18, St. Sophia).

But although such a dome, in its simple form as
thus described, occurs in Byzantine architecture, it
is open to certain objections. The apparent height
is given only by the part above the arches, and
the resulting effect is comparatively low and flat. In
order to remedy this, the dome is raised in one of
two ways. The first is another instance of the
intersecting spheres. A dome (as in fig. 17, II) with
diameter equal to the diameter of the square,
intersects, and rests upon, a dome (as in fig. 17, I)
with diameter equal to the diagonal of the square.
Of the lower, nothing is left, save the ring upon
which the upper hemisphere rests, and the four
triangular portions that remain after the foursides
of the square have been raised in the manner
indicated above. These triangular portions are
termed pendentives (fig. 18).

This is the characteristic method of the first
great period of Byzantine architecture. But the
dome may be even further raised by the introduc-
tion of a cylindrical drum between the dome itself
and the pendentives. This is, on the whole, the
characteristic arrangement of the second period of
Byzantine architecture, although it is not uni-
versal. The same pendentive method may be
employed above an octagon as above a square, and
it is not uncommon to find such an octagon set
within a square, and the lower dome, resting on the
octagon and forming the pendentives, itself inter-
sected by little domes that form semi-domes in the
corner of the square (fig. 18). Another method, and
one frequently used in the case of a dome upon an
octagon, is a system of corbelling, wherein squared
stones are set horizontally, instead of radiating to the
required curve of the dome. It is really the
same system as the domed chambers of the My-
cenean civilization, but in this case the surface of
the stones is not rounded off to the curved surface
of the vault (fig. 18, Corbelled Pendentive).

The first great period of Byzantine architecture
may be said to be from A.D. 500 to 600, but its
principal achievements were all accomplished in
the first 50 years. Its crowning glory is St. Sophia,
completed in A.D. 537. Then follows a blank inter-
val during the Persian and Saracen wars, until we
come to the second great period which lasted from
the middle of the 9th cent. to the end of the 12th.
In this period the great masterpiece is St. Mark's at
Venice. After this follows a long period of decline,
lasting till about the end of the 16th century.
the alternate intervals, semicircular niches which extend the central area toward the corners of the square (fig. 19). There is an apse behind the altar containing the seats of the clergy. The outside of the apse is polygonal. The central apse in which the altar stands is shut off from the church by an iconostasis, and where there are two side apses there are generally two more of these screens. The side apses, except in the rarest instances, do not contain altars.

The whole style is much lighter and more skilful than that of the Romans, and the Byzantine builders made their domes generally of brick, using no concrete. Consequently the supporting piers were much less massive. Columns were used, as we have seen, not as an essential feature of construction, but rather as screens, and to break up the building. Thus, by this slight use of the principle of multiplicity, they produce an effect of scale that the open, undivided building would lack. The columns have bases with a few simple moldings, and a capital, generally most elaborate in execution. Above the capital is the dosseret—one of the sign marks of Byzantine architecture. It is sometimes said that its use is to enable the column to support the very thick wall above it. It may be so, but the upper section of the dosseret is generally about the same area as that of the capital itself, and, in any case, there is no advantage in diminishing to the bottom of the dosseret, and then starting with a large top to the capital, so as to diminish again. The very function of a capital is to do this work, and there is no reason why, if necessary, its sides should not slope inwards more sharply. A capital that cannot do its work is a solecism. It seems, perhaps, more likely that the dosseret is a curious survival of the entablature (fig. 20). In any case it is not a pleasing feature. When it is so reduced as to make merely a sort of double abacus, there is not the same objection, as the diminution in the upper one, or dosseret, makes it a mere molding, emphasizing the horizontal nature of the abacus, as in some examples in St. Sophia (fig. 21). The shafts are commonly monoliths of coloured marble, generally with an entasis but no flutes, and the whole style depends for its effect upon colour rather than upon solid forms. The forms that are used depend for their value upon pattern, not upon mass, doubtless as the result of the same aesthetic preferences where surface rather than solidity is used as the medium of expression. Hence we find no great cornices, as in classic architecture, and no subdivided columns or ribs upon the vaults, as in Gothic architecture. The wall surfaces are flat and the decorations are flat. There are practically no moldings, and the arches have plain soffits. Pediments or basemolds to the wall, and string courses, are insignificant or altogether absent. The very corners, even, are rounded off to allow of mosaics being carried round them. Hence the carving is all surface carving, and does not stand out from the background. The drill plays an important part, and there is but little modelling; the effects are those of patterns with a dark background formed by deep drilling, which is sometimes undercut, so that the pattern is detached from the stone behind. Even the capitals have the same character; projecting masses are rarely found. As wholes they are comparatively formless, although covered with the most intricate surface work. Doors are square-headed, although usually with an arch and tympanum above. Windows are generally simple semicircular-headed openings, but sometimes two or three lights, with semicircular heads, are placed together with shafts, or plain unmolded mullions, between.

Large semicircular windows are occasionally divided up by shafts, and even by a sort of transom bar, as at St. Sophia. The result is not beautiful. A more beautiful device is the thin slab of marble, often carved with the most exquisite patterns, which frequently fills the smaller windows. These patterns are cut deeply into the marble, which is sufficiently translucent to allow the light to come through. It is conceivable that this represents a Greek tradition.

The total result is a style easily grasped as far as its main architectural features are concerned. The variety which actually exists is perhaps surprising, considering that it is achieved within such comparatively narrow limits. Of course it cannot amount to the variety found in the Gothic style, which depends for its aesthetic expression largely upon complexity, whereas the Byzantine style, in its purely architectural character, is wholly simple. Complexity, with a touch of Eastern barbarism, makes its appearance only in the surface ornament.

The glory of Byzantine architecture of the first
period—indeed of the whole style—is St. Sophia. This church was begun in A.D. 532 and completed in the extraordinarily short period of six years. This time can apply only to the architecture, and much of the interior decoration must have been added afterwards. In the centre is a great dome, a trifle over 100 feet in diameter, and nearly as large as the dome of St. Paul's, London. It rests on pendentives raised upon four immense piers. The great feature is the extension of this central space by two huge semi-domes of the same diameter as the principal dome, abutting against the arches of the pendentives. These semi-domes, together with the great masses of the piers in the direction of the length of the church, resist the thrust of the great dome in that direction. But the thrust in the direction across the church is met by enormous masses of masonry carried by arches over the aisles, and forming a bold, if somewhat extraordinary, feature upon the outside of the building. The result is the most spacious interior in the world. In order, however, to preserve the apparent as well as the actual size, there is a skilful arrangement of columns, in two storeys, in the great arches at the S.E. and N.W. sides, and in the semicircular niches that we have already seen as characteristic of the first period of Byzantine architecture. These columns give something of the principle of multiplicity, and provide a unity of measurement, without destroying the majesty simplicity of the whole.

The central area is surrounded by aisles covered with intersecting groined vaults, after the Roman manner, and at the lowest end is a fine narthex 235 ft. long. Over it is a gallery for the women, which is continued on either side over the aisles. A gallery for the women is the usual arrangement in Byzantine churches, and may be contrasted with the curious arrangement in the Basque provinces, where there are two or three galleries, one above the other, for the men and the boys. The lighting is effected by forty windows round the central dome and five in each of the semi-domes and the minor domes. Above the two tiers of columns on the sides are two tiers of windows (fig. 23). There are also large windows in the aisles. But in no case is the window arrangement satisfactory, and this is the weakest feature in the church.

St. Sophia was by far the most important church in Christendom built in this epoch, and it is interesting to notice that there is no attempt made to orientate it; the axis is one degree south of S.W.

The majesty and simplicity of the interior of St. Sophia, with the richness of its colouring, make it by far the finest interior of its kind in the world. It is difficult to compare things that are so utterly unlike as a Gothic cathedral and this building; each is wonderful in its own way; but certainly there is nothing in St. Sophia that warrants us in ranking it after any interior whatever. The exterior is different. One may work up a qualified admiration for it; but, in spite of a certain dignity of mass which it shares with all great engineering works, it is hardly architectural, and finds its companions rather in the pyramids or in a modern railway station.

St. Vitale at Ravenna is generally classed as one of the great churches of the first Byzantine period; but, as Fergusson points out, it shows affinities with the so-called temple of Minerva Medica at Rome, quite as marked as any resemblances between it and St. Sophia. There is, however, Greek influence in the Roman building, so there is something to be said for this view.

(b) The churches of the second period are smaller than those of the first, and have several characteristics of their own, although in the main they follow the earlier work. The lighting of the dome had always been a difficulty. Windows in a dome are, of course, not vertical, and the effect is always unpleasant. The difficulty can be met on the exterior by raising a vertical wall, which at the same time is helpful in resisting the thrust, acting as a pinnacle would in Gothic architecture. The outside of the dome is then generally treated with a double curve (fig. 25).

Viewed from the exterior, this naturally suggests the drum, which we find as the characteristic feature of the second period, even if it made its first appearance earlier. It is, however, not invariant. The effect of the drum is on the whole pleasing, forming an effective lantern in the interior, and giving altitude and architectural character to the exterior (fig. 26), which latter is so much needed at St. Sophia. The central dome is still the leading feature of the design, but subsidiary domes are frequently grouped round it. In St. Mark's, Venice, there are five domes. The dome is almost invariably, in this period, placed upon four supports only, instead of the eight common in the earlier period; and the semicircles (as in fig. 19) do not occur. The general proportions of the building show more variety than the practically square outline of the previous period. Sometimes we find an elongated rectangle or an approximation to the cruciform plan. The triple apse is almost universal in this period, with the
altar in the bema before the central apse. In other features the two great Byzantine periods are not markedly different.

Of this period the greatest church is undoubtedly St. Mark’s at Venice, which, in spite of numerous later alterations, still preserves in its interior its principal Byzantine features. The Byzantine parts of the church of St. Mark’s, as we now see it, are the result of extensive alterations, amounting nearly to a re-building, in the middle of the 11th cent., of an earlier basilican church of A.D. 976, itself containing parts of a still earlier building. The western narthex, the walls and arcade of the nave, and portions of the east end, are practically all that remains of the basilican church. The columns in the eastern part of the church were removed, and six great piers were introduced—two at the west end and four in the centre of the building. These are themselves pierced by arches of the same height as the nave arcade. Two transepts were added, the east end was lengthened, and the narthex was continued round the two sides of the building. Above the nave and the crossing were erected two large domes and three somewhat smaller domes over the bema and the transepts, which are made slightly smaller than the crossing by the width of the pilaster shafts that support the arches leading into the three arms. By this skilful device a perspective effect of greater size is obtained. Great arches, which are practically barrel vaults, cross from pier to pier, and upon these the domes rest. Above the nave arcade is a narrow gallery, some 3 ft. wide, which represents the women’s galleries of the Eastern Byzantine churches. It is, however, valuable as providing a unit of measurement, and thus giving size to the church, rather than for any utilitarian purpose. The capitals are not very characteristically Byzantine, being of a sort of pseudo-Corinthian type. They probably belonged to the original basilican church, and are of very excellent workmanship. Above them is a double abacus, or abacus and reduced dosseret. The church is not nearly so well lit as St. Sophia, the principal light coming from sixteen windows in each dome, placed just above the springing.

The chief effect is the main feature of the building: the marble columns, and the famous floor with the wonderful Byzantine mosaics on their golden ground, and even the pictorial mosaics of a later age, all give a richness unsurpassed elsewhere. Hence we find the usual flat Byzantine treatment with few moldings of any kind, although St. Mark’s, figs. 27 and 28, has an unusual amount of carving of a bolder type than one associates with Byzantine work, most of it, however, not belonging to the Byzantine design of the building. St. Mark’s retains a magnificent example of an iconostasis with figures of the Virgin, St. Mark, and the Twelve Apostles. This feature in the Byzantine churches corresponds to the roof loft of the Gothic buildings. In later times, particularly during the 13th and 14th centuries, a great deal of ornament has been added, especially to the exterior, which has been cased with a veneer of marble. The domes have been covered with tall cupolas, and to the same period belong the pinnacles and over-flourish Gothic ornament.

3. Gothic Architecture. — During the development of Byzantine architecture—the direct outcome of the aesthetic character of the people of the regions where it occurs—we have another style developing in the West, a little later in reaching its maturity, but roughly the contemporary of the Byzantine. This style, to which the name ‘Gothic’ is not altogether inappropriately given, if we extend the term a little beyond its usual and somewhat arbitrary limits, was the style principally used by the Christians of the North. Those of the East made use chiefly of the Byzantine, and Italy of the Latin style—one, as we have seen, much more closely related to the Roman. Of course other styles have been used by Christians in different countries, as, for instance, in Norway and in Russia. Even in N.W. Europe, although it is convenient to group the styles of several countries under the one heading, there are in reality several styles: and the more one studies, say, the Gothic architecture of England and France, the more one realizes how little they have in common. It is true that to some extent the great wave of Romanticism marks the aesthetic character of the whole area, so that a church in England is, of course, more like a church in France
than a church in Russia, Constantinople, Italy, or Norway; but it is only a very inartistic or superficial observer that fails to see the enormous difference. The comparatively little that is known about the styles of the East offers an interesting parallel. We class Armenian architecture as Byzantine, there is almost much difference between the cathedral at Ani and St. Sophia as there is between St. Sophia and St. Paul's, London.

But, provided we remember that 'Gothic' is a name belonging to a group of styles rather than to one single style, it is readily seen how these together. The Gothic, then, may be defined as the architectural expression of those races which, beginning with Alaric the Goth (d. 410 A.D.), and Theodoric the Ostrogoth (d. 526 A.D.), overshadowed and superseded the power and civilization of Rome. The beginnings of the Gothic tendency in architecture may perhaps even be taken as far back as Theodoric, but the culmination of the style is in the 13th century. The name 'Gothic' was originally given at the time to the classical revival as a term of contempt, practically meaning 'barbarous'; but although the actual Goths had nothing to do with what we term Gothic architecture, nevertheless they were the pioneers in that which afterwards culminated with Rime; it is the highest artistic expression in the architecture that passes under its name.

The character of the Northern races is essentially different from that of the South of Europe, and especially as they were without the intellectual and artistic; in a manner of its own. There is also, undoubtedly, the character of an age and genius of the kind, even when the North had invented the style and carried the art to perfection. The different schools were not equally successful. Burgundy and Provence, with their barrel vaults, exercised comparatively little influence; and although the Rhine churches at first were in the van, they dropped behind and left it for England and Normandy, and the slightly later school of the Ile de France, to perfect the art. The influence of the Ile de France school ultimately became the greatest of all, although the different schools, having been settled beyond dispute, prove that the Durham, or at any rate the English, school was first in the field, with perhaps the two greatest inventions of the Gothic architects—the shell vault on ribs and the flying buttress. But English architecture, uninfluenced, pursued its own line of development to the last, ignoring the French work alike at Canterbury and at Westminster.

In a short article such as this, a sketch of the development of our own school, and a brief comparison with that of the Ile de France, will perhaps be the best way of illustrating the leading features of the age.

(a) Celtic-Saxon work.—Putting aside for the present all architecture save that of church building, the influence of Gothic architecture are to be found in what is perhaps best termed Romanesque—Celtic Gothic—a style commonly known as Romanesque, and largely dependent upon Roman architecture. The term by which it is known is hardly a matter of much importance; the chief interest in the study of the modes in which it shows its living force in developing from Roman architecture, and in pointing the way towards the later Gothic, rather than in its dependence upon the former. The style, moreover, is largely influenced by other elements that have nothing to do with it; the Celtic language is inhabited by our own country, for instance, or even the influence of Byzantium.

After the downfall of the Western Roman Empire, while Europe was in the melting-pot, architecture seems to have been somewhat stationary. It is, however, difficult to make certain, as later re-building has practically destroyed all evidence. Even if the conquerors were desirous of building, the opportunities were much more than in times of peace. About the beginning of the 9th century, we find men's thoughts turning towards architectural expression that rapidly blossomed into great things. In Burgundy and Provence, along the Rhine valley, in Lombardy, in Nor"
work. In the year in which St. Columba died, St. Augustine came over to Canterbury, with the powers of a bishop, to convert the English, and he introduced a Latin element. But this influence was small, and affected the style but little.

Later we have an influence of Northern monasticism which must be distinguished from the great Norman influence of the Conquest, but which also represents the Romanesque Gothic of Northern Europe. East Anglia was converted by a Lombard priest, Felix, afterwards bishop, and even until quite a late date we find a distinctly English influence at work in the great Benedictine foundations of East Anglia. Sussex was converted by Birinus, an Italian or Lombard monk, early in the 7th cent., and to some extent East Anglia, Kent, and Sussex remained the stronghold of Continental influence until the last. Monastic builders from Normandy were employed at Romsey Abbey in 967, and upon Bishop Ethelwold's cathedral, Winchester, during the reign of Edgar, who with Dunstan as his administrator largely reformed the monastic system.

The first element is by far the most important in the formation of the Celto-Saxon type of church. It is characterized by a narrow rectangular plan, commonly of two or more chambers, of which Trinity Church, Glendalough, Ireland; Eglisay, Orkney; St. Regulus, St. Andrews, Scotland; Eascomb, Durham, and Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, England, may be taken as typical. The different characteristics to be noted are—(1) the general length as compared with the breadth; (2) separate rectangular chambers; (3) large porches, or side chambers, as at Bradford, Repton, Deerhurst, etc.; (4) a western tower of defence, round or square, usually entered from within the church; this is a common feature; occasionally, as at Brechin, it is separate from the church; (5) a type that occurs as at Stedland, Dorset, Barton on Humber, or Basing, Hants, where the tower actually forms the body of the church (fig. 29).

All these features continue to play a prominent part in English architecture, and help to distinguish it from that of the Continent. In the first place, the extreme length of the English churches is one of their most characteristic features, and they are the longest in the world. Secondly, the rectangular, instead of apsidal, endings to English churches are too familiar to need comment. Although the apse was introduced, it speedily disappeared, and never made way at all in the West of England. Thirdly, we may notice the English tendency to a series of more or less separate chambers—the separate closed-in choir, the nave being often, as at Canterbury or Windsor, completely shut off, and the separate extensions at the east end, as at St. Albans, Wells, Gloucester, Hereford, Winchester, and indeed most of our cathedrals. Fourthly, the large porches or side chambers have a double influence. As entrance porches they are exceedingly common, e.g. Worcester, Gloucester, Canterbury, etc., and in hundreds of small parish churches. It is said that our \( \text{in}\) element Westerner was the reason why the western entrances being rarely used or altogether absent in this country. We also see these side projections in the very marked English transepts, as compared with those of the Continent (see fig. 55 and 56). We also find many round towers; many of our English cathedrals have three, while Lincoln has four, pairs of such projections. Fifthly, the single western tower, so familiar a feature in the English parish church, can be traced hack to this source, and it hardly ever occurs in France. With regard to the last feature—when the tower forms the centre of the church—we reach by the addition of the characteristic side chamber a cruciform central towered type (e.g. Braemore, Hants, and the Priory, Dover Castle). There are doubtless other influences that give us this type, but it is probably the double influence that preserves it as the typical English great church, right through the Middle Ages.

The second element in the Celto-Saxon style is the Latin style introduced direct from Rome by St. Augustine, 597, as at Deerhurst, with the help of Regulus; but the Augustine influence seems to have been local and of little moment. The original church at Canterbury was quasi-basilican with an eastern as well as a western apse, the altar presumably being in the western at so early a date. There are one or two basilican examples up and down the country, but they are very rare. It is, indeed, not at all certain whether the type as found at Minster in the vale of Aylesbury has anything to do with St. Augustine, and may not rather be a survival of the old Romano-British type of far earlier date, such as, presumably, we see in the plan at Silchester.

Latin influence, however, does make itself felt, but through an indirect channel, and the division into nave and aisle is introduced through the third great element—the Northern and Continental.

The aisle, however, never becomes quite the popular feature in this country that it is on the Continent. Five aisles, so common abroad, practically do not occur in English cathedrals. It is also largely to this influence that we owe the great central towered cross-church plan. But even this would probably have disappeared along with other importations had it not practically coincided with a type of more native origin. To this composite influence we may be said to owe the unequalled pyramidal composition of Salisbury, or the dominance of the central tower in such magnificent tower groups as Durham, Lincoln (fig. 57), or Lichfield, quite unapproached by the Continental architects.

The details of the Celto-Saxon style are very largely of Celtic and Tentu-Scandinavian origin, although decadent Roman work is also a factor to be considered. There are certainly affinities with early German work, particularly noticeable in the method of wall building, which is solid, and not built with a ruble core after the Roman method found in France. A brief résumé of the principal details is as follows:—

1. Long and short work, or massive corner quoina. (2) Arches of hestress, or straight, stone, or brick, with strap work—a feature whose origin is obscure, but a far-away derivation from the Roman pilaster is perhaps the most probable. (3) The arches are semicircular, or even single stone, or else they are straight-sided—a peculiarity not found in other styles. (4) The windows are often divided by baluster shafts, which are set in the centre of the wall, with a long stone forming a sort of abacus that runs from front to back.
through the whole thickness of the wall. (6) The windows are
widely splayed, both internally and externally. (7) There is a
great fondness for parallel lines as ornament, foreshadowing the
later characteristic English parallel moldings of many bands,
which contrast with the simpler flatter treatment of the Conti-

tinental. (8) The intersecting bands and characteristic Celtic
curves seem also to foreshadow the English ornamental work of
the 13th century. There is a vast difference in the character of
English and French ornament, which is generally overlooked.
It is probably connected with a difference in origin.

Such are some of the principal points in connec-
tion with the Celto-Saxon work—a style much
more important than is commonly supposed, which
tends to be ignored on account of the greatness of
the next style of architecture that made its appear-
ance in these islands, and was in its turn made use
of for Christian purposes.

(b) The Rise of English Gothic.—The Norman
Conquest produced in Britain a massive style of
architecture, of towers, fortresses, and strong-
holds. The churches, which naturally are always
built in the style of the country, partake of the
same character, so that a change comes over the
church building in these lands. Contrasted with
the comparatively light buildings of Celto-Saxon
work, we find heaviness almost the leading feature
of the new work. But the English soon made
their own influence felt, and for a time English
church architecture undoubtedly led the way in
Europe.

In the first place, the number of churches built
is entirely without parallel. During the hundred
years that followed, when the country had settled
down after the disturbance of the Conquest, there
were built between three and four hundred great
cathedrals and monasteries, churches of first-class
rank, besides numberless smaller buildings. In
the last hundred years, with a population nearly
twenty times as large, and enormously improved
methods of transit and mechanical appliances, we
have built not even one great church, nearly completed
a second, and laid the foundations of a third. Not
only, however, was the number of churches re-
markable, but the scale of the English churches
very greatly exceeded all other churches in the
world that were built about that time. In all the
rest of Europe there were built only two churches of
over 50,000 sq. ft. area. In England there were
four churches that exceeded even 60,000 sq. ft.

The Continent.

England.

Mayence . . . c. 56,000 sq. ft.
Gloucester . . . c. 31,000 sq. ft.
Worms . . . . 40,000
Norwich . . . c. 40,000
Tourna . . . . 44,000
Con According to
St. Sernan, Toul-
house . . . . 16,000
York . . . . 43,000
Spier . . . . 33,000
Launiston’s, Canter-
bury, with Con-
rad’s Choir . . . . 46,000
Durham . . . . 40,000
St. Albans . . . 60,000
St. Swithin’s, Win-
chester . . . . 66,000
St. Paul’s, London . . . 65,000
St. Edmund’s, Bury . . . 68,000
Chichester . . . 54,000 sq. ft.

In many respects the very fact that England led
the way was against her, because her great churches
were already built when advancing art would have
allowed her to build greater. Still more was she
hampered in re-building and enlargement by the

sizes already fixed. A new choir built on to an old
nave cannot be made altogether out of scale with it.

That England led the way in number and size
shows an activity, a resource, and an initiative
that, even taken by themselves, would be strong
presumptive evidence in favour of her being a
leader in style; and this we shall afterwards see to
be the case.

The Romanesque Gothic is marked by the cruci-
form plan, and the Norman form has the central
lantern tower. The origin of both these features
is far from clear. The transom is generally con-
sidered to be the development of the space in front
of the altar in the Latin style. This, however,
is not found at Ravenna, for instance, and is not
common outside Rome, and the intermediate steps
in any case can hardly be said to be traceable.

The central lantern is still more doubtful in origin.
Some have suggested a Byzantine origin for the
whole North European Cross church as explaining
both the cross and the central lantern; but
although it may explain the cross better than the
basilican church, and there is at least the lantern
dome, while the basilica has no such thing, it is
still a far cry from a Byzantine dome of the first
period to a Norman lantern tower. The few dated
examples are merely enough to make us beware of
drawing hasty conclusions. There seems no par-
ticular reason for not supposing that the central
tower was invented in the North, except that it is
the fashion just now to believe that no one ever in-
vented anything—which is true only within certain
limits. The object of the central tower was two-
fold. In the first place, it threw light into the
centre of the building, where the high altar was
put; and, in the second place, it formed a unifying
central feature, both within and without. The
removal of the high altar from its proper position
to the east end leaves the lantern tower to throw
its light upon an empty space.

In any case, we find two distinct types of Cross
church making their appearance in this country,
both of which the national genius modified to suit its
own aesthetic conceptions. First, we have the mul-
apsidal type, and, secondly, the chevet type. The
origin of the multapsidal type is possibly to be
sought in the Byzantine or Egyptian types already
noted, or it may be directly derived from the
basilica, but it certainly became quite a common
variety. The Normans in Normandy treated it in
their own way, squaring the end two bays beyond
the crossing, in a manner perhaps foreshadowed at
St. Apollinaire Nuovo at Ravenna, and then adding

the apse (fig. 31). The Anglo-Normans took this
plan, and it at once began to assume the first
English characteristic of greater length. We find
a typical example at St. Albans, with its long
parallel apsidal chambers (fig. 31). This becomes
one of the great types of Benedictine orthodoxy
But it is to the West and the North that we have to turn to find the truly English manner. Here we find Hereford with a square end as early as 1079-1095, and Llandaff and Romsey early in the next century. It has been said that the square end was introduced into this country by the Cistercians. This is impossible, as it was in use before the Cistercian order was founded. But it is interesting to observe that from this very Western district came Stephen Harding, one of the original founders, and head of the order, and abbot of Citeaux in 1109. It seems most probable that the Cistercians owe their square East ends to him. Hence, when we find the Cistercians at a later date building their square East ends in England, they are merely bringing back an English feature that naturally falls in with, and helps to strengthen, the native tradition.

The Reformed orders, Cistercians and Augustinians, mainly in the West and North, worked out the English manner, and although the great Benedictine abbeys of the East have had the fortune to survive, it is rather to the ruined abbeys of Yorkshire and the Welsh Border that we must turn if we wish to see the English style in the making. Hence, while the conservative Benedictine abbeys were still using the round arch and the apsidal termination, we find the pointed arch and the square end in the North and the West. The change of style is, as in France, partly due to an Episcopal influence that furthered advance and reform. In the latter country the bishops joined hands with the laity against the old Monastic orders, and we get the great laic cathedrals of France. In this country they joined hands with the Reformed orders, and to this is due the strongly marked Monastic character of English building. In early days the Cistercians eschewed ornament, central towers and triforiums, which gave a chastenedness to the style in their hands that, to some extent, it would be true to say, marks the English work until well into the 14th cent., even after such luxuries as towers and triforiums had become common again.

The other great type is the chevet type, which, as Ferguson points out, is very probably a development from the circular church by the addition of a nave, the circular part becoming the choir. The development is apparently French (fig. 33). In England the circular churches have had choirs built on to them, and the circular part becomes the nave. The chevet type, with or without its circumscribing chapels, is found at Bury St. Edmunds, Norwich, Edward the Confessor's, Westminster Abbey, etc., and is always widened in the English manner (fig. 34). This we also find still further Anglicized with a square ambulatory at the east end, as at Dore Abbey, Salisbury, or Glasgow.

Besides the lengthening from east to west, the English aesthetic character shows itself in the wide transepts and the still more characteristic transeptal west ends (fig. 55), which we find even in Rouen Cathedral, a church planned by an English architect. This we can contrast with the narrow twin-towered French Norman type, such as we see at St. Etienne, Caen.

**Figure 33**

![Kirkstall Abbey Plan](image)

So we find that in English hands the multiaspidual type develops a squared form, as such we see in Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire.

The Anglo-Norman church of Bury St. Edmunds had a wide-spreading front of 260 feet. Ely was planned for a west front of 200 ft., although it is doubtful whether this front was ever completed. These two are about three times as wide as the nave.

**FIG. 34.**

The Anglo-Norman church of Bury St. Edmunds had a wide-spreading front of 260 feet. Ely was planned for a west front of 200 ft., although it is doubtful whether this front was ever completed. These two are about three times as wide as the nave.

**Width of West Fronts, Naves, and Main Transepts of English Churches.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Fronts</th>
<th>Naves</th>
<th>Main Transcepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peterborough</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rouen (English)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Albans</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury St. Edmunds</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln, 13th cent.</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells (a small church)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Conquest Westminster</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloucester</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winchester</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>York, 13th century</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old St. Paul's, 13th cent. (probably early the original Anglo-Norman plan)</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Compare these with:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West Fronts</th>
<th>Naves</th>
<th>Main Transcepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notre Dame</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheims, 13th century</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiens</td>
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<td>150</td>
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<td>Amiens</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The best way to obtain a general survey of each period is to work from the ground plan upwards. It has already been pointed out that Romanesque Gothic in England, perhaps best termed Anglo-Norman, is massive in its treatment, and this naturally shows on the ground plan. A single pier of Durham contains as much material as the whole set of piers of some of the later churches. The walls are always immensely thick, even when they support only a wooden roof, which on the whole is the commoner arrangement; but when they have to resist the thrust of a stone vault, this

**FIG. 35.—Wall Diagram and Section of Church.**
is even more the case. Buttresses are as yet quite rudimentary, and the history of Gothic architecture might be described as a progression from a heavy wall with a wooden roof to a glass wall and a stone roof. The projection of the buttresses becomes greater and the wall thinner, and the progress might be diagrammatically represented as in fig. 35. So what practically happens is that the wall is turned round in sections upon itself, whereby, with the same or even less material, a greater resisting power is obtained (fig. 35).

Before passing upward to details, the general treatment of the elevation should be noted. The Anglo-Norman great church is a three aisled building of three storeys (fig. 35). The nave-arcade is the principal series of arches in the church, and divides the central aisle, or nave, from the side aisles. In order to light the central aisle it is raised above the roof of the side aisles, whereby we obtain a clerestory, through which the light passes, and which is contrasted with the blind storey or triforium that occupies the space of the aisle roof. Sometimes the triforium is transparent, as it is termed; that is, it is treated as a gallery with windows over the side aisles. This treatment is more common in France than in England.

There is more variety in the bay treatment in this country than in France, arising in part from a different initial standpoint. The French architects were more interested in the logic of construction, and the tendency for their buildings is to become, as it were, skeleton constructions, and for the wall as such to disappear. The English, however, continued to regard the wall as a feature in itself, giving an aesthetic sense of horizontal continuity, as distinct from the vertical skeleton expression of French architecture. The wall, therefore, continues to some extent to be regarded as a field for decorative treatment on its own account. A single instance must suffice, and is seen in the interesting bay treatment, favoured mainly by the Augustinians, in which the triforium is treated as a hanging gallery, depending from the main arcade. Examples may be seen at Jedburgh, Romsey Abbey, Oxford Cathedral, Glastonbury, and Dunstable. It gives a sense of height greater than either the simple two-storey or the simple three-storey treatment.

Anglo-Norman piers are of two main types. In the first, which is more or less columnar, we probably see a far-off descendant of the columns of Greece. There are two distinct varieties, of which one, although generally built up in courses, and not in single drums, still, in general proportion of capital, and base, preserves the characteristics of a true column. The other is a huge mass of masonry with a few moldings round the top in lieu of a capital. This partakes more of the nature of a pier, and is peculiar to this country. Examples may be seen in Gloucester, Durham, Tewkesbury, etc. The second type is the pier proper, developed from a section of wall left between the arches.

Both these types develop in two ways which mutually influence each other; first, the struc-
particularly characteristic of this country. In the first system additions are made to the pier, in order to support sub-arches and vaulting shafts; thus we get a composite type of pier where each part is assigned to the performance of some definite function. In the decorative system the pier also becomes composite, but in a different manner. The corner of the pier, for instance, may be chamfered off so as to form an octagon, or cut out as at St. Lawrence, Kent, and ornamental shafts inserted (fig. 38), thus giving a sense of lightness to the whole. Later we find these ornamental shafts arranged round the octagon formed by cutting out the corners. The octagon may become a circle. In the decorative system the change begins with the shaft, and the abacus remains square, and, in any case, the detached shafts have no direct connexion with the load above. When both load and support become very complex, the eye is sufficiently satisfied with the complex support for the complex load, without logically following out each subordinate part. The carpal and metacarpal bones in the beauty of the human anatomy may be taken as a parallel. The bases are generally set on a square plinth, often with an ornament to fill up the angles. The commonest form of molding is a hollow above a round (fig. 39).

There are three types of capital: (1) a pseudo-classic, a sort of debased Corinthian or Ionic, usually commoner on the Continent than here; (2) a cushion-shaped capital which seems an original invention; and (3) the scalloped capital, a type derived from the cushion variety, which in its turn has important influences upon the next period. The abacus is always square, first with plain cham-

![Fig. 39.](image)

fer, then with hollow chamfer and small nick above. Passing upward, we may note that the arches are generally round, although the pointed arch is occasionally found. The earliest known example in this country is c. 1090 A.D., half a century before it becomes at all a general feature. The arcade arches are rarely of more than two orders (i.e. recesses or steps) — a main arch and a sub-arch (fig. 39). The moldings of the arch are very simple, a plain chamfer, a hollow chamfer, or an edge roll being all that is generally found. Door arches are often of many orders, being recessed sometimes as many as seven times. They are frequently much enriched.

The features of the triforium arcade are the same as those below, but it might be noted that the decorative development often makes its appearance here before it is seen anywhere else.

The clerestory generally shows an ornamental arcade on the inner face of the wall, and plain round-headed windows on the outer face, commonly with a passage between the two in the thickness of the wall. The Anglo-Norman window is generally widely splayed within, and set near the outer face of the wall, in which respect it may be contrasted with the Celto-Saxon window.
Merton College, Oxford; Willingham, Cambridge; Minchinhampton; Rosslyn; and Bothwell.

The simplest form of vault is the plain barrel or wagon vault, which gives a great continuous thrust throughout its length, and therefore requires a very thick continuous wall. The effect is gloomy, because the lighting problem is difficult of solution. Large windows are impossible in a wall bearing a continuous thrust, and sloping windows in the vault are both weak and ugly. If a window is put in the wall, it is a natural step to carry up the vertical surface of the wall below, as we saw in Byzantine architecture (fig. 29). This at once suggests the treatment of intersecting barrel vaults, which is eminently suitable for the vaulting of a square space, A, O, C, being the square of intersection of two half cylinders of hemispherical section, corresponding to A', O', C (fig. 41, I and II).

This form of vault was used by the Romans, and the tradition never completely died out; and this vault, the ribless quadripartite vault, as well as the simple barrel vault, is used by the early Romanesque builders, as in the castle at Oxford.

The intersection of two cylinders is not a circle, as in the case of intersecting spheres (see p. 701), but an ellipse. This elliptical line of intersection is termed the groin of the vault. Directly the space to be vaulted is not square, difficulties arise, and as long as semicircular vaults are used they will not intersect at the crown at all, as the vaults are of different height (fig. 41, III). It is therefore necessary to bring them to the same height, which may be done by stilling the narrower vault, that is, raising it on two vertical walls that serve the purpose of stilts. This may also be helped by using less than a semicircle for the larger vault. But, in any case, the groins will become twisted in plan, as may be seen in fig. 41, IV and V. In the narrow vault it is obvious that any point in that vault, up to which the height of the stilts must be reduced, will lie above the line CB. Any point, therefore, being on the line of intersection of both vaults, must be vertically above the line CB. The groin also must keep close above the side CB, until a height above A is reached. On the other hand, in the bigger vault, there is no vertical portion, and the groins are raised away from the side BF at the outset; the groin, therefore, will tend away from above BF, but keep close above CB. When the top of the stilts is reached, however, the narrow vault curves rapidly over to the other side, but the larger vault continues its gradual curve, so that the groin now crosses rapidly over to the other side, and then keeps similarly close above GF until it reaches G. In actual building the curve is generally coaxed a little, so as slightly to reduce the violent break in the line, as seen in the plan above, but in any case it is excessively ugly and weak, as the weight of the vault rests upon the groins. By making the vaults enormously thick and filling in the back with concrete, until the whole has lost any semblance for some way up the vault, the weakness is counteracted, but it means an undue weight upon the walls and supports.

Now the great invention of the Gothic architects was the substitution of another principle. So far the vault has been regarded as the intersection of two continuous cylindrical tunnels, and the groin is merely the line of intersection. At any point along the vault we have, say at ML or HK (fig. 41, V) a section of a perfect cylinder; the line of the groin, however, we saw was not in a plane, but twisted. The invention is to build the groin regular (i.e. in a plane), and then accommodate the vaults to fit the groin, which is made in the form of a strong rib to support the whole. The vault is built by first erecting a series of arches of regular shape (i.e. in planes), not twisted, to form the ribs. The short ends may be stilted, the diagonals segmental, and the broad ends semicircular, so as to be of equal height. The vault itself is then built, as a light shell, resting on these ribs. This shell is built in courses, as NP, PR (VI), which are practically straight, but very slightly arched to the ribs upon which they rest. The consequence is that, as now the shell must follow the curve of the groin ribs, it cannot itself be part of a regular cylinder; and as before the diagonals were twisted to suit the vault surface, now the vault surface is twisted to suit the diagonals. The result is a curved surface very much resembling that of a ploughshare.

The ribbed vault—and by ribbed vault is meant a ribbed shell vault upon the above principle, i.e. one which is structurally based upon the rib curvature—is perhaps the most distinctive invention made by the Gothic architects. Ribs may occasionally have been used in earlier days to strengthen the groins of vaults, based upon the curvature of the vault surface, but that is not the Gothic vault. There is no doubt that the earliest vaults of this type of which we have any knowledge are those of Durham Cathedral. Such were the high vaults of the choir begun in 1093. The earliest properly attested date in France is, at the very least, more than thirty years later.\footnote{The whole discussion of these dates, with regard to England and France, is given in J. Bilson's able little book, Beginnings of Gothic Architecture (1890). No other writer approaches Bilson in his thorough grip of his subject. A short résumé of the subject is given in the present writer's book now in the press (Fairbairns & Co.).}
As to the cause of the compartments assuming the rectangular form instead of the square, it can hardly be questioned that the primary reason was aesthetic and non-mechanical, as the great English Chapter Houses, with spans of 40 ft., where there were no structural considerations, are so built. The immense improvement to the vista, and the beauty of the apparent length thereby gained, quite apart from any principle of unified complexity, are sufficient to account for it (fig. 42). The French continued to use the square vault for a long time, taking two compartments of the aisle to one of the nave, even inventing the sexpartite vault (fig. 41, VIII) to get over the difficulty before finally following the English lead. The introduction of the pointed arch into the vault followed not long after. It offers an aesthetically more pleasing solution of the problem of vaulting over a rectangle, at the same time preserving the level crown, than does the stilted arch (fig. 41, VII). The pointed arch in every rib gives a far more satisfactory sense of aesthetic unity than the mixture of segmental and stilted arches, and it also reduces the ploughshare twist.

The pointed arch was used by no means solely in order to keep the level crown over the different spans, because in France the domical vaults, used when the ribbed system was introduced, continue even after the introduction of the pointed arch in the vault, and there is no attempt to make the crown level. Nevertheless, the fact that pointed arches of the same height can be erected over varying widths (fig. 41, IX) is one of their many advantages, as we may see in numbers of transept crossings, e.g. St. Bartholomew’s, Smithfield.

An interesting variant of the sexpartite vault, which we might term quinquepartite, occurs in the aisle vaults of Lincoln, which is an ingenious and more justifiable use of the principle, as there are two windows on one side and only one opening on the other (fig. 42).

The origin of the pointed arch is another of those unsolved problems, but it occurs in the East long before it is found in Northern Europe. It is even found in Roman work—in the bridge of Severus in the Levant. It was certainly in common use in France earlier than here, although an example is found at Gloucester (c. 1090), of which Wilson gives an illustration. The pointed arch cannot be considered a specially Gothic feature, being found in various Eastern styles; and, moreover, many buildings where it does not occur are obviously completely Gothic in feeling.

In connection with the ribbed vault appears the other great invention of the Gothic architects, namely, the flying or oblique buttress, where the buttress, instead of descending vertically to the ground, is carried obliquely upon an arch over an intervening space. This enables the abutment of the high vault to be carried across the aisles. The beginnings of this are seen in the demi-berceau or half-barrel vault of Gloucester (c. 1090), strength-ened at intervals with buttresses or ribs. But the perfect system brings the abutment to bear, not continuously, but only so as to meet the resultant thrust of the vault ribs that support the vault. This we find in Durham choir (commenced A.D. 1095), where the buttress is carried over a semi-circular arch. It occurs also at Chichester (commenced 1091), whereas the later development, namely, where the buttress is carried over a quadrant, was probably actually built at Norwich in 1096. It was certainly planned and half executed at that date, as that which remains after later alterations attests. The nave of Durham shows it complete (A.D. 1125). * The French examples are later, but the credit of perfecting the feature certainly belongs to them, if they did not even carry it too far.

Anglo-Norman ornament, at first sparing, gradually becomes rich if not over-ornate. The frequent use of arcades along the walls, particularly as a sort of ‘dado,’ and on towers, is the most prominent of these features, but minor forms are endless, of which perhaps the most common are given in fig. 44.

* See references quoted above re the vault.
On the exterior the lofty spires of these two periods are the most distinguishing features. The decorative sense develops and shows itself in every member. Three great types of pier make their appearance—the South-Western, the South-Eastern, and the Northern. The South-Western is formed by triplets of shafts attached to a central core and ranged regularly round it (Pershore, fig. 45). It is probably directly derived from the Anglo-Norman composite pier. But it makes little headway beyond its own district, and gradually dies out. Not so the South-Eastern and Northern varieties. The South-Eastern type is formed by a central core with detached shafts round it, generally, although not invariably, of purbeck marble or some local variety (fig. 45). The central core is built up, and the shafts are monoliths, or in two or three long sections with annular bands. The Northern type, e.g. Roche and Sweetheart abbeys (fig. 45), is a composite pier of several shafts all united in one, without a central core, and seems to have originated from such forms as we see in Bishop-Auckland Castle, York crypt, Durham galilee, or Selby triforium. In these cases there are a number of separate shafts not grouped round a central mass. In the Northern type the composite pier is built up in horizontal courses, and the shafts composing it are therefore not continuous.

For a time the South-Eastern type carries everything before it and drives back the Northern, so that during the 13th cent. (Early English period) it practically becomes the type of the period, and is found, for instance, as far north as Durham. In the 14th cent. (Decorated period) the Northern re-asserts itself, and the South-Eastern type is driven back and disappears. The Northern type remains supreme, as long as Gothic architecture lasts, and is found all over the kingdom. A very beautiful example occurs at Grantham, with the fillets particularly common to this type. In the same church is an early example of the South-Eastern type (fig. 46).

The commonest base in the 13th cent. is characterized by the water-holding molding (fig. 47), developed from the so-called Attic base (fig. 2).

The commonest type of the 14th cent. is the hollow round the main member, and in the 14th the hollow is filled by a round, the lowest member often overlapping the plinth. The English capitals are distinguished from those of the Continent by the characteristic abacus, which in English work is almost always round, and in the thirteenth century consists of a roll and fillet deeply undercut, and in the 14th of a scroll molding. The neck-molding is generally a plain astragal in the 13th cent. and a scroll molding in the 14th. Those capitals that have foliage are marked in the 13th cent., by a beautiful type, apparently derived from the scallop capital (see fig. 46), and very different from the French type derived from the classical capitals. The English variety, which we may term stiff stem foliage, is generally said to have the same origin as the French capitals, being derived from the classical volutes; but a careful examination of the capitals of the West Country and the North, where the national style has its origin, has led the present writer to the above conclusion. Doubtless the Continental variety was not without its influence; but not only does the other derivation explain the general form more satisfactorily, with its stiff stem and without the lower band of foliage found in French work, but it also explains another peculiarity of the English capital. The English foliage tends to twirl round the capital instead of standing out from the centre as in Continental work.

In the 14th cent., although the forms are some-
times exceedingly beautiful, there is a distinct artistic decadence. An attempt to be true to nature results in being untrue to the stone material in which the artist is working—a much more serious fault. The forms are ill adapted to stone, and, moreover, instead of growing up from the neck, are twined round like a harvest festival decoration, and have no part in the organic unity of the whole.

The arches are pointed and with numerous moldings, of which those in fig. 49 are typical. The Early English moldings are marked by freehand drawing and numerous independent members, separated by deep hollows, e.g., Peterborough. Characteristic members are the roll and fillet and the pointed bowtell. Decorated moldings are set out by the compass instead of being drawn freehand. The fillets on the triple roll and fillet are set differently. The ogee curve makes its appearance, and a three-quarter hollow often marks off the orders of the arches (fig. 49). Up to the end of the 14th cent. the orders of the arch are generally clearly distinguished.

The development of the window is a long story, whose course can only be briefly indicated. The normal early Anglo-Norman window is a square with a semicircle over it. This tends to become longer in its proportions, and the process continues after the introduction of the pointed arch, producing the so-called lancet window, until such extreme examples are reached as at Bottesford, which is 8 in. wide and 15 ft. 6 in. high. The natural result is to group windows together, one being insufficient for lighting purposes (fig. 50).

In the gable end the normal arrangement in the first half of the 13th cent. is three windows, the central one raised to fill the gable. At first the windows are quite distinct; then a common hood mold gradually draws them together, and finally includes them under one arch. The small spandrels are first pierced with various shapes and finally cut out altogether, and then cusped as at Cirencester or Peterborough Cathedral. But this pushes all the ornament up into the extreme head; and it is perhaps the two-light window in the aisle, which follows suit, that tends to the filling with tracery of the whole head of the window above the springing (see examples in fig. 50).

We thus pass from the lancet to the first tracery period, which has been called the Geometrical period. This is a most misleading name, as it implies that the curves of the next period are not set out with a compass. Although at first glance they may not appear to be parts of circles, they invariably are. The real distinction is between curves of single and double curvature; for the first period may be described as composed of independent figures—circles, curvilinear triangles, and squares (not spherical, of course), quatrefoils, trefoils, etc., filling the head of the window. The terms Simple and Compound would be short and self-explanatory.

There are three main types of Simple or independent-figure tracery. In type I (fig. 51) the circle or other figure rests on two sub-arches. The points of the sub-arches projecting below the central ornament are objectionable, and probably are the cause of type II, making its appearance, in which the outer curves of the sub-arches coincide with the curves of the window arch. It should be noted that type I does not disappear but continues to be used, and this is the case all through the development of window tracery; a new form does not entirely oust an old one. The objection to type II is that it tends to push the ornament too much into the head of the window. In all cases the sub-arches may also intersect or be separated from each other. Type III, which is really a three-light develop-
great discoveries—was to omit the points, and continue the curve of the sub-arch into the curve of the circle. Thus is obtained a curve of double curvature or an ogee curve. The other side of the sub-arch is made to correspond, and we have a circle supported on ogee arches (fig. 52, A). The bottom and top of the circle then disappear, leaving us the completed type I. of the Compound period. This develops on lines similar to the independent-figure period with a second and third type (fig. 52).

The vaulting continues to develop. First, in order to reduce the ploughshares curvature, resort is had to elliptical ribs, involving a most difficult and complex problem in the setting out and erection of every vault. This is superseded by pseudo-elliptical vaulting, where, instead of a true ellipse, an approximation to the ellipse is made by parts of circles, which join at points where the tangent is common to both circles, so as to avoid breaks in the curve (fig. 53). The line of the pier or shaft from which the vault springs is also tangential to the arch curve.

The ridge rib to mark the leading line of the roof, and also to provide a line of fitting for the vault shell, was apparently first used at Ripon. It has great aesthetic value, giving continuity to the whole and a line of emphasis to the vista. It is, in fact, the dominant aesthetic line of the building, corresponding to the keel of a boat. The French architects could not use it without effect, on account of their broken ridge lines caused by the domical vault. Where they have used it the result is unpleasantly suggestive of the sea.

In order to reduce the space between the ribs, and to make the filling easier, subsidiary ribs are introduced, called tiercerons by the French architects. They were invented by the builders of Lincoln Cathedral and used first in a peculiar way (fig. 53). In the 14th cent. lierne or net ribs make their appearance, and give great complexity to the vaults (fig. 53).

The buttresses in the 13th and 14th centuries become more prominent, and the pinnacle, giving additional resisting power to the buttress, soon appears in the Early English period. Angle buttresses in the 14th cent. are commonly set diagonally, instead of in pairs at right angles (fig. 54).

It is difficult, and indeed inadvisable, to try to assign any particular date or period for the summit of Gothic architecture. In many points it continued to advance down to a very late date, more particularly in the development of towers and of the vault, but the decorative foliage certainly declines after the 13th century. For beauty of lighting nothing equals the so-called lantern churches of the 15th cent., but the window itself is perhaps at its best in the 14th. It is so with all arts; decadence does not come suddenly throughout the whole, but shows itself here and there, while the main trend is still forward. It would be much easier to assign a definite summit to French than to English architecture. In France there is a more or less definite single effort culminating in the 13th century. In England there are continuous new impulses: vault, wall, pier, foliage, window, and vault again; each in turn seems to play the leading part.

As said at the outset, the French and English styles are entirely different. A summing up at this point of a few of the differences between the plan of a great English and a great French church may show that it is surprising, not that they are now seen to be different, but that any one ever thought they were the same.

The English church is long and narrow with three aisles. The French is short and broad with five aisles. The English West Front is narrow. The French West Front is narrow, in Notre Dame narrower even than the nave. The English transepts project enormously beyond the main lines, and often the English church has two or three of these projections. The French transepts hardly project at all, and one only is attempted.

The English church has a square East end. The French church has a semicircular chevet.

The English church has a long choir, generally more or less
shut off from the nave, being largely the result of monastic influence. It has no side chapels. The French church is broad and open throughout, with a short choir, largely the result of lay influence, and has numerous side chapels near to the layly.

The four enormous central piers in the English church show the central tower that dominates the whole. The French church has great Western towers, but nothing, or merely a 'fèche,' at the crossing.

The English church is cut up by screens and divisions. The French church is open (figs. 52-55).

The interior of a French church is hard to surpass. It is exceedingly lofty, which gives it a most impressive character. The internal effect of the chevet is often exquisitely lovely, and the grace of the proportions as a whole, width of bays, and width to height, is in every way admirable.

The English church in its interior depends for its impressiveness upon length rather than height, except where modern folly, as at Norwich, has planted an enormous organ that entirely destroys the whole raison d'être of the building, completely (not partially) blocking the vista which would be, in its way, perhaps the finest in the world. Both English and French effects are delightful, but perhaps the French is the finer. Yet there is no reason why they should not be combined.

But with regard to the exteriors there is no comparison. The English here loses something by want of height. (Visit Chartres, Amiens, and then Lincoln within two days of each other, and the result will be startling! But the dominant central tower, the wonderful skyline, together with the tower-groups, the grand projecting transepts and fronts, with their fine shadow effects, make the French examples look in comparison a shapeless mass. Where there is a narrow tall twin-towered front, there is an unpleasant effect of an over-weighted end suggestive of a giraffe. The Franco-

(d) The Decline of English Gothic.—The last period of English architecture is marked by rectangular forms and horizontal lines, and is generally called 'Perpendicular.' This word in most minds is so closely associated with vertical, that 'Rectangular' is a more satisfactory name.

Roofs become nearly horizontal, tops of doors and windows and all the arches follow the same tendency. There is often an actual straight horizontal line, strongly emphasized, above these features, particularly in the case of doors. Horizontal topped towers take the place of spires, horizontal transoms bars appear in the windows, and horizontal topped panelling instead of niches, occur all over the walls. Even the foliage and other ornaments become rectangular in form.

The Early English period was an age of Ecclesiastic reform, and the work of that period is marked by a certain ecclesiasticism in its planning and arrangements. The Traceried period of the 14th cent. is the age of the great nobles; the very ecclesiastics themselves aped the pride and pomp of worldly splendour; and the churches, with their private chantries and heraldic ornament and such things, partake to some extent of this character, as Mr. Prior points out (History of Gothic Art in England, 1900). The people, too, are beginning to assert themselves. The worship of Our Lady being particularly the cult of the people in England, we find the Lady chapels being built all over the country, in most instances actually at the east end, and approached from behind the high altar. The ecclesiastic privacy of the monastic choir perfume disappears. During the Wars of the Roses, the great barons gradually vanished, and the trading classes made their influence felt. This is the age of the guild chantries, and above all of the parish churches of the people. The large proportion of our parish churches belong to this date, and are built in the rectangular style. Hardly a single great monastic church or cathedral was built at this time, although, of course, there was a certain amount of re-building and enlargement. The chantries and other extensions affect the plans of the churches, and tend to obscure all transeptal projections.

The piers still belong to the Northern type, but incline to become meagre in their treatment both in section and in their capitals and bases (fig. 59). The S-shaped curve under the chamfered abacus is characteristic, as is also the curious cushion mold-
ARCHITECTURE (Christian) 717

run right round the arch without a stop. Foliage
when found is rectangular in treatment (fig. 59).
The arches above show the same attenuation in
the treatment of their moldings, and the distinction
between the orders of the arch is often quite lost.
The most characteristic feature is the cavetto,
a deep hollow in the middle of the group (fig. 59).
The arch, both in the main arcades and
in the window, is often of the four-centred variety.
Most arches are struck from two centres, but a
four-centred arch, while rising without a break
from the springing, allows the crown to be com-
paratively flat (DCEK, fig. 59). A drop arch, as it
is called, gives the flat crown, but produces a broken
effect where it springs from the shafts (B, fig. 59).
The triforium, owing to the horizontal tendency
in the roofs, practically disappears and becomes a
mere band of ornament.
The window gradually becomes a series of rect-
angular panels, partly as offering increased strength
for the vast windows that become common, partly
to further the easy arrangement in the glass of
rows of saints standing in niches. The vertical
lines at first appear timidly in the head of the
window, then ascend from sill to crown, and finally
even cut across the tracery sub-arches (fig. 59).
The vault still continues its development until
we reach the wonderful fan tracery characteristic
of this country. The multiplication of tiercerons
seems to have suggested a polygonal form for the
vault conoid, and from this to a circle is easy,
break with the lines of the ribs. It is probably
this that led to the introduction of the four-centred
arch, which allows the line of the ribs to pass imper-
ceptibly into the central space (fig. 60, Windsor).
This is very satisfactory for a vault over a square,
but the problems of satisfactorily vaulting a rect-
angular space begin again. The most complete
solution is by the Oxford architects in the Divinity
schools and the Cathedral, which are not true fan
vaults (fig. 61); and the same principle, somewhat
meretriciously carried out in a true fan vault,
appears in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster. The
principle is practically that of dividing up the
rectangular space to be vaulted into a new nave
and aisles, as it were. The springings of the vaults
are then supported upon great transverse arches
thrown across the whole space. In this way a
square compartment is obtained in the middle,
which is easy to vault, and the small minor com-
partments can be treated by some other method.
In the case of the Cathedral at Oxford they are
very effectively treated as barrel vaults.

The influence of domestic architecture upon that
of the church is a subject of great interest which
has hardly yet received the study that it deserves.
In early days many of the problems were first
worked out in the Norman castles. Later, the
domestic window with its transom bars and the
beautiful open timber-roofs of the great halls had
considerable effect upon church architecture. Of
course, the plans and arrangements are different,
but the spirit of the two is the same. Sometimes,
as, for instance, in Belgium, the greatest achieve-
ments are in civil architecture; and although the
bulk of these buildings in our own country have
perished, such examples as the small Town Hall at
Oxford and the Normans have a charm quite equal to that of
the churches. But in any case, whether the building
is for the Church, the State, the Borough, or the
private individual, the artistic qualities triumph
over the special difficulties involved in the partic-
ular instance, and the series of buildings—castles,
cathedrals, halls, palaces, and churches—is as noble
as that in any style.

RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE.

When, at the time of the Renaissance, men's
minds began to turn back to the glories of the
classical epoch, the result was naturally seen in
architecture as in everything else. It was also
natural that the beginning of the architectural
change should be in Italy, as was the case in other
departments of the movement, particularly in view
of the large number of actually existing remains
upon Italian soil. The development, however,
was considerably stimulated by the discovery of
the manuscript of Vitruvius Pollio, the architect
of Augustus, who wrote the De Architectura. This
famous treatise, in ten books, upon the architecture
of the Augustan epoch, was translated into Italian
in A.D. 1531. In spite of the impetus thus given to

and we reach the concavo-convex conoid of the fan
vault (fig. 60). The architects of the Gloucester
cloisters have produced a delightful piece of work
on this principle. But there is one objection,
namely, that the flat central space makes an abrupt

PICTURE 60.

PICTURE 61.

VAULT SYSTEM CH. CH. OXFORD

PLAN

CONTRACT

VAULTS.

GLOUCESTER CLOISTER

AISLE-

V AULT.

S'GEORGES CHAPEL

WINDSOR

FAN-Vaults.

CATHEDRAL.
the study, it would appear to have been by no means entirely beneficial in its results. Vitruvius seems to have been the Palladio of his day, viewing the art in a cut and dried and somehow lifeless manner, which was not without its effect upon his followers of a later generation. It is true that Vitruvius' work was drawn chiefly from Greek sources, although these were probably not late; but it must always be remembered that, in the main, Renaissance architecture was founded not upon the Greek but upon the Roman style—a style itself a hybrid and full of solecisms. Many of the criticisms that are brought against Renaissance work apply equally to the work itself; it is not so hideous or so foolish as the leaving of irregularity, which is a defect that may arise in scattered examples as the profuse use of meaningless decoration, and the unintelligible application of features imperfectly understood, e.g. the architrave that supports no ceiling, the incomplete drums, flutings, or drafted stones copied from unfinished Greek work, and chopped off sections of entablature, as in the church of St. Spirito, Florence.

It may be said that Brunelleschi, the Florentine, was the first great architect of the Renaissance. He produced a plan for the building of the dome of the cathedral of Florence in 1420, which was eventually carried out. The spread of the style in Italy was extraordinarily rapid. The cause was very largely that the Gothic style had never firmly established itself in Italy: indeed, it may practically be said that it never penetrated to Central Italy at all. Although in Florence such an example as the famous campanile of Giotto has hardly anything of the real Gothic spirit, in spite of the applied Gothic features and ornament. It is not the living organism of Gothic structure and ornament, but a simple rectilinear mass work with an elaborate veneer of surface adornment. The Italian medieval churches were mainly Latin in motive, and it was natural that the Italian mind should turn whole-heartedly toward a style which it had never in essence entirely abandoned.

From Italy the movement spread throughout the world of architecture. It was spread by the architects themselves, who took the plan with them as they travelled. In the East, the Turks, who had been the most cultured people of Europe, were at this time overwhelmed by the Turks. In fact, the sack of Constantinople in 1453, although it was the final blow to Greek civilization in the East, did not affect the Greeks or Europe, and very largely made the Renaissance what it was.

In the case of any revival or Renaissance style, it is almost more difficult to make a division into periods than in the case of a style of true growth; because, in the first place, the individual factor is stronger, depending upon study and research, and also at any moment fortuitous circumstances may combine to make a particular building a more complete representation of the old style. But it may be said that Renaissance architecture was by no means so 're-naissance'; it was in many respects a living style. And it may be noticed that it did pass through three more or less clearly marked stages, although these vary considerably both in manner and in date in different countries.

The first period is marked by a distinctly Gothic tendency, with a comparatively limited knowledge of the nature of ancient work.

The second period, the period of maturity, shows a much greater knowledge of classical detail and arrangement, and is marked by a much more definitely classical spirit. The picturesque irregularity of Gothic planning is often an elevation given way to a precise and calculated symmetry. The style reaches its zenith and exhibits itself in many of the world's noblest buildings, although the lover of Gothic architecture will always feel a certain coldness about them, and the lover of Greek architecture will be repelled still more by their lack of spontaneity, sublety, and delicate restraint.

In the work of the second Spanish period there is a certain restraint, it is true, but it is rather a formal coldness, and does not resemble the reserved but intense passion of Greek work. The nearest approach to the true Greek restraint is in the best work of Florence. It is to this second period that we have to look for the true work of the Renaissance. It is here that we learn what are really its characteristics. The first period is buttressed by the reconstruction and the last of over-ripeness and decay.

The third period, sometimes known as the 'Rocco,' is marked by exaggeration, ostentation, and a still more mechanical application of rule, which proceeds side by side with a tendency towards slavish reproduction of ancient work. The latter tendency resulted in what is sometimes called the 'neo-Classic revival,' doubtless hastened as an antidote to the extravagances of the Rocco.

In Florence, although the classical orders were used, they were very much subordinated, and in comparison with later work their use seems timid. Their actual scale was small, and this also was the case with the ornamental features which are characteristic of Gothic work. There was still a tendency towards that multiplicity of parts which characterizes Gothic feeling. Windows are generally round-headed, often with sub-arches in the typical Gothic manner, and occasionally they even contain a sort of tracery, especially in France and Britain (fig. 62). Even pointed arches are used, particularly in Venice, as in the Doge's palace.

In Florence great use is made of rustication—one of the typical affectations of the Renaissance, which seems to have had its origin in ancient Roman work, where unfinished Greek work was copied in which only the outer borders of the stones had been dressed. Ugly and meaningless as it frequently is, particularly in its aggressively finished forms, it is not so hideous or so foolish as the leaving of
occasional square blocks in a round column—a device that even the most extreme admirer of Renaissance work does not attempt to defend. This, however, does not appear until the style is more or less advanced. It becomes common in France during the reign of Charles IX. (A.D. 1560–1574). Rustication was never popular in Venice, where there had always been a certain true Gothic feeling, mingled with Byzantine, which was distinctly opposed to anything Roman. Indeed, it was doubtless partly a survival of this feeling that caused the Renaissance style to be reluctantly adopted in Venice only when the 16th cent. was well advanced. A rather charming device common in Venice at this period may at this point be noted, namely, the so-called shell ornament (fig. 62).

Another objectionable feature, apparently first used by Alberti in St. Maria Novella at Florence, in A.D. 1470, is the inverted console placed above the aisles. Presumably it may be regarded as the successor of the flying buttress of Gothic work, but it is utterly unfitted to perform any function structurally or aesthetically. It overreaches for a small decorative bracket becomes ridiculous when applied to a feature of the main composition over a score of feet in length (fig. 63).

On the whole, it may be said that, although many churches were built in Italy during the Renaissance, partly as a result of the counter-Reformation of the Jesuits, in the North the Gothic epoch had more than supplied all the churches that were required. Hence, religious buildings in the North, particularly during the first period, are comparatively rare, and it is only in such instances as the churches of London built after the Great Fire that there is anything very extensive in the way of ecclesiastical work. It was rather a palace-building epoch, such as is shown in the great châteaux on the Loire, of which the Château Chambord may be taken as typical. In the North, Renaissance architecture made its way very slowly, at first appearing only in minor accessories such as altars, tombs, pulpits, doorways, and occasional enlargements, as the apse of St. Pierre at Caen. When the main fabric itself is attempted, the result is a building entirely Gothic in planning, arrangement, and construction, and the surface ornament merely is of the classical type. Pilasters take the place of buttresses, and cornices the place of corbel tables, and so on, as, for example, in St. Eustachie, Paris—an excellent specimen of the first period of Renaissance work in France. In Britain, although Inigo Jones and Wren introduced a pure classical style earlier than anything of the kind in France, this transitional feeling continued in certain districts very much longer, particularly in Oxford. As late as 1648–1652 the charming little church of Derwicke-on-Tweed affords a most pleasing instance of the fusion of the two styles.

In the South of France much of the work was done by hands of travelling Italians, who have left a considerable impress upon the minor features of the period in that district. In the main it is true to say that French work of the time of Francis I. (1515–1547) is marked by a special elegance which is peculiar to itself. It is doubtless the outcome of the elegant French-Gothic acting upon the Renaissance style, and applies especially to domestic examples. In England, the Early period, which may be said to cover the reigns from Henry VIII. to James I., may be divided into two. The earlier part, from the close of Henry VII.'s reign to the death of Edward VI., is marked by Italian influence, as in the case of Torrigiano's tomb made for Henry VII., and the later part is marked by Flemish and German influence; but throughout the whole period everything is tentative and experimental.

a. In the second period we have the matured Renaissance style, when buildings were classical not only in detail, but in spirit. This may be said to have been inaugurated in Italy when in A.D. 1506 Bramante commenced the church of St. Peter's in Rome, a date which was about contemporary with the very first beginnings of Renaissance influence in Britain.

In this second period the picturesqueness of Gothic planning almost entirely disappears. It is, however, to be noticed that the great cross plan of the large churches, although carried out in a severely symmetrical manner, is the indelible impress of the Gothic hand upon the succeeding age. Even St. Peter's itself is so planned. Not only so, but, in the case of both St. Peter's, Rome, and of St. Paul's, London (figs. 64, 65)—the two greatest buildings of the style—the more severely symmetrical plan of the Greek cross, as designed by the architects, was altered to the long-naved Latin cross in deference to Gothic tradition. Both churches suffered by this arrangement, St. Peter's very much so.

The orders in this period are no longer used in an unobtrusive manner, but become, except
perhaps in Florence, the main feature of the style, although, as in ancient Roman work, they are generally little more than mere ornament unrelated to the anatomy of the building. They are generally treated on Roman lines; but there was considerable latitude, the shafts occasionally being even fluted sparingly, or wreathed with bands of foliage and fruit, or, worst of all, broken by square blocks. The Tuscan order becomes clearly defined in Renaissance work as a separate order. In Spain a new kind of capital appears, termed the 'bracket capital,' in which two or more brackets spring from the head of the column. It has the advantage of reducing the strain on the architrave.

The ornament is founded upon classical Roman work; but in the best Renaissance examples, especially in Florence, it is more refined. It should be noticed that Renaissance carving was almost invariably executed after the building was set up. In Gothic buildings every stone was cut; but it was put into its place. The result is that the jointings often cut unpleasantly across Renaissance work, whereas Gothic jointing and the carving-design are thought out together. It is simply one aspect of the principle that the Gothic pile was always essentially a building; the Renaissance pile was rather a monument, treated somewhat after the manner of a picture.

The old Roman ribless vault was revived, at least in form, but a considerable geometrical improvement was made. In the plain barrel form it remained semicircular, but in the case of intersecting vaults over a rectangular space the curve of the vault was made elliptical, so that the diagonal groins might be projected as straight lines upon the plan (fig. 66). It should, however, be observed that in an enormous number of cases the vault was a mere plaster sham, and not part of the construction, as in Roman or Gothic work. All roofs in Italy were hidden within by ceilings, but in France and Germany the open timber-roof was made an important feature. The roof is of low pitch, and in the majority of instances so low that from most points of view the parapet forms the sky-line. In France, however, we find the high 'Mansard' roof; and in Germany the high roof with tiers of dormer windows is a very common feature. The fact is that Germany never wholly adopted the Renaissance style until long after every other country in Europe, and these high roofs are mediaeval in character.

The glory of the style is the dome, which in its general treatment follows the Byzantine method. There is almost universally a drum, as in the second Byzantine period; but it is made an even more important feature, and very commonly is enriched by a colonnade. It was usual to build these domes with an outer and an inner shell of different curvature and quite separate. The outer dome is frequently a mere timber-framed erection, resting upon the other, as in Sansovino's S. Giorgio dei Greci at Venice, or the outer dome of the Église des Invalides, Paris, which consists of three domes, each surmounted by a hemisphere (fig. 66). In this connexion may be noticed the very great use of carpentry all through Renaissance work, which has been compared by some writers to the modern use of iron. St. Paul's, London, has an outer and
an inner dome, with a brick cone between. St. Peter's, Rome, has two brick domes.

Renaissance spires were not of common occurrence save in England and Spain. They seem to have been invented first by Sir Christopher Wren, but the Spanish use is possibly independent.

In the second period round-headed windows were less frequent, and square-headed windows, often with small pediments over them, were the rule. The rustication, so common in Florence in the early period, was now generally confined to the quoins, as in the Pandolfini Palace designed by Raphael, and more or less freely copied in Travellers' Club, London. At the same time there was a tendency for all wall space to disappear, and for the whole surface to be covered with an exuberance of applied architectural features. The detail and moldings became more vigorous and elaborate, but lacked the earlier refinement.

The Roman method of building had been largely one of veneers. The inner part of the wall was of inferior material, but the outside was faced with fine stone or more often marble. The Romanesque Gothic made use of a double wall with a rubble core, derived from Roman use; but this system was gradually abandoned, and in the best Gothic work the wall was built solid, or at least all the stone facings were bonded into and formed an integral part of the wall. The Renaissance architects realized that this was a better system, and endeavoured to follow it out in their work. At the same time veneer was not infrequently used, and plaster facing was by no means uncommon. This was particularly so in the last period, when panels, cornices, and ornaments even upon the exterior were of plaster—a most unsatisfactory arrangement.

It may certainly be said that there were three distinct schools of the art:

1. The Florentine, which depended largely on fenestration, and in which the orders played a secondary part. It was very severe, with a breadth and vigour of treatment exemplified in the due sense of the value of contrast as applied to plain wall surface and ornament, and again in the effective depths of shadow given by deep recesses and heavy cornices. It is marked by extreme delicacy in the ornamental carving.

2. The Venetian, which was more pugilous and more pompous, with great ornaments introduced for ornament's sake, often coarse and over-insistent. There is less severity, and many curves give a weakness of effect. Orders of varying heights are used, and are often piled upon other orders somewhat indiscriminately.

3. The Roman, which is midway between the two in severity. It is marked by great pilasters of the whole height of the building, so as to give the effect of one storey, and in consequence of this it has had a greater influence upon church architecture. The pilaster and not the column is used, as the inter-columniations upon so huge a scale would make the span of the architrave impossible.

In the second period there was a distinct decline, and a great deal of extravagance and affectation, such as broken entablatures, and pediments, and curved and irregular cornices. In Italy there is a peculiar lack of inspiration, and the work of Maderno and Bernini may be taken as typical. One of the most pleasing examples is that of St. Maria della Salute, by Longhena, in Venice (A.D. 1632). Its proportions and general mass are excellent, although the details leave something to be desired. Doubtless it owes a great deal to its site, being on the Giudecca (Venice), Paris (A.D. 1755), although greatly superior to most work of the time, belongs to this period. It was built from Soufflot's designs, and is interesting as having the smallest amount of area of support of any Renaissance church, comparing even with Gothic work in this respect. Compare its plan (fig. 67) with that of St. Peter's or St. Paul's (fig. 68). It has not been successful, however, for it has been necessary to prop and support it several times.

The extravagances of the 'rococo' in France are even surpassed by the work in Spain generally known as 'Churriguersque,' after the architect Churriguera, doubtless partly caused by a revolution from the over-balanced mechanical style of such men as Herrera in the previous period.

In considering the Renaissance style as a whole, certain broad characteristics should be noticed. In the first place, there was a very distinct tendency, particularly in the case of its Italian inventors, to view the whole composition as a matter of line and proportion rather than as a building. There is often very little relation between the uses of the building and its form. Architecture is an applied art, and therefore, unless it be well adapted to the function that it has to perform, it cannot be a success. But, further, it is not only upon these grounds that so much Renaissance work must be condemned. Even upon aesthetic grounds, in the erection of a monument as distinct from a building, it is necessary that the thing should form an organic whole; and a column which is the outcome of the aesthetic endeavour of many ages to express the beauty of support, is clearly out of place when it supports nothing. The concealment of construction and arrangement is a similar but different question. An enormously heavy lantern, rising above what is apparently a dome of light construction, may, it is true, be defended upon the grounds that it is obvious that there must be some further support within. The eye would, however, probably be aesthetically more satisfied if there were some indication of this support, as otherwise there is considerable though not absolutely certain danger of the artistic unity being broken. To treat the matter as a moral question is, of course, absurd, and simply shows entire ignorance of the nature of all aesthetic
philosophy. One might as well argue that a portrait was false because it was not flesh and blood but paint and canvas. But there is no doubt that Renaissance architects were in the habit of sailing very near the wind, and there is frequently a distinct want of harmony in their work. Some of the faults are directly traceable to the great masters, and it is true that the greatest of the Renaissance architects were not so well acquainted with Greek work, not merely in detail, but viewed as an artistic conception. As contrasted with Gothic work, Renaissance work is more like that of both Greek and Roman work—is more concerned with the building as a whole than with the parts. It is this that makes the exact repetition of similar parts a possibility. But when the Renaissance architect—as was not infrequently the case—allowed the quality of the detail to suffer, although he may find precedent in Roman work, he falls far behind that of Greece, whose detail was the most exquisite and subtle of any architecture in the world. Connected with the desire to form a pleasing whole was the attention paid to proportion and also to symmetry, which was regarded as the best means of attaining this end. With regard to proportion, it is doubtful whether, with all their rules and formulae, the Renaissance architects were more successful than those of the Gothic era in this respect. A certain level was maintained; but these laws were a check against falling below, they were also a check against rising above. For an interior vista the Renaissance architects never surpassed such an one as Amiens. The proportions of the bay designs of most of the great Gothic cathedrals are admirable. With reference to their exteriors more may be said; but as regards the proportionate disposition of its masses, it would be hard to find any Renaissance building to rival Durham; certainly not St. Peter's, Rome, whose façade and minor cupolas are entirely out of proportion with the rest. It is true it is a work of many architects, but so is Durham. St. Paul's, London, is perhaps the one rival; and St. Paul's, taking all things into consideration, is the finest of all Renaissance buildings. As for façades, the simple inevitability of such an one as York Minster has deprived it of the praise it deserves. A façade such as this will never appeal in any comparison. From a moment, neither will that of the Invalides at Paris nor the Pantheon, good as far as it goes, and certainly not Bernini's façade to St. Peter's. Again St. Paul's is the only possible rival.

A great deal of nonsense has been talked about Renaissance proportions. One of the most characteristic qualities of Renaissance work is its treatment of scale. The parts themselves are few in number, but of great size. The result is to give the impression of the building as a whole being one rival, and St. Paul's, taking all things into consideration, is the finest of all Gothic cathedrals not approaching it in area. It is probable that the contrary result was expected, but such is the fact. It is one that there are certain calm and even dignity about the system, but this should rather be set against the loss of mystery and suggestiveness.

Renaissance architecture is largely the product of Italian architects, and as such challenges criticism in a way that is not the case with less studied styles. It is therefore easy to form an erroneous notion of its value as a style in the architecture of the world, and to fail in giving it the place it deserves.


J. B. STOUGHTON HOLBORN.
from strengthening the column with a coat of the harder palm branches, whose thin tops were left loose around the capital. The sloping walls of the pylon result from tilting the courses of bricks inward, so as to prevent them from being easily dislodged. In order to strengthen the column with a coat of brickwork from being broken away, bundles of reeds were lashed on down the edge; these were the origin of the torus molding marked by diagonal windings along the angles of the buildings. The fence, formed of palm-sticks with loose heads, lashed together near the top to a line called the saper, was the source of the cavetto molding with torus roll below it. The palm-log roof is copied in stone in tombs at Gizeh and Abydos. Thus the forms adopted for the stone architecture belong to the earlier materials, as in Greece.

2. The plans.—The plans of the temples vary considerably in different ages. The earlier temples are scarcely known except from the plans of the Osiris temples at Abydos, and the views of primitive shrines. The hieroglyph for the temple of Osiris was sometimes used as a temple symbol, and the form of the temple was adopted in other cases.

A great temenos was built around it, 192 ft. distant to the eastward, with a wall 23 ft. thick. To this temple Sebekhotep III. added a chapel and doorway on the south.

The XVIIIth dynasty saw all this re-built still larger. The temenos was 256 ft. long, E.-W.; in it lay the stone temple facing east, 215 ft. long, and 129 ft. wide; the temenos wall was nearly 30 ft. thick, with gateways of red granite. Lastly, in the XXVth dynasty, there was an entirely new stone temple, facing east, 129 ft. square. It seems to have been of the processional type, open back and front. We have detailed these successive temples as they are the only examples that have yet been observed and recorded, showing the growth and alterations throughout Egyptian history on one site. Many secondary details, and the outlying store-rooms, are not noticed here, nor buildings of the XIXth and XXth dynasties which were in adjacent positions, but are too much ruined to be traced. The total result is that there were seven entirely different plans on one site, besides alterations to these. The direction of facing was successively S., N., ?., and E., E., E.

Another early temple plan is that of Hierakonpolis. This was entirely of brick, but can hardly have been earlier than the XIXth dynasty. Its shrines consisted of five chambers in a row, each 8 ft. wide and 20 ft. long. The whole block was 92 ft. wide over all. The shrines were each a closed cell with one door, and not of the processional type.

Coming now to the temples which can still be examined in a more or less perfect state, the oldest is that of Medium, built by Seneferu of the IIIrd dynasty. This is merely an enclosed courtyard (nearly 20 ft. by 8) against the side of the pyramid, containing an out 6 ft. thick. The approach to it is through two chambers placed with their length across the whole breadth of the building. Next is the granite temple of Khafra of the IVth dynasty, near the sphinx; the entrance to it is still buried, so that its nature is unknown. The first hall is 12 ft. by 60 ft. wide; the second hall is 22 ft. from back to front, divided by a row of six pillars, and 81 ft. wide; and from this branches another hall 33 ft. wide, divided by two rows of five pillars, and 52 ft. long. This whole is built of red granite. Neither of these was a temple in the usual sense, but a place for religious services for the benefit of the deceased king.

The oldest type of temple which we have full plans of is that of Tahutmes III. at Medinet Habu. It is solely a place for processional rites, for a hall 49 ft. N.-S. at both ends, with a colonnade round it for the procession to pass, and six store chambers behind. Of the same type were the subsequent temples of Amenhotep III. at Elephantine, of Rameses III. at Karnak, of Alexander at Lusor, of Philip Annicados at Karnak, and of the Ptolemiac age at Kom Ombo and Dackheh.

The other type of temple was not adapted for processions, nor, perhaps, for fairs of gods, but on the contrary was chosen to contain a single large statue too heavy to be moved. Of this type there seem to be two of Amenhotep III., at Lusor and at el-Kab; but all the others are Ptolemiac, as at Denderah, Deir el-Medineh, Elfu, Philae (Isi, Harendotes, Arhigos), and Kalabcheh. Probably also of this type were the late temples with moonlight shrines, which were mostly set up in the Delta (Saft el-Henneh, Nebeshah, Tmey el-Amidi, Sebenytuos, Baqlieh) and less often in Upper Egypt, as at Abydos and Edfu.

The third type of temple was funerary, for ceremonies of offering to the deceased king, and neither for processions with a bark, nor for holding a statue in a naos. Such are those of Deir el-Bahri,
EGYPTIAN TEMPLE PLANS.

FIRST TO THIRD DYNASTY

SIXTH DYNASTY

SMALL SQUARE (ELEVENTH) AND OBLONG (TWELFTH DYNASTY) TEMPLES OF OSIRIS, ABYDOS

COMPLETE TEMPLE OF TWENTIETH DYNASTY, OF KHONSU, KARNAK

[All above, 1 : 400]
Architecture (Egyptian)

Sety I. at Qurneh, Ramessu II., Merenptah, and Ramessu III.

For noting the various divisions of a temple it is best to take one built in a single reign, such as that of Khonsu at Karnak built by Ramessu III. The massive pylon leads to the peristyle court, with a single or a double row of columns around three sides. This is the expansion of the portico of the dwelling-house, with a courtyard in front of it. Behind this is the closed hypostyle hall, which originated in the hall of the house with its sometimes a single column in the centre.

At the back of this is the actual sanctuary, with store chambers at each side, and sometimes also behind it. The sanctuary was either a long chamber, with wide doors front and back, and a wide passage around it for processions to pass bearing the bark of the god; or else it was a closed naisk containing the statue of the god.

3. The elevations.—The elevations show almost always a slight slope inwards of the face of the walls, which is vertical inside, but becomes thinner toward the top. This form was inherited from building in brick. The doorways are, however, always vertical. The overhanging cornices with a roll below it was copied from the loose ends of the blocking stones left from the stones being taken from the cross stub to which they were lashed. When elaborated, the cornice always has a palm leaf pattern on it. The columns are of various orders. The square pillar without any capital is termed Khafra, and in the courts of the XVIIIth dynasty. Octagonal columns occur in the Xlth and XIXth dynasties. The further truncation to sixteen sides belongs to the Xlth and XVIIth dynasties. The palm column is apparently the same as the term Khafra, formed of palm-sticks round the outside, with the leafy ends of the palm-sticks left hanging free around the top, forming a capital. It always had a square abacus to carry the weight free of the projecting leaves.

The lotus column represents a similar bundle decorated with lotus buds stuck into the hollows of the binding, and a sculptured capital imitating a half-opened lotus flower. The papyrus column is a bundle of papyrus stems, with a sculptured capital copied from the feathery head of the plant. The Hathor capital is usually on a polygonal column or circular in late times, with a head of the goddess on one, or two, or all four sides. In Roman times various complex types with foreign elements were introduced.

The columns were either of wood, brick, or stone. The earlier little shrines were evidently roofed with the same stems which formed the sides. Brick roofing was certainly used largely for houses and tombs, and probably, therefore, for the smaller brick temples. Barrel roofs 6 ft. across were common in the Vlth dynasty, and larger ones up to 15 ft. wide in later times. For stone buildings, roofs of stone were naturally used, either of limestone or sandstone like the walls. But so strong was the sense of brick making that the roofs are often cut out in a curve beneath, while flat above, as at Abydos. The earlier stone roofs are very massive. The limestone slabs on the tombs of the I11rd dynasty reach the size of 20 x 8 x 3 ft., weighing 33 tons. The granite beams in the great pyramid are at least 21 ft. long, 4 to 5 ft. wide, and about as deep. For greater security, the early roofs were often pointed, and on the cantilever principle; the centre of gravity of the block was over the wall, and it would not tend to fall even if the opposing block were absent. Such blocks sloped from 30° to 40°; and with their great depth, as much as 7 ft., their resistance as beams was enormous. In the pyramids there are generally three layers of such beams, one over the other. The roofing of temples was on a similar scale. Deep stone architraves rested on the columns, and large slabs stretched across the passage and chambers; those roof which the axial passage at Karnak are 28 ft. long.

4. The decoration.—The decoration was the life of an Egyptian temple. At first the walls are severely plain; at Medum there is not a single figure or hieroglyph, even on the funeral stele. At the granite temple of Khafra nothing is seen but perfectly smooth granite and alabaster, without even a minute line to tell. But in the 14th dynasty the Ra temple of Ra-em-unsu is as richly sculptured as the tombs of that age. The temple walls of the Xlth dynasty were very finely sculptured, and sometimes richly coloured (see Koptos and Qahnu). In the XVIIth dynasty the more complete temples enable us to follow the scheme of design. But it is in a quite perfect temple, such as that of Denderah, that we can see the connexions of the scenes with the use of each part. On the outer screens between the columns is shown the king leaving his palace, followed by his ka, and preceded by an incense offerer. Then Horus and Thoth purify him, and the goddesses of south and north bless him. Mentu and Atmu—of Thebes and Heliopolis—fly in to show him before the goddess of Denderah. On entering the hypostyle hall the king is shown sacrificing to the gods of Denderah; and along the lowest line of the wall are the scenes of the founding of the temple by the king, building the foundation, and presenting the bricks for the building. In the next chamber the king proceeds to worship the gods. And on reaching the sanctuary itself, the king is shown ascending the steps to the shrine, removing the offering to the god. Then the doors, opening the door, gazing on the goddess, praying to her, censing the sacred barks, and worshipping before the barks. Finally, he presents the image of truth to the goddess. Thus the decoration all has its purpose as an outline of the ceremonies proper to each part of the temple; it is a kind of ritual and rubrics in stone, like the scenes and figures of the early tombs, so that eternally the king should be considered to be performing the divine service in his spirit body.

Apart from the ritual decoration, there were many details of customary ornament. The palm-leaf cornice we have already noticed. On the screens of stone between the columns, and on the tops of shrines, a cornice of urei was often placed. Such was originally proper to the flower of the deadly ureus serpent being the emblem of the right of capital punishment. A fortunate combination was the disc of the sun, the ureus in front of it, a vulture's wings at the sides, and ram's horns above it. This represents Ra, in three aspects, as Creator—the ram's horns belonging to Khnumu, the creative rain god; as Preserver—the vulture's wings spread out being the emblem of maternal care; and as Judge or Destroyer—the serpent head on the ram's right. The head of Horus is shown over a king's head, it is often seen without the serpent, and with the wings drooping to embrace the king, as he is protected but not judged by Ra. Similarly on the roofs of tombs, especially the kings' tombs, there is a painting of vultures, with outspread wings across the passage, along the whole distance, showing the authority given to the soul.

A favourite structural decoration was a dado of papyrus plants along the lower part of walls. This seems to have been used in the 1st dynasty, to judge by the ribbed green tiles; it often appears in later times, and was usual in Ptolemaic and Roman temples. Similarly the ceilings are covered with a dark blue ground, spangled with
golden stars. The stars are always five-rayed; and the representation of stars with rays suggests that the ancient Egyptians were short-sighted like the modern, for stars appear only as points of light to long-sighted eyes.

Of minor decoration there is a very ancient form in the figure of a round sun defaced by painting, with which is the emblem of the tomb entrance, and is often shown painted below the sacred hawk. The ka name of the king is always written above such a doorway. The very elaborate coloured patterns of the painting on examples in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, like so much of the art itself, is only a type, and the small square panels are probably an imitation of a woodwork screen built up of small pieces. Such construction was requisite in so dry a climate, where wood warped and shrank so much, and only small pieces could be trusted to keep their form. The medieval Arab woodwork met this difficulty in the same way. Another decorative use of wood was in the open-work carving of a pair of lotus leaves tied together, or a group of dad signs, which formed a fretwork over the ventilating holes in the ceiling. A similar style of fretwork was inserted to steady the framing of chairs and tables by fretwork groups of hieroglyphs, as the girdle tie of Isis, the dad, the ankh, and other signs. Such furniture work passed on to stone dressing and survived in the decoration of temples. It had a great part in Egyptian life. Every festivity, every sociality, was a field for floral ornament with wreaths, garlands, and streamers of convolvulus; every water-jar had flowers over it and round it, and every group of offerings on an altar was heaped with flowers. Hence wreaths became a customary decoration on surface carvings and paintings. Also a favourite ceiling design was a vine trellis; and along the beams purple bunches of grapes hung down, made in glazed pottery.

5. The furniture. The furniture of the temples is frequently represented. The central object of devotion was the sacred bark. This was a boat about 8 ft. in length (Koptos, xix.), fastened down to a framework of poles by rope ties (Temple of Kings, vi.). This framework was put upon the shoulders of the priests for carrying it in procession; as many as twelve to twenty priests are represented, each probably carrying a burden of half a hundredweight. To set down this bark a high stand was needed. This was sometimes of wood, a sort of square box with decorated panels (Temple of Kings, iii.—vi.), or a block of granite, like one in the British Museum with figures of six gods around it (see illustration in Art [Egyptian]). Upon the bark there stood a canopy or casket of slender wooden pillars and a springy top of board; and from this was suspended the square shrine of the god, hung by ropes, and kept from swaying by guide ties at the bottom. The detail of the structure is shown in a working drawing on page 715b.

The carved and decorated, and almost always half-swathed in a linen wrapper. Fore and aft of the shrine were statuettes of the king and of various gods, adoring the divinity. At each end of the bark was a figure-head, and a great enameled collar of metal hanging below it. Some shrines had a winged figure of Maat, the goddess of truth, at each end, embracing the shrine with her wings. Such seems to be the prototype of the winged cherubs on the Jewish ark. Of other furniture there were the standards of the gods upon long poles, which were carried in procession, as well as the stands for holding the libation jars and other vessels used in the ceremonies; the framed wooden stands for vessels hung round with garlands; and the tall trumpet-shaped stands of pottery or metal for holding jars. In the papyri of Ramessu III. are named the tables of gold, silver, and bronze, the collars and ornaments for decorating the statues on the festivals, and a great balance plated with electrum. The buildings and chambers which now seem so bare and blank were radiant with plated tables and stands, glittering with precious vases of gold and silver, and bright with garments of wondrous splendour.

6. The popular shrines. These shrines were scattered all over the country by the waysides, doubtless like the modern Muhammadan weyl. Such local worship is directly contrary to Islam, and must, therefore, have persisted from earlier times, like so much of the arts and crafts. But one might find the shrine was set up where a recess a lamp burned before the figure of the god.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

ARCHITECTURE (Greek).—The subject of Greek architecture is one that has been curiously neglected, and one has the feeling that we should be himself beset by an insufficiency of data and an atmosphere of uncertainty immediately he enters upon the study. This accounts for the vagueness and incompleteness of what little has been written upon the question. It is therefore especially necessary in dealing with the subject of origins to try upon one's guard against certain popular fallacies, particularly when those origins are lost in the obscurity of a remote antiquity. A mere resemblance between two forms is absolutely no evidence that one is derived from the other, and nothing is more harmful to true knowledge than the shallow kind of art criticism that makes such an assumption without a very careful weighing of the evidence. Art is in its essence creative, and in a great art, even when it does borrow, it is always not what it takes, but what it gives of itself. At the same time, the higher the art the more subtle it is, and consequently by the inartistic observer the primitive borrowed element is absurdly over-emphasized.

A familiar parallel is seen in the case of faces. The shallow observer is always noticing 'likenesses'; the artist notes differences. The stranger notices the 'likeness' among members of a family; those who really know the faces note the differences. Twins at first sight are often almost indistinguishable; later, as knowledge grows, we wonder that we ever noted any marked resemblance. (An excellent instance of this is seen on p. 719.)

The architecture of Greece, the most refined, the most subtle, and in some respects the most artistic, that the world has seen, is pre-eminently the natural architectural expression of the gifted race that produced it. The Ionian architecture was marked by extraordinary individuality and independence. It was a most unusual degree, and therefore, except where there is real evidence, it is not unreasonable to give them credit for invention, when the forms are such that they might be developed from the simplest elements by any people of intelligence; and it is unnecessary to seek for far-fetched resemblances to bolster up improbable theories. At the same time, of course, due weight must be given to the conditions of previous and contemporary art, whose influences doubtless made themselves felt.

Of these influences three possible sources may be briefly noted—Egypt, Assyria, and the Aegean civilizations. In each case the most striking fact is the extreme difference in purpose, sentiment, treatment, and detail that distinguishes them from Greek architecture.
(1) The earlier periods of architecture in Egypt—of pyramids and tombs—hardly need be considered; partly because they belong to a time that had long since ceased to exercise any influence on architecture as a whole, partly because there was little, if any, intention to anything built by the Greeks, who were never a race for architectural thought. The earliest and simplest architectural remains of the Tholos period, it may be said, that it was erected with more definitely religious intent than was that of Greece. The architectural parts, the stylobate, the column, and the entablature, are found in all three orders. 

(2) Asymmetry architecture offers even less resemblance. It was of brick construction, non-trabeated style, characterized by the arch or the vault. It was primarily sanitary, and neither tombs nor temples played any important part, but, as far as remains go, the different parts of the whole. The ornamental detail in some ways resembles that of Egypt, and it is here that Greek work seems to have certain affinities, as there are more than can be accounted for perfectly natural process of development or suggestion from previous work in Greece land. It may, however, be noted that the influence of minor object is always more widespread than that of major forms, from this it is seen that more portable objects move with a petito principis to assume that the influence passed from Assyria to the Egee any more than vice versa. The probable is that there was a certain amount of interaction between the early Egee, Assyria, and Egypt.

In the case of Persian architecture, which may at earliest be said to have been from c. 680, although again entirely different in general intention from Greek architecture, there are certain minor features of detail which offer slight resemblance, particularly in the columns. But as the styles are contemporary—a fact which itself is of most conceivable, we should assume a certain amount of interaction rather than definitely assert that the less original and less artistic race even as that the places may be dated as c. 680. Therefore, to suppose that it can have had any influence upon Egee Ionic architecture is absurd. The temple of Ephesus, for instance, whose perfect Ionic capitals can be seen in the British Museum, dates from the time of Croesus, whose empire ended c. 646. The influence is almost certainly that of Greece upon Persia, and not the other way.

(3) In the third place, there are the great Egee civilizations, of which we know little or nothing of a generation ago, and which our knowledge increases daily. Here on Greek soil most probably may be sought those influences which earlier writers have found in and throughout the art of Egypt. Original as the Egyptian work undoubtedly is, it is not to be uncritically accepted. The most that can be said to the Egyptian art—one, if it may so be phrased, has become distinctly self-conscious. But the point to be noticed is that any Egyptian influence is but a little touch of a channel intended to be left open to any case, be only indirect.

Here again, in the case of Egee architecture, the entire spirit of the style, which are those of palaces and tombs, and not the work of temple-building peoples at all, allows at most of a limited range of influence. The wholly different art character of the two peoples, if we may group the Egee peoples as one and the Greeks as another, is, however, a far more fundamental line of cleavage. The earlier art is more luxurious and less restrained. It is less structural in its character, depending more for its effect upon surface ornamentation. Further, the earlier art seems to have been less definitely intellectual, and expressed itself largely by an arbitrary symbolism, whereas the Greek is more rational and self-explanatory embodiment of its content—a characteristic feature of the Egee art. So obvious as Greek art reaches its acme with the art of the Doric order.

There may, however, be a real though limited amount of influence in the case of Egee art, even though such influence be of a rather indirect sort. Of the most obvious significance may be found in a method of building which in-close to the use of stone for the lower part of the work and of tiles for the upper part, characteristic of the East. A point of architectural significance is marked by an attempt to rationalize and self-explanatory embodiment of its content—a characteristic feature of the Greek art. So obvious as Greek art reaches its acme with the art of the Doric order.

The more general point of interest is that the colonnaded style of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. This, therefore, does point to an early development on the Ionic and Corinthian, and that the need for a column to support the entablature at the foot of the wall in later Greek work may point to this origin (p. 679, fig. 1). It has been suggested that the very plan of the temple is derived from the megaron in the chief's house, as at Tiryns (p. 680, fig. 8). The plan of the Hera temple shows a very great advance upon this, which

must have taken a considerable time to effect, implying several earlier stages. The temple has been dated as early as c. 1100, in which case it becomes doubtful whether it should be considered as original. The temple building, adopted and gradually altered to the Doric style.

In the case of the temple of Hera, the Doric order is entirely out of place. This, though, there remains a certain amount of pre-Doric. The temple is, of course, with the continual alterations, whatever the explanation of them.

There are, however, questions of great importance in this connection. The Greek society and the government of a city-state, in particular, namely the Athenians, were in all probability a mixed race, descended partly from an Egee stock (probably Ionians from stock), and partly from an indigenous stock, which for convenience is here called 'Egee,' nevertheless it was the spirit of the Egee peoples, combined with that of the Turks and the Northern races, and the spirit that was produced. It may even be hazarded as a suggestion that the ultimate decadence of Greek work was due to the gradual re-absorption of the indigenous stock over that of the conqueror, and that the glory of what we might term the crooked fruit ultimately succumbed to the characteristics of the original wild crab. In that case the decadence is not a simple decadence, such as we may trace in the history of the art of coinage in comparison with Egee, the state of Philip of Macedon to the Bodvoc coins of Britain, but the re-absorption of a lost, more ornate, and less restrained style. It, as seems most likely, we are to regard Egeeian, Greek work as the true descendant of Egee architecture, this view receives a certain amount of additional confirmation.
With regard to the temples, at any rate, it may be said that every building rested upon a platform or stylobate, generally of three steps. In this it may be distinguished from all other styles, where, although a base-mold or plinth may be found, nothing of this nature occurs. Upon this, as its name implies, stood the columns, and these in their turn supported the entablature or stone lintel which is the main characteristic of the style. This lintel, or trabeated, construction was used, not because the Greeks were unacquainted with the arch: apparently they deliberately rejected it upon aesthetic grounds. They knew of the arch in the East, and quite early made use of it occasionally for purely structural purposes, as in the case of a water-drain at Athens, a barrel-vault at Sicyon, the passage to the stadiion at Olympia, an arch in Carmania, and in the lower storey of a stoa at Alinda. It is not altogether improbable that the Tholos at Athens was covered by a small dome. The arches of the Aegean period are not, as a rule, built with radiating voussoirs, although an example occurs in Arcadia. The arch principle is really involved at Tiryns, perhaps unconsciously, but it is not truly the corbelled system. One may suggest that the reason is to be sought in the Greek type of mind, as it expresses itself both in religion and art, partly in its sense of reserve, the μήκος ἄριστας of the temple at Delphi, partly in its tendency to seek the highest in a completed and finished perfection that does not lead out beyond itself. Hence it is more readily satisfied in the rectangular self-contained composition of Greek architecture than in a style involving the distribution of thrusts and the aesthetic incompletedness of the line of the arch. This became one of the most expressive features of the essentially suggestive, rather than perfected or finished, medieval style.

The further major divisions of the order may be tabulated as follows:—

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The Doric order has generally been considered the oldest; but there is no adequate reason for supposing so, although it is not unlikely. The pre-Persic remains from the Acropolis of Athens and the temples at Ephesus and Samos, Neandria and Naucratit, show Ionic work of very remote date. Indeed, one might even suppose that they are cognate developments from a common beginning, rather than that the one is derived from the other or is a later invention. The Doric order is marked by somewhat massive proportions; for instance, the columns of the temple at Corinth are 4'47 diameters, and those of the Parthenon, 34 ft. high, are 6'025 diameters. The entablature is similarly heavy in proportion to the whole.

The Doric column consists of a shaft and capital only; there is no base. It is conceivable that there was originally a plain square base, and that a series of these have coalesced to form the top step of the stylobate. The early columns at Corinth (c. 650 b.c.) are monoliths, but in other cases the columns are built up in drums, fitted together with the most marvellous accuracy. The shafts are invariably fluted, with a sharp arsis between the flutes (fig. 2). These flutes are generally 20 in number, but other numbers are not so rare as is commonly supposed. Thus:—

- 1. The two half orders of each column are termed colonnettes. The Doric column is distinguished from the Ionic by its square, not circular, section, and the absence of the secondary orders of frieze and entablature. The Doric order is characterized by its heavy proportions, its square section, and its absence of the secondary orders. The Doric order is distinguished from the Ionic by its square, not circular, section, and the absence of the secondary orders of frieze and entablature. The Doric order is characterized by its heavy proportions, its square section, and its absence of the secondary orders.
round posts of a primitive wooden style. Other Egyptian polygonal types are even less likely.

The capital is composed of three parts. The abacus is a square flat block that takes the bearing of the architrave. Below this is the echnos or capital itself—a bold molded member eminently suggestive of powerful support. Below this are three fillets to emphasize the neck. This gently curves into the shaft by means of the apophyses, and at the top of the shaft, immediately below the apophyses, are three sinkings which prepare the eye, as it ascends, for the changes from the vertical lines of the shaft to the horizontal lines of the capital.

The entablature is divided into three portions—the architrave or lintel proper, the frieze and the cornice. The architrave is quite plain—a single solid block. In very large examples it may be necessary to use more than one block, but they are placed on their edges so as to present a single face to the front. The frieze is divided into spaces by upright blocks of stone (triglyphs) which support the architrave and, at the same time, add to the aesthetic effect. These triglyphs, or channels, are arranged with two complete in the middle and one half on either side. The early form of the triglyph seems to have been nearly round-headed (fig. 3). The spaces between are filled with alaba which do not support anything. These are termed metopes. The metope (i.e., the thing behind, or after, or at the back of the echnos) is the slab that goes behind the hole, or hole opening, in the frieze (fig. 3). This does not imply that the interval was originally open. In a cella wall this would give light to the building (στήν in later writers means a window). In a peristyle it would become useless; and the introduction of the peristyle may have done away with the custom.

It does not throw much light on the beam-end theory, as the opening would be there in any case; but the method of fitting invariably used—which is to put the slab at the back of the hole—and the name—which does not mean between the triglyphs but behind the opening—if they point any way at all, suggest that the metope was always fitted as we find it, at the back of or behind the opening (fig. 3), which would not be possible if there were beam-ends. In rich examples the metopes are sculptured, particularly at the end of the building.

The cornice moldings need not be enumerated, but it might be observed that the uppermost member, the cymatium, is generally very similar to the ovol molding of the echinos of the capital. This molding is carried up over the pediment at the ends of the building, and the corona or flat member beneath it is repeated, occurring twice over the triglyph frieze, and once, with slight modifications, under the cymatium of the pediment.

The Doric order is the most simple and refined of the Greek orders, and this characteristic enables it the better to act as the frame of the glorious sculpture with which it was adorned. The tympanum, or triangular space in the pediment or gable, was generally filled with a frieze sculptured and ornamented with a series of triglyphs and metopes which could be treated in a variety of ways. The frieze of the Erechtheum is an example.

It is generally said that sculpture is a specialization of the Doric order, and is not found in Ionic, but for absolutely no reason. The Erechtheum, the temple of Athena Nike Apteros, the temple of the Illissus, the great temples of Artemis at Ephesus, the temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias, the Mausoleum, and the Ionic order in the interior of Phigalia, were all richly decorated with sculpture.

The Ionic order is marked by several important characteristics. In the first place, it is a lighter style; its columns are of more slender proportions and more widely spaced. At the same time it should be noted that, in proportion to the weight that they carry in the lighter entablature, they are no lighter than the Doric. It is less severe, and in any hands but those of the Greeks might have become over-ornate. The columns have bases which show very considerable variety in their moldings. The so-called Attic base is not a wide spread form, occurring only in a single instance in the north porch of the Erechtheum and not elsewhere even in that building (fig. 2). The Corinthian example of the monument of Lykites is, however, but slightly different. The influence of this base upon the architecture of the world was extraordinary, but not more than its extreme simplicity and great beauty justify (p. 718, fig. 47, and context). The original form of Ionic base seems to have been a torus molding above a sort of plinth with several astragals between the torus and the fluting. It was first introduced, and then the second torus below.

The fluting is generally 24 in number, and much deeper than the Doric. They are separated by a fillet in place of the sharp arris, which gives a very different effect to the column (fig. 2). In early examples the fluting were more numerous—40 at Naukratis, 40 at Ephesus, 44 on a votive column at Delphi. The sharp arris is also found in these early instances. The capital is lighter and the most distinctive feature of the order. It may be described as resembling a scroll upon two rollers, which form the well-known Ionic volutes. There is a very small circular abacus which has ornamental carving. The head of the capital, the echinos, immediately below and between the volutes, is also carved, and sometimes, as in the Erechtheum, the neck also is richly decorated.

There seem to have been two early forms of the Ionic capital, that which may perhaps be termed Aiolic and the Ionic form proper (Neandria and Erechtheum, fig. 4). It may also be noticed that the egg and dart of the small echinos of the Ionic capital tend to diminish and become pushed up into the volute part of the capital. It is quite possible that this part is really the descendant of free overhanging leaves in an earlier form (fig. 4, Delphi). The architrave is not simple projecting over the one below (fig. 1). The frieze is a continuous band unbroken by triglyphs
and frequently sculptured. The cornice is more elaborate than the Doric, and the lowest member, as found in Asiatic examples, and afterwards borrowed in the Corinthian order, is very distinctive. This is the dentil band, which may be described as a series of small blocks set below the cornice, giving the appearance of a square serration. The uppermost member of the cornice is almost invariably the molding known as the cyma recta (fig. 9). On the whole it may be said that the Ionic style is less robust than the Doric, and depends more upon architectural ornament.

3. The Corinthian order is practically only the Ionic with a different capital. We are told by Vitruvius that Callimachus saw an acanthus plant at Bassae near Phigalia, which had twined itself about a basket of sepulchral offerings, and that this suggested the idea of the Corinthian capital. A single capital of this type occurred at the S. end of the main chamber of the temple of Apollo at Phigalia, all the other capitals being of a peculiar Ionic type. This temple was built as a thank-offering for immunity during a great plague in either B.C. 430 or 429. It might even be hazarded as a suggestion that Callimachus was associated with the architect Ictinus in this case, just as Phidias was in the case of the Parthenon. The ultra-restlessness of the design of the frieze, and an almost over-elaborate treatment of the drapery, carried out though it may have been by Peloponnesian workmen, would point to the influence of an extreme Attic tendency, such as we would associate with Callimachus rather than with Phidias and his school. That Ictinus, the most famous Athenian architect, built the temple, and Phidias himself made the temple image, suggests some famous Athenian designing the sculptural decorations. It is fairly clear that the Corinthian order was an individual invention, as it suddenly appears complete, late in the history of Greek architecture. What more likely than that in this single central capital, among a set of another kind, we have the original itself? This is strengthened by the fact that at Phigalia there also get us a departure from the true Ionic capital, showing obvious experimental tendencies in new directions on the part of the architect. Callimachus himself was famous as a worker in metal, and there is something suggestive of metal in the design, with its free overhanging leaves. That the inventor may have been familiar with the upward springing tendency of Egyptian capitals is conceivable, but to suggest an Egyptian origin is merely to go out of one's way to find things utterly unlike. The capitals of the Horologium, or so-called Temple of the Winds (fig. 5), have the lotus leaf, but so have those at Persepolis. Vitruvius may very possibly be wrong, but to reject his evidence on the ground of his general unreliability is not of much assistance.

The capital is found in a considerable variety of forms, almost always including some sort of tendrils or spirals, totally unlike the Ionic volute, which is more of the nature of a thick scroll, or roll of cloth. Greek examples are not very common. Besides Phigalia, Pausanias informs us that it was used by the logopas in the interior of Tegae. The Choragic monument of Lysicrates is Corinthian, and the Horologium has Corinthian columns with acanthus leaves of Roman type. The temple of Olympian Zeus and the Corinthian Stoa, all in Athens, are other instances. A beautiful and somewhat peculiar example exists from the lesser Propylaea at Eleusis. The temple of Apollo Didymæus at Miletus shows fine examples, and there is an archaic Corinthian capital of uncertain date also found at Branchidae near Miletus. But the love of all Corinthian capitals is the Tholos at Epidaurus, obviously fairly early in date, and, with all their richness, marked by the chasteness and refinement of Greek work. The Corinthian order became the favourite of the Romans, and these subtle restrained delicacies were lost. It may be noted that in Greek work the acanthus leaf is worked with a crisp sharp edge, which becomes blunt and rounded in Roman hands (fig. 6).

This slight survey of the general characteristics of the orders prepares the way for the consideration of the commonly accepted theory of the wooden origin of Greek architecture. It is generally said that the Doric order is of unmistakably wooden origin, although it may be more doubtful in the case of Ionic. The grounds for suggesting this are the triglyphs, which are supposed to represent the beam ends, and the upward slope of the mutules, which represent the ends of the rafters. These features do not occur in the Ionic order.

In the first place, the general similarity in the main essentials of the two orders is far too marked for the principal Ionic order of origin and inspiration not to be the same. At the same time there are probably different contributory influences.

The stylobate can hardly be claimed as anything but a stone feature, even though the upper part were timber. In Doric architecture, as contrasted with Ionic, the columns have no base. The stylobate is one of the supposed signs of a wooden origin, either representing a metal shoe to prevent splitting—a feature hardly consonant with a primi-
tive style—or a flat stone laid on the ground to distribute the weight. However, it might be remarked that the distribution of weight is esthetically demanded in any case by the slender Ionic column. The massive Doric column requires no base, and if it ever had one, it was early seen to be unnecessary. Its proportions are obviously those of stone, as are the narrow intercolumniations. The more slender Ionic with its considerably longer lintel has a closer resemblance to wooden proportions. It should further be noticed that the oldest Doric columns are the most massive, and most obviously the outcome of their stone material. The tendency of development from a wooden origin would naturally be in the reverse direction. Pausanias says that one of the columns of the Heraeum at Olympia was of oak. It has been suggested that this was the last of the original wooden set, which were gradually replaced. There are, however, difficulties with regard to the entablature, which would not fit equally well upon a set of stone Doric columns of more or less normal proportions on wooden styli. Nevertheless, it is conceivable, and the intercolumniations are certainly wider than usual.

The heavy Doric abacus projecting on all four sides is also obviously of stone; a wooden one would split. To some extent the same might be said of the echinos, but its whole shape is essentially non-wooden.

In the Ionic capital, however, we find proportions that are not square and that would be eminently adaptable to timber. The grain of the wood would run parallel with the line of the architrave. The spreading support is obtained, and at the same time the capital does not overhang at the front or the back, so there would be no danger of splitting off. Again, the spirals are a natural primitive incised ornament equally suitable to stone and wood, although their final form is more suited to stone. Early incised and painted capitals have been found on the Acropolis of Athens. The Doric echinos, however, though subtle in its curvature, is a natural primitive stone form, claiming kinship with such a form as the rude primitive cushion capital of the Normans (fig. 37, p. 710).

It is just possible that the different fluting points the same way. A polygon when fluted can give only a sharp sense. It is a natural and simple expedient, in borrowing the idea of fluting from the stone Doric form and applying it to the circular form, to leave the plain fillet which we find in Ionic work. The surfaces of the fillets are on the circumference of a circle and are not flat. The circular form is the natural shape of the tree-trunk; the polygonal form is the natural development from the square block of quarried stone.

But it is in the Doric entablature that the wooden origin is supposed to be most conspicuous. The general proportions, which may be contrasted with the light entablature of the Ionic, are certainly true stone proportions as we find them. The massive architrave in a single block certainly does not suggest anything but the stone block which it is, whatever may be said for the three facets of Ionic work.

The triglyph frieze is generally said to represent the ends of the beams, and it is suggested that the guttae represent the heads of the pins. What the regula are, from which the guttae depend, is gracefully omitted from the theory. Now, in the first place, the actual position of the guttae suggesting a vertical pin is quite impossible as at α (fig. 6); but even if we try a diagonal position such as at γ (fig. 6), the pin would be absolutely useless, as it would draw, and this is really wholly impossible. A pin might be placed at γ or a huge pin directly underneath at η, but in neither place are the guttae found. A true artist may have had the guttae suggested to his mind by pin-heads, and then created a genuine stone feature, but that has nothing to do with a wooden origin for architecture, any more than the acanthus leaf implies a haystack as an architectural prototype. The raindrops may equally well have suggested the idea and have spontaneously suggested rain-drops to children, who did not know the meaning of the word gutta.

But the most serious objection to the pin theory is that guttae are not found in early work. They do not occur in the Bouleuterion at Olympia or the Selinunte treasury, or in the newer, but still early, porch of the Colosseum. They are not found at Assos or in the early Athenian fragments, or in the temple of Demeter at Pentam.

With regard to the triglyphs, they are in the first place needlessly enormous for any ceiling joints. They might be the right scale for the beams, but they are then placed at impossibly close intervals. The dentils of the Ionic order would in many examples, although most of them late, approximate more nearly to a reasonable scantling. But the most pertinent question to ask is how one could have beam ends all round the building at the same level—which is a hopeless impossibility. Now, in the case of the Lycian tombs at Xanthos (fig. 7), where we have actual copies of timber work in stone, we see, of course, where ends and sides of the building are visible, that the ends of the beams show only at the sides of the building.

We also get a feature resembling purlin ends under the gable roof. It should be noticed that where we find timber construction reproduced in stone, as at

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Xanthos, Beni Hassan (Egypt), or Naksh-i-Rustam (Persia), it is in no case a building, but simply a representatively carved out of the solid, and is entirely non-structural. It is, in short, merely a pictorial representation. Every material demands
Its own methods of construction, and this is perhaps partly necessary in days of early development. Further, if they were beam ends, they would not occur at the corners, but a metope or a portion of the wall would finish the series. This again is, of course, the case in the Lycian tombs.

The difficulty of the metopes has already been noted. But what are the vertical channels themselves? They seem to serve the same purpose as the vertical flutes of the column. But to emphasize the verticality of a horizontal beam is somewhat of a solecism. The suggestion has been made that they are timber markings—which is not merely untrue but foolish, for they could not resemble timber markings, which radiate from a centre. The very early treasury of the Geloans at Olympia is so early that it is not even Doric in character, but it is undoubtedly stone; and if its influence may be considered at all, it points in this direction. Although probably of the 7th or 6th cent., it may be set against the supposed original wooden Heraeum. In several features, particularly its stylobate, its columns,* and its characteristic waterspouts, it anticipates Greek work of a later date. It might further be noted that the dentil band in Ionic work, which may possibly represent beam ends, is above the frieze, whereas the beams of the offered ceilings in Doric work are above the frieze, making triglyphs as beam ends impossible.

The construction of the triglyph frieze, with rebated uprights and slabs behind, is found in the dado or frieze discovered at Knossos (fig. 15, p. 682). There it was obviously a stone construction from the outset, and was applied to the face of the wall. This is quite a conceivable origin for the triglyphs.

In early examples the triglyph and metope are frequently worked in one piece, as in several of the treasuries at Olympia. This is also found in many of the stones of Libon’s temple of Zeus (also at Olympia), and was the case on the sides of the Athenian Hekatompedon. This of itself is enough to constitute a fatal objection to the whole theory.

The slope of the under side of the mutules would not coincide with the slope of rafters, and (like that of the under slope of the corinix itself) is sufficiently explained as a slope to throw off the rain and prevent its running under and down the face of the frieze. This device is common in stone architecture, of all styles. It occurs even in string courses of Gothic moldings. The mutules above and the regulae below the triglyphs are a delightful way of softening the effect of these members and also of providing for the eye an aesthetic support or introduction to the frieze and cornice respectively. They correspond to the corbel tables of Gothic architecture, which are more aesthetic than structural.

It should be noticed that Greek doors are narrower at the top than at the bottom (fig. 8). This is obviously to reduce the interspace for the stone lintel, and would be quite pointless in a wooden construction. Even as it is the lintels have often creaked. The exquisitely beautiful doorways of the Erechtheum had to be repaired in classical times.

Perhaps then it may be said that we have in Greek architecture the work of a stone-building people, modified in the East by a wooden type of work resulting in the Ionic style, and perhaps slightly affected in Greece itself by a mixed style of stone and wood. To some extent the two materials have always been used together: doors, ceilings, and roofs tend to be of wood in a stone building, and door-sills and hearths of stone in a wooden one. In any case it is the remarkable adaptability of every detail to the stone material in the perfected style, and the inevitableness of Greek architecture, that give it its charm.

Greek Architectural ornament consisted in the first place of sculpture, either free, as in the case of the pedimental sculptura in the temple, and the akroteria (figures placed on the summit of the pediment, and on little platforms at the lower extremities and standing out against the sky), or in reliefs, as in the case of the metopes and friezes. Sculpture also occurs upon the lowest drum of the column, as in both the archaic and later temples at Ephesus. Figures in the round are used as supports, as in the Telemones at Agrigentum or the Caryatids of the Erechtheum or at Delphi. In the second place, there are the exquisite moldings, which seem to be entirely original, and in any case the actual refinement in the forms used has no parallel in any other architecture in the world.

The most important are the ovolo, e.g. in Doric capitals; the cyma recta, e.g. in the capital of the Ionic anta; the cyma reversa, used in string moldings; the torus, e.g. in the Ionic base; the scotia, a large hollow of double curvature, also found as a base molding; the fillet, a small projecting square-edged mold; and the astragal, a small projecting round molding; this when sunk is termed a bead (fig. 9).

A remarkable quality of Greek ornament is the adaptation of the surface decoration to the molding which it enriches. The outline of the ornament tends to be the same as the section of the molding; thus the egg ornament is found on the ovolo, the honeysuckle ornament on the cyma recta, the water leaf on the cyma reversa, and the guilloche on the torus (fig. 10).

In the third place, Greek architects made use of colour, as for instance on the echinos molding of the Doric capital, and traces of it are not infrequent in many places. It is possible that more

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* There is some doubt about the assignment to this building of a column found at Olympia.
was used than would be pleasing to a modern eye, particularly in cases where marble stucco was applied to some inferior quality of stone such as poros. But we are not to imagine that the Greeks were not keenly alive to the beauty of their exquisite Parian, Pentelic, and other marbles, and the major portions of the surface of the buildings remained without colour. A very small amount of colour judiciously applied certainly enhances the effect of the marble, which looks almost startlingly white without it, when new; and the comparison between buildings with and without colour may probably be made in modern Athens to-day and to-morrow.

The workmanship of Greek architecture has never been approached, although some of their methods of construction are not above criticism, particularly in early work, as for instance in the blocks placed on edge on the face of the foot of the wall, forming a course much higher than the other courses (parastatai) (fig. 1 in Architecture [Egean]). Very little bond is used in Greek work, but the size of the blocks makes these things a matter of small moment. Yet so accurately are the stones fitted that in some instances they have actually grown together, and survived the accident of a fall without coming apart. Dowels are very frequently used, and their different shapes are useful for the determination of dates.

The methods employed can largely be gathered from internal evidence, particularly in the case of unfinished buildings. The building was apparently completed before the final dressing of the stone, which was done from the top downwards as the scaffolding was removed. The fine dressings on the faces of the stones, worked only for a short distance from the joint, and the short flutings of an inch or two at the top and bottom of columns, otherwise plain, are instances that may be cited of unfinished work, both of which have been ignorantly copied in Roman and modern times as though complete. Even in the finest work there is always a difference between the top joint of the column, which shows distinctly, and the others; as the flutings on the top block, which included the capital, were worked before it was placed in position. The rest of the fluting was worked when the joints had been made absolutely true by turning the blocks round and round after being placed in position. This seems to be the explanation both of their finer joints and of the wooden plugs and pins that have been found in the centre of the Parthenon drums (fig. 2, p. 679). The pin would be just strong enough to stand the turning of the drum but could not add any real strength to the building. The ankones, or projecting pieces on unfinished drums and on other blocks, must have been used for this turning process. Doubtless they would also have been convenient for hoisting, but a quite unnecessary luxury, whereas the turning of a round drum would have been impossible with these. The uppermost block could not be turned for fear of chipping the finished edge, hence the difference between that and the joints that were finished afterwards, which is always noticeable. The joints in the walls were probably made accurate by a similar process of pushing the blocks backwards and forwards, so as to grind the contiguous surfaces absolutely true, with the result that the finest knife blade could not be inserted anywhere between these mortarless joints. For this again the ankones would be useful. Every piece of carving, as for instance in the moldings of the Erechtheum, is executed with a minuteness of finish that one would naturally associate with ivory carving rather than with work in stone.

It is, however, the subtle curvatures in Greek architecture that are its most remarkable refinement, and the whole problem connected with them offers in itself a wide field for study. The following points may, however, be noted here. In the first place, it may be broadly stated that there are no straight lines in a Greek building of the finest class—a rather startling discovery to those who are accustomed to think of a Greek building as composed of nothing else.

Taking the principal lines of a building, the stylobate and the architrave, we find in each case a slight curve amounting to a rise of about 34 in. in the case of the long sides of the Parthenon, 228 ft. in length, and about 2 in. in the short sides, 101 ft. in breadth. These curves occur in the temple of Hephaestus and the Propylaea, but apparently not in the colonies or at Bassae or Argos. The next most important curve is the entasis of the column, which is the convex departure from the straight amounting in the Parthenon to \( \frac{1}{2} \) of an inch at a point about \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the height from the ground, the columns being 34 ft. in height. The entasis of the Erechtheum shafts is even more visible, \( \frac{1}{2} \) of the length of the shaft and \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the lower diameter, against \( \frac{1}{2} \) and \( \frac{1}{4} \) in the Parthenon. It should be noticed that these curves are not segments of circles but parabolic, or in some cases hyperbolic; but whether they were laid out mathematically or by eye seems to be uncertain. We may assume that the eye which would be sufficiently accurate to appreciate such a subtle distinction of curvature would probably be equal to the task of drawing the curve with a sufficient degree of precision. In the case of the echinos of the Parthenon, what appears at first glance to be a straight line rounded off at the end is found to be a subtle curve throughout, but the application of a 'straight-edge' to it reveals how minute this curvature is.

In addition to these refinements of curvature, others may be noticed. The columns that appear to the modern eye to be vertical really incline inwards towards the centre, so that the lines of the side columns in the Parthenon would meet at a point a mile and a quarter above the earth (fig. 11). The inclination of front to back is similar, and of
course all the intermediate columns incline proportionately. It is also preserved in the faces of the entablature and the pediment and the steps of the stylobate. But here a counter-subtlety is introduced, and the faces of the higher moldings are slightly inclined the reverse way, so as to counteract undue foreshortening, occasioned by the other processes and by their actual height above the ground.

It might also be observed that the angle columns are an inch or so wider than the others. The intercolumniations are slightly smaller, so as to bring the angle column under the triglyph. There is an exception in the temple of Demeter at Pestum, where the last metope is made larger so as to attain the same result.

The extraordinary skill and refinement required may perhaps best be realized, as Professor E. Gardner suggests, by considering the case of the bottom corner drum. Here then what do we find? In the first place, the base of the drum has to be cut so as to allow for the curve of 3½ in. in 228 ft. But the mason has also to consider the curve, running at right angles to this, of 2 in. in 103 ft. This is very puzzling if the axis of the column were vertical; but it is not. It has to be so inclined that it shall meet the axis of the corresponding column at the other end of the front, at a point ½ miles above the earth, and a similar inclination has to be made in the other direction along the side. Added to this, the edge of the step from which he works is not vertical; and, further, he has to allow for the beginning of the entasis a curve of ½ in. in 34 ft. Those who are familiar with the extreme difficulty of cutting a voussoir for an arch in a curved wall—a comparatively simple process—will appreciate the work of the Greek mason. For not only did he conform to these requirements, but he executed it all with an accuracy that would not admit of paper being put into the joint. The voussoirs of the arches in such a building as the circular nave of the Temple Church, London, are well cut, but it is mere child's play in comparison.

It may well be asked for what purpose all these things were done, and in any case the answer seems to throw light upon the character of the Greek mind, confirming what might have been otherwise deduced.

It has generally been said that these are optical corrections, that the entasis of the column counteracted the hollow in the middle, that a straight architrave would appear to sag and a straight stylobate would appear to curve up at the ends, that the slope inwards is to correct a tendency of the columns to appear out of the vertical and overhang at the top.

It may be so.

But there are certain objections to the optical illusion theory.

In the first place, what does this theory mean? It means that the result of all the curves is to give lines that are optically straight and horizontal, and this may be. If it is, then the result, the optical illusion theory is rididulous, as its only justifications curve and deviations on the vertical, which on this theory we ass hypothesis. Now, it is quite true that in very early buildings, e.g. Corinth, there is no entasis. But when it does appear, do we find any curve swaying visible for miles, that no optical illusion could ever make look straight? The curve can be there for no conceivable object but that it should be seen. But, further, the parabolic curve with its maximum deviation of 2 from the base would not be a correction of an optical illusion, whatever the amount of the curvature. In the case of the echinos there is no possible suggestion of such a theory, but we find a similar curve and what is that, in early examples, is it coarse, just as in the case of the entasis, and ultimately becomes refined. These curves, then, were obviously delighted in for their own sake, and, as the eye became more trained, it naturally demanded that they should become more such as the curves of the entablature and the stylobate. Now, if the side of the building be viewed from some little distance, the optical illusion caused by these lines would be the same as that caused by the lines of the column; in other words, the architrave would drop in the middle and the

FIG. 12.—Diagram showing optical illusion caused by angular lines, from which the eye is led to infer that the architrave is not straight but rounded at the ends even though there is no curve or angle below it (see diagram and test with ruler).
echinos. It is curious that the eye does not demand a base to the Doric column for the same reason. Indeed, some people have felt the want. But the side lines are diverging at the base, whereas they are converging at the top; the foot of the column, moreover, is so large as in some measure to dispense with such a necessity; it sits firmly without aid, so to speak. At the same time, it is a bold experiment, and is a feature that occupies aesthetically a somewhat peculiar position among great works of art.

It seems unreasonable to suppose that the 5th cent. Greek saw all these things and delighted in them, just as his ancestors had delighted in their ruder curves, their less subtly proportioned columns, and their exaggerated projection of capital, all exemplifying the same principles, but carried out with less refinement. The result must have given to his keenly sensitive eye an organic artistic unity that has never been surpassed.

Whatever be the interpretation of these subtleties, one inference at least is certain, namely, the accuracy and refinement of the Greek eye, coupled with an aesthetic demand for completeness and thoroughness in even the minutest particulars that go to make up perfection in a work of art. The instance here, that is, the Greek, to make him expend such extreme care upon them, can be paralleled in modern times only outside the field of art, as in the making of a modern rifle barrel or an observatory telescope. Even optics is a discipline we casually content to leave alone. But alongside this minuteness is a breadth and majesty equally astonishing. The composition as a whole is simple in the extreme, and the dignity of its proportions is unsurpassable. But we find the same qualities embodied in the interpretation of Greek art, and there are certain distinct advantages in approaching that art through its architecture. Much can here be demonstrated by rule and line which only the highly-trained eye can see in the sculpture. The whole artistic feeling, too, that inspired every detail of Greek architecture and art, has its corresponding parallels in the Greek conception of religion and in Greek intellectual investigations. Naturally it is necessary to consider the mind of the inquirer, who would make one the mere result of the other, rather than go deep enough to find their common basis. This does not mean that the one had no influence upon the others, but that each, as it were, remained master in its own department and in its own principles. In the case, however, of the plan and general arrangement of the Greek temple the aesthetic and religious factors are somewhat closely connected. The general design of the building is naturally largely determined by religious requirements. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Greek temple was not a place of worship; the act of worship took place in the open air, generally in the temenos, or enclosure surrounding the temple; and the statues and the altar was placed when the temple was not the object of worship; the altar architecturally is therefore entirely unrelated to it. The temenos itself and the altar in it are supposed by some to represent the forecourt with its altar in the Mycenean house. Small subordi-

nate altars there seem to have been within the building; and doubtless there were always two tendencies at work—that which is essentially Greek, and culminates in the highest flights of Greek philosophy and art, and art, and the more superficial side which was shared with others. It is not always easy to disentangle these elements, but the essential Greek characteristic, that which distinguishes them, rather than that which they share with all mankind, is, of course, the main question. Doubtless it is easier to discern it in the time of its full growth, but the tendency is there from the outset; and it is this tendency that made the Greeks what they were, and that was their contribution to the world of humanity. Whatever may have been the origin of the temple image, to which it would be out of place to discuss here, it may be briefly said that in the golden age of Athens it was certainly not a fetish or an idol, in the sense of a spirit or spiritual quality embodied in a material object. Nor can it even be regarded as a symbol; it is rather the mental and self-explanatory expression of a concept, viewed, it is true, from the aesthetic side, in which we may say Greek art preceded Greek philosophy. It was not an idol, for it was not regarded as possessing any power per se. It was not a symbol, for it rationally explained itself without interpretation. Least of all was it a portrait or likeness; it represented no traditional appearance, and pretended to no inspired vision on the part of the artist. But we find in the outward beauty of certain typical tendencies mentally conceived, and these qualities were the qualities of deity. It would perhaps seem a little strained to describe the temple image as the formulated creed of the Greek religion and worship. It is rather that we look upon the later images of Phidias and Scopas in any other light. The natural superstition and conservativeness of humanity among the masses were countereacting tendencies, but at the same time the fundamental Greek characteristics tend away from these. The intellectual expression in art of a religious and ethical position is an instance of the complete balance of the aesthetic, intellectual, and moral nature, tersely summed up in the word μόρφωμα, or the concomitant μορφή, implying a complete knowledge and development of all that makes man man, and yet excess in nothing. It is this that makes the Greeks unique among the peoples of the world. The temple may be considered as the casket containing the image, and it is on this account that it is the outside, rather than the inside, which on the whole receives the first consideration. At the same time it is aesthetically the embodiment of the image as art, and the temple image itself. The idealism of Greek religion in its highest aspect had not to wait for Plato for its exposition, in the case of those who could understand. It is already aesthetically complete at the time of Phidias, the house with its fundamental principles. In the case, however, of the plan and general arrangement of the Greek temple the aesthetic and religious factors are somewhat closely connected. The general design of the building is naturally largely determined by religious requirements. It is hardly necessary to point out that the Greek temple was not a place of worship; the act of worship took place in the open air, generally in the temenos, or enclosure surrounding the temple; and the statues and the altar was placed when the temple was not the object of worship; the altar architecturally is therefore entirely unrelated to it. 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priestly caste and the artificial mystery of the Egyptian were entirely alien to the Greek mind. There was no priestly caste, and hardly anything that could be called a priestly order; and we find this reflected in the popular character of their ceremonies and the open simplicity of their religious architecture. To say that the extraordinary progress of thought in the 5th and 4th centuries, the most rapid and far-reaching that the world has seen, was either the result of these things or their cause, would perhaps be an error, but the inter-relation is unmistakable, and they are alike the product of the Greek mind. It should be said that one important religious building which survives, at least in plan, is to some extent an exception to the general rule—the Telesterion (so-called temple of Demeter) at Eleusis (fig. 14).

![Diagram of Telesterion](image)

To the simple primitive rectangular cells a second rectangular chamber is apparently an early addition; but throughout Greek history there is hardly a departure from the general rectangular plan, although circular religious buildings do occur, such as the Thymele at Epidaurus.

![Diagram of Thymele at Epidaurus](image)

The simplest form is a three-walled building with an open end divided by two columns 'distyle in antis' (fig. 13). The trabe or architrave, resting upon a column, required a support at the other end that would satisfy the eye as well as merely subserve its utilitarian end. It was not sufficient, therefore, that it should rest upon the wall, but a special feature was built for its support, a flat column of rectangular section attached to the wall, called an anta. Hence, wherever we have an architrave passing from a column to a wall, there is invariably an anta to receive it with its own capital and base. This capital and base mark the double character of the member, and are not the same as those of the column, but are in some respects more closely related to the flat wall (fig. 13). The anta with its clearly defined function degenerates into the Roman pilaster of later date. It has been suggested that the origin of the anta is an end-facing to a rubble wall. This does not explain the capital and base, or its frequent position not at the end of a wall. On the other hand, the anta is never found where it does not support an architrave. The 'distyle in antis' arrangement may be at one or both ends, as at Rhamnus or Eleusis (figs. 13, 14).

![Diagram of Distyle in Antis](image)

There is, however, no entrance to the temple at the back, the temple image being placed at that end of the temple with its back to the wall—an arrangement occasionally modified in the larger examples. The next development that may be noticed is a portico in front, 'prostyle'; or one in front and one behind, which is by far the more common arrangement, 'amphiprostyle,' as in the charming little temple of Athene Nike Apteros at Athens and the one by the Ilissus, both destroyed in comparatively modern times, although the former has been re-built. In the largest examples a range of columns is carried right round the building, 'peristyle'; and sometimes there is a double row of columns, 'dipteral,' as in the temple of Olympic Zeus in Athens. A single line of columns at a considerable distance from the central building, or naos, is termed 'pseudo-dipteral,' as at Selinus (fig. 15). A temple is also sometimes described according to the number of columns at the ends—hexastyle, octostyle, and so on. In the smaller temples the roof was apparently of a single span, leaving the floor space perfectly free. But in larger temples we find columns inside. They may be down the centre, as in the Doric temple at Paestum (fig. 15), or the Ionic temple at Locris. The temple of Apollo at Thermum in Aetolia.
shows the same arrangement. More commonly we find two ranges of columns, forming three aisles, as

in the temple of Poseidon at Paestum or the Parthenon. These were apparently in two tiers, one above the other, as those remaining in situ attest (fig. 16). The roof, presumably, was of timber, and was covered with tiles, frequently of marble.

The columns down the centre seem obviously to support the ridge piece of the roof; but the arrangement must have been very unsatisfactory, blocking the central view of the building, and the temple image if placed in the middle line. The three-aisled arrangement would also lend support to the roof; but clearly that cannot have been the only function, for in the case of the two largest Doric temples known, that at Selinus and the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens, a considerable part of the roof, which was the same breadth throughout, was apparently without these supports.

In the temple of Zeus at Olympia the lower tier supported a gallery, which was approached by stairs at the east end. There seem also to have been stairs in other instances, as in the great Ionic temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which may have served the same purpose (fig. 14). But they also occur where there were no interior columns, as in the great temple of Apollo Didymus at Miletus, in which case they presumably only led to the space above the ceiling. That ceilings existed below the roof proper, we know from the record of the finding of a corpse between the ceiling and the roof at Olympia. The columns seem partly to have served a quasi-religious purpose, for we find that a low screen often existed between them, as in the Parthenon or the Zeus-temple at Olympia. In the case of the Parthenon and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus the columns are returned at the west end (fig. 14). Only the priests would be allowed within the screens, and possibly only favoured persons would be admitted to walk round the gallery or aisles, and so obtain varying views of the statue.

It is also possible that the three-aisled arrangement may have had something to do with the lighting of the cella, which has always been a difficult problem. There are several possibilities. (1) It is suggested that all the light was admitted through the great temple doors, and when the great brilliance of the light

in Greece is considered, it does become just conceivable. But let any one who holds this theory seriously examine such plans as those of the great temple at Selinus, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, or the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens. A distance of 115 ft. through two doors and three sets of columns will shed almost any light. After all, it is hard enough to see the part of the Parthenon frieze in situ, and this is outside. The interior frieze at Philadda will be absolutely invisible. (2) A second suggestion is that of artificial light, which doubleless would produce a certain richness of effect with a statue made of such materials as gold and ivory. Of course one cannot disprove such a theory, but it is a strange and unsatisfactory arrangement. (3) It is suggested that the light was largely given by what filtered through the marble tiles. This almost precludes the possibility of a ceiling, as, even if spaces were left in it, such a comparatively dim light would by this additional screen be still further reduced. In this connection, however, it seems worth noticing that in Byzantine architecture, which may even represent a Greek tradition, thin slabs of marble, deeply carved, so as to become still more translucent, were actually used as windows. (4) Some sort of opening in the roof is suggested, which may be of two kinds. There might be one or more comparatively small openings in the tiles, or one single great hypostyle opening. The former receives some support from tiles found by Professor Cockerell at Russe (fig. 17), and the latter from sarcophagi found in the form of little model temples (fig. 17). We are told that the temple at Miletus was open, and had shrubs growing inside—the temple image being in a small shrine within the temple. Strabo, however, mentions it as peculiar and not intentional, but due to the fact that it was found to be too big to roof. Vitruvius says that the temple of Olympic Zeus at Athens was hypostyle, but the temple was not completed until long after Vitruvius' death, so that this statement is valueless. We may therefore assume, first, that these temples were exceptional, and secondly, that they were merely unfinished buildings. A hypostyle opening would certainly, therefore, the line of the roof, and would admit rain and moisture that would have been very destructive. However, it is generally

FIG. 17.

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

forgotten that we have an actually existing instance in the Pantheon at Rome, and what was possible in the one place is
conceivable in the other. There seems, in some cases at least, to have been a parapetasma, or curtain, before the image, which may have been to protect it from the weather. It has to be admitted that this theory, although in some ways the least pleasing, has a certain amount of real evidence in its support.

(5) The fact that the covers of the coffers in the ceiling of the peristyle of the Temple of Athena at Apollo was not movable, and marked with letters, has been used as evidence that light was obtained thus by reflection from the pavement below, and then presumably reflected a second time, or tripled. The reflection of light thus obtained would be exceedingly small, and to reduce it any circumstances putting the coffers on would seem to be quite unnecessary. The markings were probably simply for the convenience of the builders, just as in a modern building a façade would be marked for a special position to be occupied by the architrave of the pediment.

(6) The presence of the internal columns, as pointed out above, suggests the most ingenious and beautiful theory of all, if not the most probable. It is the theory of Fergusson, who suggested a kind of clerestory somewhat after the Egyptian manner. It is a tempietto theory, but there is nothing to support it, save the bare fact that Fergusson anticipated so many of the so-called discoveries of other people, more particularly upon Gothic architecture, and has shown the keenest insight of the writers that have ever written upon the subject. It may be noted that the system is possible without interior columns, although the windows can be made much larger when they are present. The theory receives some measure of support from the fact that the columns certainly were not used solely to decrease the span, as shown above, nor were there generally galleries (fig. 18).

Unless new evidence be found the problem is likely to remain unsolved.

In size the Greek temples corresponded to our parish churches rather than to our cathedrals, making up, however, for the lack of size in the extreme refinement of workmanship. Moreover, the mass of material was considerable, and the actual size of blocks enormous, many of them weighing as much as 20 or 30 tons. The largest stone at Baalbec, very likely of Greek workmanship, weighs approximately 1100 tons. The cela almost invariably faced the east in the case of temples of the gods, although there were slight variations, probably in order that the image might catch the first rays of the morning sun on the day sacred to the god. This may even be trusted to give us the dates of their erection, calculated astronomically. In the case of heroes, the general rule seems to have been the reverse, and the temple to have faced west. In this matter of orientation the Greek usage may be contrasted with the Roman, which paid no attention to such things.

Within the temple, the temple statute held the place of honour, facing the entrance, and from the 5th cent. B.C., at any rate, this statue was of colossal dimensions. That of Zeus at Olympia, we are told, was so large that he would have been unable to stand upright if he had risen from his throne. It would add to this effect if the temple were not too large; and what size it was had clearly nothing to do with the accommodation of worshippers, but simply what was necessary for the display of the statue. Indeed, one must clearly grasp that the temple and its image were a unity, and cannot be considered apart.

Within the temple there would be a minor altar to the deity, upon which offerings of cakes, or things of vegetable nature, would be made; and there seem also in some other cases to have been altars to other than the principal deity of the place, as, for instance, to the hero Butes in the Erechtheum. In addition to the altars, there would be numberless votive offerings dedicated to the deity by the State, as in the case of spoils of war, or by private individuals. These would have a tendency to accumulate, and yet, from their nature, it would doubtless have been sacrilege to throw them away. There would be small portable objects too, that would not be suitable for public display, particularly when of great value. Moreover, the deity, especially in the case of Athena Polias, represented the city herself, and the wealth of the city and the wealth of the goddess were, in a sense, one. These circumstances combined to make it necessary that, attached to the temple, there should be some place for the storing of treasure. Hence, in the larger temples we frequently find at the back of the cela (os, temple proper) another chamber prolonging the rectangular plan, and used for the above purposes. Indeed, the treasure chambers of the temples may in some senses be regarded as the State banks. The porticoes themselves were not infrequently closed in by railings between the columns.

In considering the plans of the larger Greek temples, we must not suppose that they were built upon any one pattern. Quite the contrary is the case, and it would be truer to say that there are almost as many different arrangements as temples. Perhaps the two most irregular plans are those of the Erechtheum (fig. 19) and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. [The building at Eleusis is not a temple.] The irregularity of the first of these is well known, occasioned partly by the irregularity of the site, partly by its having to house the image of more than one deity, and possibly in order that it might include certain sacred objects, such as the marks of Poseidon's trident and the salt spring.

The temple at Philaea is interesting partly because of the curious arrangement of attached Ionic columns running round the interior of the building with the beautiful frieze above, which form a series of small recesses the whole way round, but even more as showing the importance attached to the correct orientation of the statue. It was more convenient to build the temple with its longer axis from north to south; the cela, therefore, had a door in the east side of the temple through which the statue looked eastward (fig. 20). The effect of lighting, to one entering the temple from the north during the morning light, must have been most impressive, and the aesthetic value of such an arrangement would undoubtedly influence the architect. It is possible that the actual cela occupied the site of a smaller sanctuary of special orientation. The temple in some respects bears a curious resemblance to the Heraeum at Olympia.
early temple, the tendency being for the later temples to be wider. The Ionic half columns attached to the short side walls also recall the earlier building. Richter figures an Ionic capital from the Hereaom, presumably from the interior, which, in the proportions of its volutes and the arrangement of the continuation of the volute-head, strikingly anticipates the later capitals at Bassae.*

* The present writer has not been able to see this capital, and does not know where Eichter saw it (fig. 4).

In his restoration, all but the end column of the central row are omitted; but although this would provide a wider open space and better lighting, and account for the curious disposition of the columns, six on the sides and seven on the end, nevertheless it is not necessary. If most of Philon's interior columns were Doric, as those of his portico undoubtedly were, there might have been a single range of the more slender Ionic columns down the centre instead of the two-storey arrangement, a device used where columns of two heights were required. Those in the so-called Parthenon-chamber of the Parthenon were possibly Ionic columns of the height of the two tiers of Doric, possibly in the cells. Unfortunately, little exists but the ground plan, and there are practically no architectural remains from which to deduce the character of the building. The existing remains are mainly of Roman date, with Ionic columns.

In the island of Delos are the remains of the so-called 'sanctuary of the bulls,' the building containing the horned altar of Apollo, reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. In this building is said to have taken place the celebrated dance of the Delian maidens. It was extraordinarily long and very narrow, 219 ft. by 19 ft. (fig. 23). It was built upon a granite base with marble steps. The building was divided into three parts, a long central hall, with a sunken area, in which presumably the dances took place, and at the southern end a Doric portico, possibly tetrastyle, possibly 'dystyle in antis.' At the north end of the long hall was the chamber containing the altar. It was entered between two composite piers, formed by a half Doric column on the one side, and an anta with two recumbent bulls as a capital on the other side. Above was a frieze with bulls' heads upon the triglyphs. It is these bulls that give the name to the building.

The Thymele (i.e. 'place of sacrifice'), the so-called Tholos, at Epidaurus (fig. 24) is one of the few round buildings, used for religious purposes, that have come down to us. Others were the Arsinooeion at Samothrace sacred to the Great Gods, the very small building, if so it may be called, whose circular foundations may be found in the Asklepieion at Athens, and the quasi-religious Philippeion at Olympia, which may be regarded as a sort of Heroon of Philip. It seems to have been one of the loveliest buildings of antiquity. The foundations are probably of older date, but the principal remains date from the end of the 4th cent. B.C., when it was built by the architect Polyclitus (possibly a grandson of the famous sculptor). It was 107 ft.
columns, the outermost and widest were two circles of

ARCHITECTURE (Hindu).—The adherents of all the Indian sects and religions used for their several purposes the art of each age and country, which was applied, as occasion arose, to the special requirements of each form of worship. No fundamental distinction, from the point of view of the historian of art, can be drawn between the buildings of the various religions, and often it is impossible to determine merely by considerations of style whether a given building or sculpture is Buddhist, Jain, or Brâhmanical. As Le Bon observes, 'l'architecture est beaucoup plus fille de la race que des croyances.' But the meditative and contemplative spirit of the Hindu sublime religion, if not projected into the ritual, is the spirit, con- 

FIG. 24.

THYMELE 

in diameter, and stood upon ringwalls 4 in number. Upon the outermost and widest were two circles of

EPIDAUROS

columns, the outer Corinthian, 14. The inner rings are divided by openings and connected by cross walls in a rather curious way. The Doric entablature had large richly sculptural rosettes upon the metopes. The ceiling of the ambulatory was executed with beautiful marble coffers. The capitals of the Corinthian order, as has already been noted, are in their way the acme of Greek art. The use of the building has been much dis- 

cussed, but its name, and its correspondence to its miniature prototype or copy in the temenos of the sancta of Zeus at Eu- ster, point on the whole to the use of the building covering a sacrificial pit. That sacred serpents may have been kept in the spaces between the ring walls is also conceivable, without interfering with the first theory.

In its own way Greek architecture has never been surpassed, and probably never will be. It has said the last word upon such problems as nicety of construction and proportion, and has carried the deftness of ornamental treatment to the furthest limits that are visible to the most highly trained building experts may be said to have set out to achieve perfection, and they have achieved it. Their style was original and practically entirely self-created. It is not until we reach the architecture of the Gothic that we again find an entirely original creation. The Gothic architects, however, did not aim at perfection, but at something different, and they, too, in their way were unsurpassed. In order fully to comprehend even the general spirit of Greek architecture, it would be necessary to have some knowledge of other than religious buildings, which alone come properly within the scope of this article. But in the main it is an extension of the same principles, showing, however, more variety and power of practical adaptation than is perhaps evident in the sacred buildings here considered.

ARCHITECTURE AND ART (Hindu).—The adherents of all the Indian sects and religions used for their several purposes the art of each age and country, which was applied, as occasion arose, to the special requirements of each form of worship. No fundamental distinction, from the point of view of the historian of art, can be drawn between the buildings of the various religions, and often it is impossible to determine merely by considerations of style whether a given building or sculpture is Buddhist, Jain, or Brâhmanical. As Le Bon observes, 'l'architecture est beaucoup plus fille de la race que des croyances.' But the meditative and contemplative spirit of the Hindu sublime religion, if not projected into the ritual, is the spirit, con- 


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the composition, being overshadowed by the subsidiary parts added for the purpose of giving the desired impression of dignity and mass—not for congregational uses, which Hindu ritual excludes.

The leading styles of Brahmanical temple architecture in India in number, namely, four northern and two southern. The northern styles are (1) the ‘Indo-Aryan’ of Ferguson; (2) the Gupta; (3) the Kasmiri; and (4) the Nepalese. The southern styles are (5) the Dravidian, and (6) the Chalukyan of Ferguson, better designated as that of the Deccan. We proceed to indicate briefly the geographical distribution, chronology, characteristics, and principal examples of each of these six styles. The reader who desires to pursue the subject will find a great mass of information recorded in the selected works named at the end of this article, and in the unnamed multitude of other books dealing with Indian archaeology.

1. The ‘Indo-Aryan’ style is characterized by the bulging steeple with curvilinear outlines which strongly marks the shrine or sanctuary containing the image, and frequently is repeated in other parts of the design. In Orissa an early temple sometimes consists of nothing more than the steepled shrine with a low-roofed porch, devoid, or almost devoid, of other parts; but larger examples have additional pillared chambers. The great temples at Khajuraho, in Bundelkhand, dating from the time of the Chandel dynasty, are built on a cruciform plan, with naves and transepts, which results in building of imposing dignity.

The style in one variety or another is found all over northern India, between the Himalayan and the Vindhyan mountains. The most elegant examples may be assigned to the period between A.D. 700 and 1200, but some of the finest temples are supposed by Ferguson to date from A.D. 600. As a rule the material is stone, but a few brick temples in this style are known. The best preserved specimen built of brick is that at Konch in Bihar, to the north-west of Gayā, which is assigned to the 8th cent. A.D. (Cunningham, Archæol. S. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 58).

Certain brick temples in the Cawnpore district, rather earlier in date, probably had steeples of the standard form, but are too much ruined to admit of recognition. The most famous known Brahmanical temple is one built of decorated moulded bricks, discovered by Dr. Führer in 1891–92 at Ahichhatrā in Rohilkhand, and assigned for good reason to the first century B.C. (Archæol. S. for N. India, vol. xii. p. 79). Unfortunately no description of the building has been published. It is probable that the style was developed originally in brick, but it is not known how it originated. Nor is the genesis of the curvilinear steeple easy to explain. The most plausible suggestion is that the design was modelled on the form of a frame of bamboos fastened together at the top. In modern buildings the tendency is to diminish greatly or dispense with the curvature of the outline, and many temples of recent date have slender pillars in place of spires, closely resembling European church forms.

2. The Gupta style, with which Ferguson was not acquainted, is so named because it was favoured by architects in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when the imperial Gupta dynasty ruled northern India (see art. CHANDRAGUPTA, 2, 3). The recorded examples, about thirteen in number, including a good one at Sānehi, are found in the southern parts of the United Provinces and the neighbouring territories. Cunningham, who first distinguished the style, enumerates its characteristic features as follows:

(1) Flat roofs, without spires of any kind, as in the cave temples; (2) prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs, as in Egyptian temples; (3) statues of the rivers Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance door; (4) pillars with massive square capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back, with a tree between them; (5) bases on the capitals, and friezes of artistic forms, like Indian flowers, and of a very peculiar form, like Indian letters standing on projecting horns; (6) continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all around the building; (7) deviation of the pillars from the cardinal points (Cunningham, Archæol. S. Rep. vol. ix. p. 42, and ib. vol. i. v. x. xiv. xvi. xx. xxii.).

3. The Kasmiri style is restricted to the valley of Kasmir and the Salt Range. The temples at the Panjāb, between the Indus and the Jelum, its peculiarities are distinctly marked, and include pyramidal roofs, fluted pillars closely resembling those of the Doric order, arches with trefoil-shaped apertures, and, as ornaments, cymas or vine leaves are usually small, but in some cases are surrounded by cloistered enclosures of considerable magnitude. The notion that such enclosures were intended to contain water is erroneous. The oldest example to which a date can be assigned is the well-known temple of the Sun, under the name of Mārtanda, which was built by order of king Lalitaditya, about A.D. 750 (Stein, trans. of Rājatarangini).

All known specimens of the style may be dated between A.D. 700 and 1200. The Greek character of the pillars has attracted much attention from European writers; but it is not easy to ascertain how quasi-Doric pillars became the fashion in Kasmir and the Salt Range, and nowhere else. Perhaps, as Le Bon conjectures, the style was introduced from Persia during the rule of the Arscads.

4. The Nepalese style in its characteristic form is mainly Chinese, being merely a local modification of the Chinese style described by Bushell (Chinese Art, vol. i. p. 49, London, 1904):

‘The most general model of Chinese buildings is the tânt. This consists essentially of a massive roof with recurved edges protruding upon shed by Ferguson to date from A.D. 600. As a rule the material is stone, but a few brick temples in this style are known. The best preserved specimen built of brick is that at Konch in Bihar, to the north-west of Gayā, which is assigned to the 8th cent. A.D. (Cunningham, Archæol. S. Rep. vol. xvi. p. 58).

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ARCHITECTURE (Hindu)

Manical temples in this style may be devoted to the worship of either Siva or Vi^nu. Dravidian temples in this style may be devoted to the worship of either Siva or Vi^nu. The temples consist almost invariably of the four following parts, the exigences of which are also explained, but differing in themselves only according to the age in which they were executed:

1. The principal part, the actual temple itself, which is called the vimana. It is always square in plan, and surmounted by a pyramidal roof of one or more stores; it contains the cell in which the image of the god or goddess is placed.

2. The porches, or mantapas (mantapa), which always cover and surround the vimana, and lead to the entrances.

3. Gate pyramids, garudas, which are the principal features in the quadrangular enclosures which always surround the temple.

4. Pillared halls, or choultries, which are used for various purposes, and are the invariable accompaniment of these temples.

Besides these, a temple always contains tanks or wells for water, to be used either for sacred purposes or the convenience of the priests; dwellings for all the various grades of the priesthood attached to it; and numerous other buildings designed for state or convenience.

Except in the earliest rock-cut examples, the roofs and almost all parts are bounded by right lines, and the whole temple is covered by a slender 'Indo-Aryan' style is unknown in the south. The celebrated Seven Pagodas at Mamallapuram (Mamallapuram) near Madras, executed under the orders of Pallava kings in the 6th and 7th centuries, are the only other examples of the style, the North Arcot and Trichinopoly districts; mark the earliest known stages in the development of the style, which then showed distinct traces of specially Buddhist forms. At Ellora, in the Nizam's dominions, we possess in the magnificent rock-cut Kailasa a perfect Dravidian temple, as complete in all its parts as any later example of the style. This edifice is made to simulate a structural temple by the complete cutting away of the superfluous rock, both externally and internally, so that the temple stands out freely. It was excavated in the reign of Kṛṣṇa I. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, about 760 A.D.

The great structural temples of Southern India are much later in date. They are extremely numerous, and remarkable for their vast size. Ferguson personally was acquainted with upwards of thirty great Dravidian temples, or groups of temples, any one of which must have cost as much to build as an English cathedral, some a great deal more. One of the most notable is the temple erected at Tanjore by the victorious Chola king Rājarāja between A.D. 1011 and 1110, which has the great merit of having been commenced on a well-defined and stately plan, which was persevered in till its completion. The numerous inscriptions on this temple have been edited by Dr. Hultzsch (South Indian Inscri. vol. ii.). Other huge similar structures, less laudable in plan but still magnificent, are to be seen at Srirangam, Chilambaram, Rāmāsavaram, Madura, and many other places. The adequate description of any one of these volumes. The central corridor of the choultrie at Rāmāsavaram has an uninterrupted length of 700 feet, that is to say 100 feet longer than the nave of St. Peter's; and these figures may suffice to give some notion of the large scale on which the southern temples are designed.

Ferguson expresses the opinion that the Dravidian temples 'certainly do form as extensive, and in some respects as remarkable, a group of buildings as is to be found in provinces of similar extent in any part of the world—Egypt, perhaps, alone excepted; but they equal even the Egyptian in extent' (op. cit. p. 379).

6. The so-called Chāḷukyan style, which may be designated more fittingly by a territorial name as that of the Deccan, is, as Le Bon correctly observes, a transitional one connecting the forms characteristic respectively of the North and South.

If we exclude the purely local and isolated styles of Kaśmīr and Nepal, the two extremes of Indian architecture are formed by the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian styles. The Gupta and Chāḷukyan both possess an intermediate character, and are to some extent related to each other. The latter has two well-defined varieties, that of Mysores, described by Ferguson, and that of Bellary, described by Rea.

The Chāḷukyan empire, which comprised at its greatest extent most of Mysores, parts of the Nizam's territories, and some districts in about A.D. 750 A.D. This was the first dynasty for about two centuries. The second dynasty, which was established in about 1190, is of importance, about A.D. 1190. But early in the 12th century, the Chāḷukya kings lost the Mysores country, which passed under the government of a Hoyasal dynasty, and the splendid temples at Halebid (Dorasaamudra) and Bêlur, which excited the enthusiastic admiration of Ferguson, who gave the inappropriate name Chāḷukyan to their style, really were built under the orders of the Hoyasal kings. The Bêlur temple was erected by king Virupāsa when he was converted from Jainism to Hinduisa in A.D. 1117, and the Halebid temple belongs to the same reign, a few years earlier (Jagr. Carnatica, vol. p. 86).

The Mysores style, as described by Ferguson, is characterized by a richly carved base on which the temple stands, a complete plan, and a stepped conical roof, not rising high enough to become a steeple, and a peculiar vase-like ornament crowning the summit. The Bellary variety, which Rea has devoted a monograph, has a rectangular plan, and the buildings belong to a subdivision of the Deccan style. Rea, while using the name Chāḷukyan, admits that the temples discussed by him 'might best be described as an embodiment of Chāḷukyan details engraved on a Dravidian building.' These works seem to belong wholly to the 12th century. The decorative sculpture is remarkable for its marvellous intricacy and artistic finish even in the minutest details, the ornament generally being completely undercut, and sometimes attached to the solid masonry by the most slender of stalks. The effect is described as being that of the incrustation of foliage placed upon the wall. The beautiful style of Western India, sometimes described as the Jain style, may be regarded as a variety of the Chāḷukyan style.
magnificent manuscript of the Razm Nâmah—a Persian abstract of the Mahâyáhârata—preserved in the Royal Library at Jaipur, exhibits the myths of Râma, Krâña, and other Hindu deities as represented in colour by artists of Aâkâr’s time (A.D. 1558) and trained in the Persian style. The illustrations cost four lakhs of rupees, or more than £40,000.

The existence of extant fragmentary and corrupt copies proves that a considerable body of Sanskrit treatises dealt with the rules of Indian architecture, both religious and secular, from the earliest times. The dates of the composition of these treatises have not been ascertained, and the little that is known about their contents is to be found almost exclusively in the essay by Râm Râz, who collected the remains of the architectural literature procurable in southern India, and published the results of his inquiry in 1834. The works examined by him are certainly ancient, because they lay down rules for the provision of sites for Jain and Buddhist temples, and also for the construction of houses, churches, and palaces.

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ARCHITECTURE (Jewish).—Materials for a history of ancient Hebrew architecture are accumulating to an extent that must upset some conventional theories. The new Elephantine papyri reveal the existence in Egypt, at the end of the 5th century B.C., of a Jewish temple with five piers, a large roof of sculptured stone, copper-hinged doors, cedar-wood roofing, and gold and silver chalices. Flinders Petrie, again, has been able to identify the Onias Temple, which was also built in Egypt more than two centuries later. Here we have a tower-like structure, with massive walls of drafted stone, a substantial brick retaining wall, and Corinthian ornamentation.

Half a century later Jewish architecture is represented by such buildings as the palace of Simon the Maccabee unearthed by R. A. S. Macalister at Gezer. The remains of Herodian buildings in Jerusalem, and the ruins of synagogues in Galilee, dating from the 1st cent. A.D., carry on the story. These stone synagogues seem to have been built on the facade three doors,—one in the centre, large, the others at the sides, smaller. The Galilean synagogues well existed at our entrance in the south. The interior (as at Tel il Hum, Meiron, and Kefr Birim) was divided into three by two rows of pillars. The central space of the Telil Hum synagogue was surrounded by a gallery on three sides, and traces of similar galleries have been found elsewhere (Schürer, ii. p. 521). If these structures were meant for women, then the women’s gallery, which became a distinctive feature of synagogues only after the Middle Ages, is traceable to an older date.

Though there was no legal prescription on the subject, the favourite shape for synagogues was the basilica, and square or oblong buildings are still the prevalent form everywhere. The Temple courts, where prayer-masses were held, were usually rectangular, and the famous synagogue of Alexandria (destroyed in the time of Trajan) was a basilica. In modern times a number of octagonal synagogues have been built, but the basilica form has remained constant for the most part, due to its local style and taste. In Italy the Renaissance, in Spain the Moorish, influence, modified the decorations and columns; but there were certain essential requirements which kept the synagogue to one general plan. There was first the ark to contain the scrolls of the Law, secondly the Reading Desk or Almenar, thirdly the Entrance. The ark was by preference placed in the east, though this rule was frequently neglected. The Almenar (properly al-minbar, Arabic for ‘pulpit’) was mostly a rectangular structure occupying the centre of the building. It was used primarily for reading the Scriptures, but in Spanish synagogues it was also the place whence the prayers were read. In many parts, especially in those which are still live, the old plans are still preserved in the form of the ark or the Almenar.

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was protected by a lattice sufficiently thick to render the occupants of the gallery invisible from below. This grille has, however, been abandoned in modern times.

A somewhat unreasonable preference for a pseudo-Moorish style of decoration has prevented synagogues architects from adopting classical styles, which are now found in many parts of the world. The contrast between the exterior and the interior of the synagogue has often been noted. The Talmud has referred to an elevated place for the synagogue, but it became impolitic for the Jews to draw upon themselves the attention of the world by making their places of worship too prominent. Hence there grew up a tendency towards mean exteriors with low elevations. Compensation was sought by deepening the floor. In the case of the old Karate synagogue in Jerusalem the building is practically under ground. In Persia it was long forbidden for the synagogue to rise higher than any neighbouring mosque. Architecturally, being founded, as it was, on the East, good many synagogues resemble mosques, and the domes of Moorish buildings in Spain have found wide imitation among the synagogues of Europe and America. Though the exteriors of synagogues were often wanting, they were compensated for by the beauty of the interiors. In many cases, indeed, sacred and even severity of taste prevailed, and no ornament at all was admitted. But the general tendency was towards ornate decoration: lion, flowers, fruits, interlaced triangles, and other geometrical patterns (on Arab models), elaborate gilding, and arabesques, fine ornamentation of lamps, and such utensils of worship as are described in the article on ART (Jewish)—in these directions much was possible. There were, by preference, twelve windows in the synagogue, but this number was not general. There were painted windows in the Cologne synagogue in the 12th cent., but it is only in recent times that such ornament has become at all common. Much more often the floor was richly covered with marble mosaics. A feature which added effect to the synagogue was the circular space round it. This was sometimes laid out as a garden; but, even when merely a court-yard, it lent itself to the marriage and other processions in which the Jews were adept.

LITURGIA.—See under ART (Jewish).

I. ABRAHAMS.

ARCHITECTURE (Mithraic).—According to Porphyry (de Antro Nymph. 6), Zoroaster had consecrated to Mithra in the mountains of Persia ‘a cave adorned with flowers and watered by springs,’ and from that fact the adherents of the sect had derived and kept the custom of performing their initiatory rites in natural or artificial caverns. Modern investigation has confirmed the correctness of this statement. The worshippers of the Persian god, in order to carry on their worship, often took up their abode in rock-caves, and chose by preference for their sanctuaries places where a spring rose, or at any rate was drawn from the neighbourhood. The origin of this custom is more doubtful. Does it go back, as Porphyry states, to ancient Zoroastrianism? We know that in the time of Herodotus the Persians offered their sacrifices on the summit of the mountains (Herod. i. 131). Caverns may have been the first, and perhaps the only, places where they put up their gods under shelter (cf. Strabo, xi. 7, 5, p. 510 C). On the other hand, caverns have served as temples in so many different religions and among so many different races (Bötticher, Tektonik der Hellenen, ii. 414 ff.; W. K. Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 197 f.) that it is difficult to ascertain which influence may have enforced the universally obeyed law that Mithra must be worshipped in subterranean spelaeae.

Sometimes the followers of the sect chose their abode in a spacious cavern, whose mouth then marked the threshold of the sanctuary which was entirely contained within it. Sometimes, on the other hand, the narrower caverns served simply as a shrine to the god, which was set up before their entrance. When a subterranean cavern was unobtainable, they sometimes chose a circular group of rocks which could be roofed in, or they hollowed out the side of a hill, so that at least two of the four sides of the rock were for the temple, the other two for solid rock. Often they were even content to carve the image of the bull-slaying Mithra on a vertical rock, which served as a support for a structure of which it formed the back wall.

Thus we see the sanctuary gradually becoming separate from the mountain which at first enclosed it completely, and we can accordingly follow the successive stages of a development which little by little rendered the temple independent of the rock, from which it was originally inseparable.

A last step in the evolution of the Mithraeums in the plains, far from any rock-cave or natural spring, there arose ‘mithreums’ without a natural support on any side. But they were always built in imitation of the caverns which they superseded, and they continued to bear the technical name of templum (Justin Martyr, Dial. com. Tryph. 8; Porphyry, de Antro Nymph. 6; Tertull. de Corona, 15; for inscriptions, cf. Cuman, Mon. Myst. Mithra, ii. 536), although sometimes they received the more general name of templum. These two terms, like sanctus, sanctuana, androm (or cela) and sacraeum (or on rare occasions are substituted for them), are used to denote one and the same kind of structure, as has been definitely shown by M. Wolff (Das Mithrasheiligtum).

We possess at present the exact plans of a score of these subterranean temples which have been drawn in Italy, in Pannonia, in Dacia, in Britain, and especially in Germany. Their likeness to each other proves that an almost uniform type was everywhere adhered to. In these temples, the orientation of which is very variable and not settled by any liturgical rule, different portions may be distinguished. They are enumerated in an inscription of Apulum (CIL ii. 1096) which mentions ‘cryptam cum portico et apparatorio et exedra.’ A portico (porticus; CIL ii. 3960) faced the street. It was doubtless composed of a colonnade surmounted by a pediment. Thence one entered into a large hall, the pronaos, situated on the level or above the level of the ground (CIL xiv. 61). Through the wall at the back a door led as a rule into a smaller hall, the apparaetorium (CIL iii. 1096, 3960), that is to say, doubtless, the sanctuary, where preparation was made for the celebration of the mysteries. From this sanctuary, at certain times, or perhaps immediately, it was possible to descend through a flight of steps by which descent was made into the sanctuary proper, the crypta. This crypt imitated the appearance of the gloomy caves which it represented; occasionally the walls were made to look like rock, and the crypt was always roofed with a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. This was sometimes constructed in masonry, e.g. at St. Clement in Rome (Cuman, op. cit. ii. No. 19, fig. 50); sometimes the effect was produced by the effect of a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. It may be represented as an image of the sky as a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. This was sometimes constructed in masonry, e.g. at St. Clement in Rome (Cuman, op. cit. ii. No. 19, fig. 50); sometimes the effect was produced by the effect of a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. This was sometimes constructed in masonry, e.g. at St. Clement in Rome (Cuman, op. cit. ii. No. 19, fig. 50); sometimes the effect was produced by the effect of a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. This was sometimes constructed in masonry, e.g. at St. Clement in Rome (Cuman, op. cit. ii. No. 19, fig. 50); sometimes the effect was produced by the effect of a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky. This was sometimes constructed in masonry, e.g. at St. Clement in Rome (Cuman, op. cit. ii. No. 19, fig. 50); sometimes the effect was produced by the effect of a vault, in which the worshippers saw an image of the sky.
three parts—in the middle a passage of an average width of 24 metres, and on the two sides massive ledges of masonry stretching along the side-walls of the temple. The average height of these was about 80 centimetres, and the width about 14 metres. Modern archaeologists have applied to the passage the name cælia, and to the ledges that of podia, but these terms do not appear in the inscriptions, like the Latin names previously cited. Attempts have been made to compare this arrangement of the 'mithraea' with the division of churches into three parts, but the likeness is purely superficial. The podia, whose upper surfaces are slanting and whose width is not great, were occupied by the worshippers, who knelt there, while the cælia was reserved for the officiating priests. Here it was that the victims were sacrificed, and that the ceremonies of initiation took place. In a 'mithraeum' of Ostia (ib. 84d), 7 semi-circles marked in the pavement undoubtedly indicated the places where the priest paused to invoke the planets represented on the sides of the lateral ledges. In other parts certain receptacles appear to have held the water employed in purifications.

At the end of the sanctuary facing the entrance there always rose a great piece of sculpture, the so-called Jason of Mithras facing the bull (cf. art. ART [Mithraic]), and before that were generally placed two altars, one of which seems to have been especially dedicated to the sun and the other to the moon. The extremity of the sanctuary, where the great bas-relief of Mithras was placed, had no absolute fixity in its arrangement. Sometimes it occupied an apse (absidata, CIL iii. 988; exedra, iii. 1090), making a projection in the exterior wall at the back; sometimes, on the other hand, it was placed in the open court, and the sculptured niche or temple was placed. Occasionally the bas-relief, revolving on itself in this niche or apse, could, during the services, present successively its two sculptured sides to the worshippers. There were also cases when the architect dispensed with these additions. The wall at the back was plain and the sculpture was made to fit into a recess in its thickness, or to rest upon a base. The part of the temple, generally raised above the rest, where this sculptured display in the open court could be seen from without, was hollowed out; but the inner shrine accessible apparently only to the priests, and sometimes screened off by wooden railings.

It is difficult to settle the origin of the arrangement in the 'mithraea' which we find in vase sculpture; it borrows its most important elements from the sanctuaries of Mithras in the East, and we do not know if the plan adopted in Europe was already followed there. We are, however, in a position to state that the portico and the pediment were imitated from the Greek temples, which transmitted their Greek name, pronaoi, to this forepart of the building. We may surmise that the apse, which, moreover, is often wanting, is borrowed from the Roman basilicas, but the interior arrangement of the crypt remains as yet inexplicable. The division of the crypt into three parts of unequal height does not offer, so far as the present writer knows, any likeness to any other kind of ancient architecture, and its resemblance to the early Christian basilicas is purely superficial. We must not conceive of these 'mithraea' as structures of vast proportions. Covered as they were by a single roof, they could not easily be enlarged. The most considerable of them are 20 metres in length by 6 to 8 in width, and not more than 2½ metres thick. People could find room on the stone ledges. Thus there are often several temples collected in the same place, even in very small towns (five at Ostia, four at Aquinum and Apulum, three at Hedderenheim and Friedberg, etc.).

These small buildings were brilliantly ornamented. In the richest sanctuaries, marbles and mosaics covered the ground, the walls, and even the roof; in the poorest, stucco-work and plaster-coatings decorated with brilliant colours sufficed. When the lamps were lit, this gorgeous ornamentation was intensified by harmonies with the varied colours of the bas-reliefs and the statues in order to produce a more vivid effect.

Often, instead of building a temple for a body of worshippers, wealthy Romans used to place a cella at their disposal. The traditional formula of the 'mithraea' had then to be modified in accordance with local peculiarities. The division of the crypt into three parts was always preserved, but the accessory constructions, the pronaos and the apse, disappeared. The apse was removed to a contiguous hall, which was used as a sacristy. It is thus often difficult, in examining ruins, to ascertain where the owner's oratory ended and where his kitchen commenced.

LITERATURE.—Wolff, 'Uber die architektonische Beschaffenheit der Mithraskleidungen' in Darstellung der Kunst, i. 1882, pp. 58, 101; Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra (1893); Moret, Mithra et le monde romain (1899); Ritter, Mithraismus in Kretzschmar, Cassel, 1895, pp. 88, 101; Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra (1893); Kroll, The Mithraic Temple of Apulum, i. 54-67, of which we have given a resume here. Nothing of importance has been found since the publication of this book. Attempts have been made to identify the principal dice-throwing on the wall (cf. the diceboard, or stele [Borovicus] on the Roman Wall [Bosanquet, Archaeologia Britannica, 1904, xxv. 355 ff.], and of Salzburg [near Frankfort], which have been re-constructed by the architect Jacobi, and can be visited.

FRANZ CUMONT.

ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan).—Introduction.—Muhammadan architecture is one of the most striking creations of the human mind, since, like music, it is capable of producing effects impossible with other things, as sculpture and painting do, but from successive abstractions, of relations, of emotions and associations which affect the least material portions of our being. Architecture is an art whose origins lie far back in the past, and yet even at the earliest period the fundamental characteristics of architectural composition were clearly defined. This remarkable fact is due to the simplicity of the component parts, the regularity of the plans, the grandeur of the façades, and the magnitude of the sanctuaries dedicated to the Deity. As a matter of fact, it is in the construction of temples that the first architects worthy of the name produced their first works. The temple is thus the first building on which the newly-developed human spirit desired to impress a more lofty character than that required to satisfy the material needs of the utilitarian. Men aimed at giving to the building intended for the worship of Deity a character superior to that which had occurred to the ordinary human dwellings, but to that of royal palaces.

When Islam came on the scene, the human race had already travelled far from its origins, and the religious idea had already found diverse expression in the monuments of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylonia,
Egypt, Persia, India, Greece, Eturia, Rome, and Byzantium. Thus the first Muhammadan temples, the first mosques during the early centuries of the Hijra, assumed no other forms than those derived from imitation of monuments already existing where the new religion was established by right of the first ascenders of Islam, therefore, had no other means of expression than the procedure or tradition of the art of the Byzantines, Copts, Sassanians, or Indians. But these pre-existing elements were applied to new purposes: the new religion had neither mysteries, nor antiquities, nor jurisprudence so called. None of its temples was to enshrine the wonder-working image of a Deity, or of a saint, or the Divinity itself contained in consecrated elements. The mosque was only a place of prayer, of preaching, and, up to a certain point, of instruction. It was, properly speaking, a place of meeting in the general sense of that word (the jami, jama, gama). The first mosque at Medina, where the Prophet collected his earliest disciples, was an enclosure open, having the gable, by a flat roof supported by wooden pillars covered with plaster, and the Prophet ascended some steps in order to preach.

Here, then, we have in their simplest form the elements of the mosque—a court, porches to shelter the faithful, the pulpit for the imam, and the qibla, or the direction in which one ought to turn in order to have one's face directed towards the central shrine, the Ka'ba of Mecca. This Ka'ba, the real sanctuary of Islam, and the only one which has a supernatural significance, is not a mosque. It is the 'House of God' built by Abraham, and there is set in the side of it a miraculous and Divine stone. It is the Egyptian 'nose,' or rather the Jewish 'ark,' where the invisible and indivisible God is present. But it is not the prototype of the mosque. The form specially typical of the mosque is the pillared hall, like the Amr mosque at Cairo, the mosque of Sidi Othba at Kairwan, the primitive al-Aqsa mosque at Jerusalem, the mosque of Cordova, the great mosque of Samarra, etc. The origin of this form is easily explained when we remember that in order to recite their prayers the Musalmans are arranged in ranks parallel to the wall at the end of the mosque, where the mihrab, the place of the direction of Mecca. This is the original and specially Islamic plan of a place for worship.

The Muhammadans, whose energetic advance had, so to speak, extended the limits of the ancient world, had continued their progress from the Pillars of Hercules to Java; and from the early centuries of the Hijra the empire of Islam united under one faith the most widely differing nations. The very diversity of the races conquered by Islam was destined to give rise to a multiplicity in Muhammadan architecture, for however the new religion was planted, it found itself face to face with fully formed civilizations possessing a well-defined architecture, and often very skilful workmen. The result is that the architecture of the early Muhammadan buildings was the native architecture, more or less strongly affected by new ideas, and without the representations of living creatures. We ought then to divide the study of Muhammadan architecture into as many sections as these distinct nationalities. But it is not the province of this work to speak of those divisions, which may still be studied in the productions of the nomadic tribes from the extreme west of Morocco to the centre of Turkestan—which is based upon a similar tradition, and sometimes reaches a high pitch of refinement, has not existed without exercising a remarkable and important influence on the internal
and external ornamentation of buildings. Of this we shall find numerous examples throughout the course of this article.

The Arab, a nomad in a special degree, developed, among all the nations where he planted his tent religion, a taste for distant journeys, and the prescribed ritual of the Meccan pilgrimage; and the external ornamentation of buildings. Of this we shall find numerous examples, and we cannot fail to find in it the most striking token of this. Arabic literature, so rich in stories of travel, also witnesses to it. This pilgrimage, binding on every Musalman, has brought into contact the most widely differing peoples; and it has been, so to speak, by a kind of reciprocal interfusion that the most heterogeneous civilizations have seen certain of their elements mix with foreign ones to form Musalman civilization.

From the point of view of the arts these reciprocal influences were not less remarkable. The artists who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, having arrived in the Holy City, and being impelled thereto by an instinct of affinity, certainly did not fail to enter into relations with the fellow-travellers who were also there on pilgrimage. From this there undoubtedly arose an interchange of ideas and of skill; and all the more because, this journey being excessively laborious, the less wealthy of these travellers could not return, who were obliged to halt on their way in order to work at their trade to provide the means necessary for accomplishing the next stage of the journey. It is, on a much larger scale, a similar experience to that of the travelling merchants of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Persia, and even of Spain, an influence which certain passages of the historians explain to us, and of which we obtain a good idea from the observations to be made on many of the decorative details.

In this preliminary to a close, we must dwell on one very remarkable aspect of Musalman art. It is a common, indeed hackneyed, remark, that Oriental luxury is the standing example of a degree of wealth and extra-ordinary richness rarely reached in other civilizations. This is, in fact, characteristic of Islam, and is explained partly by the peculiarity of the Musalman mind and partly by the events of history.

The chief characteristic of the Musalman mind, although not the absolute fatalism so often charged against it, is entire submission to the will of God. This submission accordingly implies the possibility of reverses of fortune which can in a short time destroy the greatest prosperity. The practical effect of this is to incite men to enjoy as rapidly and as intensely as possible the transitory possessions which fortune places at their disposal. The precariousness of absolute power and the enormous resources which despotism placed in the hands of the Khalifs both had the same result. Despots, like common folk, were obliged to enjoy rapidly the means of luxury which they had within their reach. To this may be traced the extremely luxurious character of Musalman architecture, and also, unfortunately, the want of solidity in most of the private dwellings, palaces, mansions, or country-seats. The buildings devoted to worship, or built upon plans inspired by religious ideas, were, as a rule, more durably constructed.

1. The Syro-Egyptian school.—This division is treated in a separate article—ARCHITECTURE (Musalman in Syria and Egypt)—and will not be discussed here.

2. The Moorish or Maghrib school.—The term 'Maghrib' indicates the whole of Northern Africa lying, of course, west of Egypt. Two elements have contributed to form the Musalman art of the Maghrib: on the one side the local traditions, Roman, Romano-Berber, and Byzantine in Africa, Roman, Romano-Iberian, and Visigothic in Spain; on the other hand, on the one side the Byzantine architecture which appears to have been in the first place the Byzantine architecture of Syria, for certain Syrian forms seem to have been introduced directly into Africa. To be convinced of this, one has only to compare the Arabid gates of the great mosque of Tunis and the eastern façade of the great mosque of Sfax with the lateral façades of the great church of Qalat Simân (de Vogüé, Architecture civil et religieuse dans la Syrie ouest et le Hauran du xixe siècle). Another source of inspiration borrowed from the East, but this time from the Musalman East, is the plan of the mosques. The present writer has shown in his manual of Architecture Musulman (Manuel d'art musul- 

mane, Paris, 1907, i. [History of Architecture]) the likeness existing between the plan of the Zituna mosque at Tunis and that of the great mosque of Damascus, which itself is suggested by the plan of the church of St. John at Qalat Simân (de Vogüé, op. cit. ii. pl. 139), two of the great aisles of which were joined at the ends by a transept running at right angles to them. This comparison has never been made so far as the present writer is aware; it is, however, extremely remarkable. G. Marçais has mentioned in the Revue Africaine the numerous ideas borrowed, according to the Arab historians of Spain, from the Arab monuments of Syria by the architects of the Khalifis of Cordova. This process of borrowing was quite natural because of the Syrian origin of the Omeyyads of Spain. But the prototype of the great mosque of Cordova cannot be looked for at Damascus; its plan presents no resemblance to the Syrian churches of the same period. It is certain we find it at Jerusalem in the plan of the chief mosque al-Aqsâ. Guy le Strange, in his work, Palestine under the Moslems (London, 1890), has given a restored plan of it according to the description of M. Ducqadis, which shows its arrangement in a.D. 985. The most characteristic feature of the mosque is a number of great arches in breadth and 21 in length; that of Cordova 11 arches in breadth and 21 in length (at least originally); both have side-gates on the eastern façade. Idriši, quoted by le Strange (op. cit. p. 108), seems to have noticed this likeness, which le Strange has perfectly understood (p. 103). As to the decoration of the mosque at Cordova, it is borrowed partly from Byzantine art, and partly from Arab or Syrian or Mosopotamian ornamentation. This is naturally not longer doubtful, so that we can ascertain the origin of the serrated arches used systematically in the great mosque at Cordova, and recurring in the palace of Harûn ar-Rashid at Racco (Saladin, op. cit. p. 323, fig. 321), the al-Ashik palace at Samarra (ib. p. 325), of which General de Beylis† was the first to publish a very correct view (de Beylis, Promes et Samarra, Paris, 1907, pl. xiii.), and in the interior archivolts of the southern windows of the great mosque of Samarra (ib. p. 81). The horse-shoe arch is also of Oriental origin—Mesopotamian or Sasanian (exemplified in the secondary gate of the Palace of | It was the mosque re-built by 'Abd al-Malik towards 691 of our era, and restored in 746 by al-Maghrib. | Cf. also the work of Hirschfeld published since that of General de Beylis.
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan)

Ctesiphon; see Herzfeld, Samarra), for it is found in Persia at Firuzabad and at Täq-i-Girra. This mosque—plan of which we have just been speaking is, to a certain extent (except in the proportion between the breadth and the length of the building), that of the mosques with aisles, like the Amr mosque at Cairo, and those of Samarra, which de Beylié and Herzfeld have described, and that of Abü-Dilîf which de Beylié was the first to portray, but these are the latest of the mosque of Cordova. They are mentioned here as giving the characteristics of the typical plan of the mosque of Cordova. The illustrations which we know at present regarding the most ancient Muslim monuments of Mesopotamia; for the monuments of Samarra and of Abü-Dilîf owe absolutely nothing to Syrian architectural traditions, which are based upon the use of dressed stone. These, on the other hand, are constructions of brick, and consequently connected with the pure Mesopotamian tradition, though strongly influenced by Sasanian art.

Thus, then, Spain appears to have been more directly influenced by Syria and Mesopotamia than was the case with Northern Africa. The great mosque of Kairwan in Tunis, for example, borrows an ancient or Byzantine character from all the ancient and Byzantine fragments which have been employed to construct it in the eastern side of the mosque, in the gates on the ground floor. It appears to have been employed there in a systematic fashion, while in the Christian monuments of central Syria and in certain buildings of Armenia it appears to have been used only in an intermittent way. The most ancient examples of the use of this arch may be seen in Tunis in the inner window of the maqṣūra of the mosque of Sîdi Okba, at Kairwan, in the central motive of the interior façade of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, and in the eastern side façade of the great mosque of Sfax. This arch, which has been justly compared in shape to a horse-shoe, has been systematically used in the celebrated mosque of Cordova. It is found in the windows, the gates, and the interior arches, whether they are many-lobed or not.

Finally, local Christian art, whether African or Spanish, also had much influence on the architecture of the Maghrib. It is impossible to give a general outline of this influence. The two Christian communities of Morocco and Spain, though they have never been connected with each other, have shown a great affinity of taste, and the same applies to the architecture of the Maghrib and of Spain. The Moorish artists, who were of Moorish descent, have been influenced by the architecture of the Byzantine and the Roman, and have erected a number of magnificent buildings, which have been preserved to this day. The most important of these are the mosques of Kairwan, of Sfax, and of Sidi Okba, at Kairwan, which have been erected in the 12th century. The Moorish architects have used the same form of the mihrab, but above all in the admirable

enamelled mosaics executed on the spot by the Byzantine artists who came for the purpose from Constantinople.

We may here recapitulate the chronology of these early monuments of the Maghrib:

<table>
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As early as the 8th century, the new style in Spain seems to have assumed a distinct character; the great mosque of Cordova is obviously a building of a style absolutely and clearly defined. The contrary, we do not find in Northern Africa, whether in Tunis, or Algeria, or Morocco, such a homogeneity of style in the first Arab buildings. The successive restorations of the mosque of Sidi Okba at Kairwan, the traces of which are still sufficiently visible on the building itself, the Aghlabid portions of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, of the great mosque of Beja, and of that of Sfax at Tunis, in no way bear any sign of a well-defined style. The reason for this must very probably be found in the fact that the commencement of the Umayyad Khalifate of Cordova constituted a political and social regime on a sufficient scale to give to the country such prosperity that the magnificence of the buildings far surpassed those of Africa, which was then a much poorer country. On the other hand, the continual relations of Cordova with Syria, and the arrival in Spain of a great number of followers of the Umayyads, made Arabized Andalusia at this time, so to speak, a second Arabized Syria. The proofs of this are abundant in the Arab historians and even in the buildings.

In the 11th century, the influence of Middle Asia, that is to say, of Mesopotamia and perhaps even of Persia, was making itself felt in Africa in the style of the buildings of Qal'a of the Beni Hammâd, and probably in those of Bougie, which are unfortunately in an advanced stage of decay. In the central motive of the interior façade of the Zituna mosque at Tunis, and in the eastern side façade of the great mosque of Sfax. This arch, which has been justly compared in shape to a horse-shoe, has been systematically used in the celebrated mosque of Cordova. It is found in the windows, the gates, and the interior arches, whether they are many-lobed or not.

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ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan) 749

A short enumeration will give the chronological sequence of these.

Christian

From 574 A.H. (A.D. 1178) to 590 A.H. (A.D. 1194)

Yaqūb al-Manṣūr covered Morocco and Andalusia with numerous buildings. In Morocco, Chella, Rabat, Marrakesh, Centa, Alcazar-Kabir, Manṣūra, mosques, fortifications, and buildings of every kind are ascribed to him. In Spain, and especially at Seville, he built mosques, qaṣbas, fortifications, quays, and aqueducts, and he completed the great mosque recently founded at Cordova. The surviving standing almost entirely intact. The Kutubiya of Marrakesh, the tower of Ḥasan at Rabat, the minaret of Chella, and its fortified enclosure may be considered the most perfect types of this fine architecture. In A.H. 586 (A.D. 1190) the Alazara of Seville was founded, but the 13th cent. was destined to inaugurate for the Moorish style a period of luxuriance and florid abundance quite different from the preceding one.

The chief of the Achemenians with that of the Abbasids is still wanting. We do not know what sort of fictile art was used in the architecture of the Arsacids and the Sassanians, although from a passage in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus we learn that when the latter wrote, enamelled earthenware still formed one of the most characteristic components of the architectural decoration of the monuments and palaces of Babylon.

This digression, though somewhat long, on the use and origin of enamel-work in Moorish architecture, is, however, indispensable in order to show how slight a link Moorish art is connected with that of the Mesopotamian East. We have seen that at Ashik-Khān, as at Kufa, the Abbasid monuments the many-lobed arches to the use of which Moorish architecture owes one of its most elegant characteristics. The plan of the Moorish mosque was originally the plan with aisles, as in the 'Amr mosque at Cairo, the plan, which recurs in Tunis, in Algeria, and in Morocco, slightly modified by the broadening of the central nave and the aisle which runs along the miḥrāb-wall, undergoes a gradual alteration. Already in the Qa' building of the Beni Hammād an enclosed chancel was outlined before the maqāṣīra. This is only slightly indicated in the great mosque of Tlemesn (550 A.H. = A.D. 1156), but is clearly defined two centuries later in the mosque of Manṣūra at Tlemesn (737-744 A.H. = A.D. 1337-1344).

It comprises the following: a forecourt commanding the entrance, side porticoes, in the court, a large hall with parallel aisles, and at the end the maqāṣīra, or chancel, in front of the miḥrāb, marked by a cupola crowning a square hall. This is the same arrangement as exists in principle in the great mosque of Cordova, but at Tlemesn it is differently emphasized. This maqāṣīra, instead of seeming to be a mere adjunct of the building as at Cordova, is at Tlemesn an integral portion of it, and forms, so to speak, the main feature, thus indicating in a formal way the real sanctuary of the mosque.

As this article is limited chiefly to the study of the religious monuments, we shall dwell on civil architecture only very briefly. The buildings, ancient specimens to copy, for the present writer once sketched a fragment of white marble inlaid with coloured marbles found at Lixus (Morocco) by H. de la Martinière. This fragment dates from the 5th cent. of our era, and evidently belongs to that series of works in marble and mosaic which served as models to the Arab workmen. This work in faience mosaic, or rather in marquetry, was afterwards succeeded by square tiles, on which pieces of enamel in slight relief showed the usual ornamentation. Later they contented themselves with tracing in the ground on the white enamel a polygonal design with tracery worked in different colours. At a still later date the purely geometrical ornamentation was replaced by a floral decoration or one of some conventional pattern. In Persia and in Turkestan we shall be able to trace a similar development in ceramic decoration. There is no doubt that this art was of Asiatic origin. The similarity between the Spanish enamelled decora-
tions and those of the famous frieze of arches in the apadāna of Susa is obvious. On the other hand, the likeness of the enamelling of the most ancient enamelled vases found at Racca (Mesopotamia) to the enamel-work of the Maghrib at this period leads us to the conclusion that this Asiatic origin, since we may confidently assign the most ancient enamel-work of Racca to the period of the Abbasids. But the intermediary link which would enable us to connect the enamel ornamentation found in the mosque of the Beni Hammād with that of the Abbasids is still wanting. We do not know what sort of fictile art was used in the architecture of the Arsacids and the Sassanians, although from a passage in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus we learn that when the latter wrote, enamelled earthenware still formed one of the most characteristic components of the architectural decoration of the monuments and palaces of Babylon.

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As this article is limited chiefly to the study of the religious monuments, we shall dwell on civil architecture only very briefly. The buildings,
however, which the Moors have left in Spain—
the palaces of Tunis, of Algiers, of Morocco, of
Fez, and of Mequinez, cannot be passed over.
The architecture of the houses of the Maghrib
contains at the same time suggestions from Roman
and Byzantine houses, and very probably also from
houses of Mesopotamia and Persia. We do not
know how many ancient Arab houses in the North of
Africa, but the persistence with which the plan
of these houses is reproduced, with very few vari-
a tions, leads us to believe that the prototype has
never lacked the features with which we are famil-

dar: and, we know that in the same place
contains Fez, of Algiers, of Morocco,
mosque of Isfahan, we easily
see how Malik Shah, Shah Tamasp, and Shah
Abbas, in their successive enlargements of the

From the earliest period the palaces have been
buildings of great magnificence, and the descrip-
tions of the Arab historians give us full informa-
tion regarding the curious style in which they
were decorated and furnished. Of these we may
mention, by way of example, the famous house
of Medinat-az-Zahra near Cordova, the palace of
Mustanṣir In Tunis (described by Ibn Ḥalda, Hi-

dory of the Berbers), which possessed elevated
pavilions, cupolas, kiosks, aqueducts, fountains, and
large basins, forming, as it were, liquid mirrors.
These were also to be found in the Sasanian palace
of Qaṣr-i Shirin, and have remained from that time
a traditional ornament in Persia. Mustanṣir's
palace also contained pavilions with marble columns
and wainscoting of marble and faience mosaics.
The palace of the Sultan Hamadīt of Bougie,
and those of Fez, Morocco, and Mequinez, were
not less magnificent. We can have, so to speak,
an encaustic demonstration of the splendour to which
Moorish architecture had attained in the Alhambra
of Granada, of which the greater part is still
standing, although by an unaccountable whim
Charles V. caused the south wing to be destroyed in
1562, and build in its place a palace of lamentable
mediocrity.

Part of the plan of the Alhambra is an exten-
sion of the plan of the Arab house. There are
always numerous structures surrounding courts
bordered by porticoes, with fountains or large
uncovered basins. There is no need to enlarge,
in addition, on the lavishness and taste with which a
great wealth of constantly varied decoration has
been expended on every portion of this delightful
palace, which is the glory of Granada and of Ar-


3. The Persian School (Persia, Mesopotamia,
Turkestan, etc.).—We have already spoken of the
mosques of Mesopotamia, Samarra, and Abu-Dīlīf.
In Persia the style is quite different. Yet the
most ancient Persian mosques whose plans are
known to us are built with aisles like the
primitive mosques. The arrangement of some of
these is still recognizable in the plan of the mosque at Isfahān built in 142-143 A.H. under
the Khilafate of the Abbāsid al-Maṣūr; but in this
plan there is a peculiar arrangement: in the court
there is an isolated structure on a square plan.
Dienalofsky describes a similar square pavilion in
the centre of the old mosque of Shiraz, built in A.D. 876
by Amr ibn Laith. This pavilion is evidently
a reminiscence of the Ka'ba of Mecca, for it is known
at Shiraz by the name of Khuda Khan, or 'House
of God.' We should mention also the Juma
mosque of Kazvin, re-built by Ḥasan ibn Anšād in
A.D. 790 on the plan of the ancient mosque erected
in the early years of the Hijra by Mūhammad ibn
al-Hajjāj.

At a period which it is as yet impossible to define,
a remarkable development affects the arrangement of the Persian mosques: on the four sides of the
court of the mosque there open enormous porches of
great height and in the form of an immense arcade.
These fāsads, as they are called, are certainly a reminiscence of the fāsads of Chosroes, the Tāj-i
Kı̄sar̃ of Ctesiphon, the magnificence of which had
astonished the first Arab conquerors, and the
recollection of which was always present in the
minds of Oriental monarchs when they were erect-
ning great buildings. Mūhammadan historians, in
fact, when they wish to emphasize the splendour of a
building raised by one of their monarchs,
always compare it to the fāsads of Chosroes, to
the mosques of Mada'in, etc. In the plan of all the
Persian mosques this detail (the fāsads) always re-appears, and we find the same architectural feature in certain mosques of Turkestan and espe-
cially of Samarcand—mosques which also serve the
purpose of madrasas, i.e. schools or academies,
or rather universities. When we closely examine
the plan of the Juma mosque of Isfahān, we easily
see how Malik Shah, Shāh Tamān, and Shāh
Abbās, in their successive enlargements of the
building, changed its original appearance in order finally to give it that definite character which has been, so to speak, the type to which the Persian mosques have conformed, and which is so admirably condensed in the plan of the imperial mosque of Baghdad erected under Shah Abbas. This latter may be considered as the archetypal type of religious architecture in Persia, where we find no other mosques with aisles, but only the four great _liwans_, one of which serves as a porch of entry, and the other three as distinct places for prayer, each possessing its own _mihrāb_.

We see, accordingly, that just as the Persians sharply divided themselves from the majority of the Muhammadans (who are Sunnites, forming a sort of heretical sect by themselves), since they are Shi'ites and therefore abandon the purely Muhammadan tradition, they gave to their religious architecture quite a different character from that of the buildings to be seen in Syria, Egypt, and in the Maghrib. When the mosques are deprived of a central court, as was the case with the blue mosque of Tabris, the praying place is always square-shaped, and is led up to by a large square hall surrounded by very broad galleries. Then we have nothing left to recall the primitive mosque, whose form is derived from the Persian, Hindu, or Sasanian, by Chosroes II, the latter built along the wall of the _mihrāb_, which allows the crowd of the faithful to line out along this wall and in files parallel to it, but with faces always turned in the same direction. The tendency in Persia was rather to introduce the idea of uniting the worshippers in a closed sanctuary in order to secure for them the isolation which favours the collectiveness of thought and prayer.

We see, therefore, that by a kind of natural development through which the Persian mosque passed, while tending more and more towards a closed sanctuary, would produce successive forms approaching gradually those of certain Christian churches—those of Armenia, for instance.

The earliest Muhammadan architecture in Persia has also quite a special character. The leading elements in Persian architecture are, in fact, almost entirely borrowed from local traditions, that is to say, from the architecture of the ancient Persians and the Sassanians. (1) The tapered column accompanied by flat ceilings and terraces, which seems to be derived principally from Assyrian and Median art. (2) The arch carried on drums or on columns standing in sets of four. (This arrangement was afterwards transplanted to the Nidges, but strengthened by four joined columns.) Since the arch and the pillar are constructed of rubble-stone or more frequently of bricks, we cannot doubt that the origin of this system of architecture must be sought in Chaldaea, whence it passed into Persia. As to the arch of dressed and cut stone and structures with binding masonry, they seem to be of Armenian origin, and to have passed from Armenia into the North-west provinces of Persia, where alone they are preserved.

The arch constructed of bricks was a matter of choice for the Persians; and this system seems to have been chosen because of the scarcity of timber in the greater part of the country. In this art,

... The Sunnite mosque seems to be derived from the mosque of Medina, which originally consisted only of a wall with a flat roof supported by very rude porticoes. The brick mosque, on the other hand, seems to be derived from the mosque of Mecca. In the centre of the court (haram) is the _ka'ba_, the _House of God_, an imitation of the Ka'ba, and places for prayer are arranged on the four sides of the court.

* This mosque was certainly erected by a Sunnite monarch, but the architect who constructed it has drawn his inspiration somewhat from the architectural traditions of Persia. Compare this plan with that of the mosque of Mir Buzurg Kawkām-ad-din, _at Amul_ in _A.D._ 1379.
are built to that of the caravanserais with which Persia is covered to escape any, any more than its similarity to the plans of the great Persian mosques. If we could ascertain the most ancient types of these buildings, for example the Persian or Sasanian caravanserais, we should perhaps have the origin of that cruciform plan which the Persian architects have been able to turn to such excellent account.

One of the most remarkable madrasas which have been built in Persia is the Madrasa-i-Shah Sultan Husain at Isfahan (A.D. 1635). As a caravanserai it has been turned into a mosque, and, at the same time, by merely examining the two plans in juxtaposition we understand what a striking likeness exists between them.

This arrangement has been reproduced in the great mosque-madrasa of Samarqand and Bokhara, and indeed in those of all the large towns of Turkestan, whence it is certain that the first architects of these buildings were Persians. In the case of some of them the proof is ready to hand. The madrasa Shir-Dar near Samarqand is the reduction in scale of a portion of the Persian madrasa; the mosque, madrasa, and tomb of Bibi Hanum at Samarqand is the expansion of it on a colossal scale (the plans are given by Schubert von Soldern, *Baukunst* von Samarkand, 1898).

The tombs and sepulchral monuments in the Persian style of architecture also quite a special character. In the Maghrâb they generally consist merely of a square structure surmounted by a cupola, which seems simply a detached portion of what ordinarily constitutes a mosque, for we have seen that generally the entrance is crowned by a cupola and the mihrâb of the mosque by another; this is, at any rate, the arrangement which exists in the most ancient mosques of Tunis (Kairwan, Tunis, Gaïsa, Beja, *Sfax*) and of Morocco (as in the Kairouin mosque at Fez).

In Persia these buildings are of entirely different character. They consist of square, polygonal, or cylindrical towers covered with conical or pyramidal roofs, or crowned by a bulb-shaped cupola, *e.g.* at Maragha, Nishabur, Demavend. At Herat and in the Malāy, in the province of Sanjar, the plan is even more complicated, and sometimes, as in Persian Mesopotamia, these tombs of polygonal construction are crowned by cupolas composed of a series of stalactites superimposed on each other, but the general effect is striking. Such are the tomb of Zubaâda at Bagdad, and the tomb of Daniel at Suza.

Around these tombs of various styles are grouped different buildings, as, for example, at the tomb of the Sheikh Sufi at Ardâhil; but the finest of all these sepulchral monuments is certainly the tomb of Timur or Gur Emir at Samarqand, built in 808 A.H. (A.D. 1405) by Muhammad, son of Mahmud of Isfahan. The whole effect of this impressive monument is very remarkable. The tomb, properly speaking, consists of a great square hall, the sides of which are grooved with large square niches, and which is crowned with a bulb-shaped cupola set on a drum decorated with enamelled bricks, the whole being also adorned in the same way. The porch of the tomb opens on a square court surrounded with cells, at the four corners of which formerly rose four great cylindrical minarets of which only one now remains; two others flanked the entrance porch of the court. Other very striking tombs are still to be found near Samarqand adjoining the mosque of Shah Zindah, and we can trace in them with a singular variety of detail the whole development through which the use of baked enamelled earthenware for the construction and decoration of these buildings had passed at this time. Besides the Persian artists engaged in the construction of the buildings of Samarqand, Chinese artists in pottery, summoned by Bibi Hanum (who was a Chinese princess), the wife of Timur, have exercised an indisputable influence both on the technique of enamelled earthenware and on the style of this decoration.

It is also clear that in the great specimens of enamelled decoration the Persian architects drew their inspiration from suggestions afforded by the decoration of tapestry, embroidery, cloths, and especially carpets. As the present writer has described in his manual of the history of Muhammadan architecture, there is a perfection of this enamelled decoration—a perfection attained at the commencement from an aesthetic point of view—can be explained only by the fact that they applied to decoration rules established by the long practice of manufacturers of carpets and painted cloths—rules which, by a process of continual selection, had eliminated imperfect elements from decorative compositions in order to preserve only such as were satisfactory.

Secular architecture in Persia has, perhaps more than religious, remained impregnated with the ancient traditions of the country. The Persian palaces have been compared above to the Sasanian palaces of Qâsr-i Shîrin; they might also be compared to the ancient Achaemenian palaces of Susa and of Persopolis. It is doubly appropriate that we should assign the use of terraces supported on long wooden columns, which are found in the palaces of Isfahan, of Shiraz, and of Teheran. The authenticity of this tradition is all the more remarkable because wood is a comparatively rare and costly substance in nearly all the provinces of Persia.

In the royal palaces of Isfahan these columns were covered with little squares of looking-glass not only on the front of their shafts, but on their capitals; the stalactites of the ceilings and arches were also covered with them, and the flashing of these thousands of mirrors, the brilliance of the paintings, and the facings of faience, made these lofty halls, with glittering ceilings, marvellous of taste and luxuriance, more remarkable even than they have been in the Sasanian palaces of Andahust.

The Persian house, like all Muhammadan houses, is divided into an andarun, or part reserved for the women and the family, and a *birun*, or part reserved for the reception of guests. But its arrangement neither presents nor preserves anything like that of the ancient house. The building is no longer arranged round the front court. This court in Persia is replaced by a garden. If the house is a simple one, the andarun is on the first floor; if it belongs to a richer class, the *birun* opens on the garden and on the street, and at the bottom of the garden is the andarun. The Persians also built enormous bazaars, streets roofed in and lined with shops; and all their large towns still possess them, the finest certainly being those of Isfahan. These bazaars consisted of little roofed streets and shops, but baths, or hammâms, mosques, schools, tombs, and city caravanserais, in which merchants with their wares put up. Other caravanserais are disposed at different stages along the roads; these are resting-places for travellers and caravans. Herodotus mentions that Cyrus had had them placed all along the roads of his empire. Here we have again in Persia a tradition dating from before the time of Islam.

The Sassanian Samarqand had built a number of remarkable bridges. The Muhammadan sovereigns of Persia followed their example. Without counting the numerous bridges constructed in Persia since the Muhammadan conquest, we ought not to forget to mention the two very striking bridges of Isfahan, that of Allah-Verdi-
ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan)

Khan and that of Baba Rukn-ad-din, which are real masterpieces.

In a country as barren as Persia, the discovery, securing, and conveyance of water were naturally questions of vital importance. Subterraneous aqueducts, or qanats, made possible the search for water at great depths, for the purposes of supply and irrigation. These aqueducts supplied either large subterranean reservoirs (called abambār) in the towns and villages, or vaulted cisterns, placed along the roads near the caravanserai. At other times the river-water was held back by dams to be conducted into irrigation canals. M. Dieulafoy has described two of them, the dam of Savheh and the Bandāmir.

We shall not enter in this section, any more than in the preceding one, on the examination of military architecture. That of the Magrib is known to us by a large number of drawn or photographed buildings; that of Persia, on the contrary, is as yet almost unknown to us.

The Persian school of architecture spread its influence as far as Baghdad and even Armenia, and exercised an indescribable effect on the Seljuk architecture of Asia Minor and on the Ottoman architecture derived from it. It has directly influenced the architecture of Turkestan, and we shall see that, as regards India, it is absolutely certain that the finest buildings of the Mughal period were immediately inspired by the finest architectural and decorative traditions of Muhammadan Persia.

But, since among Muhammadan arts architecture is absolutely supreme and all the other arts are based more or less on the principles which govern architecture in Egypt or of Turkish construction, we ought not to be surprised at the immense importance of the influence of Persian decorative art on all the arts of other Muhammadan countries.

Chronology of the Buildings of Persia and of Turkestan.

Hijra. Christian

137 755 Tomb at Râd. 143 792 Foundation of the Juma Mosque at Isfahān.

174 790 Juma Mosque at Kâsvin.

198 875 Juma Mosque at Shirâz.

242 930 Foundation of the Juma Mosque of Ardabil.

552 1157 Tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Merv.

554 1159 Mausoleum of Sultan Nâşir ad-Din of Tabari, at Nakhâzehan.

630 1230 Mausoleum of the Saids at Amul.

651 1256 Tomb of the daughter of Hâlid at Muraghâsh.

704 1304 Mosque of Ujlain Shah-Khodabandah at Sultanīya.

722 1322 Mosque of Veramishe.

723 1323 Mosque of Mir Burāq Kâsvan-ad-din.

791 1389 Mosque of Bībī Hanum at Samarcand.

803 1403 Great or blue mosque at Tâhirz.

901 1496 Darwâzâ-i-Kishâch at Isfâhan.

942 1535 The town of Isfâhan embellished with magnificent buildings.

1021 1612 Masjid-î-Shah at Isfâhan.

1104 1698 Madrasa and caravan Sar Madrasa-ı-Shah Sultan Humâûn at Isfâhan.

1206 1791 Buildings of Teherân.

1327 1842 Embellishment of Isfâhan by Fatih Allî-Shah.

The Ottoman School in Europe and Asia Minor.—The first real entrance of the Osmanli Turks on the stage of history is at the time when the last Seljuk ruler of Konia, Ala-ud-din III, conquered by the Mongols, yielded his empire to Othman, that is to say, in the 13th cent. of the era.

The Seljuk kingdom was therefore the germ of the future Ottoman empire. We also find that the buildings erected by the Seljuks of Rûm (i.e. the kingdom of Konia) are the first which exhibit the union of Persian and Syro-Egyptian influences still distinct and even widely differing in these buildings. These are the influences the fusion of which with the constructive traditions of Byzantine architecture produced the striking art of the Turkish buildings of Brâsî, Adrianople, and Constantinople. For this reason we should study them first. We find, in fact, in the buildings of Konia, Syrian features in the porches, the small columns joined together, the niches, the stalactites, and those long girths ornamented with eight-rayed half-stars which we see so frequently in buildings of the 13th cent. in Syria, and especially at Damascoc. However (what we do not find in Syria, while the buildings of Konia and its neighbourhood show us numerous examples of it), there are various applications of enamelled earthenware and brick to the interior of these buildings, and even to some interior elevations of them, such as that of the inner court of the Sirchehi Madrasâ at Konia. This, with its enamelled facings, seems to be a Persian building transplanted bodily to Konia, although the porch of its exterior façade is entirely of stone, and of a very decided Syrian style.

When the Turkoman tribes arrived in Asia Minor after a long sojourn and long wanderings in Persia, they imported thither the industries necessary to the life of nomad communities: saddlery and the manufacture of cloths, of carpets, and of embroideries. This art of the nomads has influenced in a very high degree not only the decoration of their own buildings, but also the façades of the magnificent imperial buildings of İne-Minareli at Konia, but still more the striking north gate of the great mosque of Divrîgi, the complicated ornamentation of which is distributed over the whole façade in an arbitrary and unsymmetrical way (cf. Saladin, Mâsâsar, fig. 335). Some of these mosques, like that of Ala-ud-din at Konia, or that of Eşrif-Rûm-Jami at Beishehr, or, again, that of Houen at Kaisariya, are arranged on plans with aisles like the ancient mosques of Egypt. These, however, differ from them with their lâwâtin arranged crosswise, e.g. the Sirchehi Madrasâ at Konia, the İbrahim Bey Madrasa at Akerâî, the madrasâs of Sivas and of Erzerum, etc. We find caravanserais also in Persia, but with an entirely different plan. These caravanserais rather recall the plan of the Roman or Byzantine costellum, comprising, as they do, storehouses, dwelling-rooms, and stables. One of the most imposing of these buildings is the Sultan Khan, north-east of Konia, all the parts of which have been carried out with remarkable skill. Its enclosure is strengthened by enormous buttresses, which reveal more decidedly than usual its defensive character, but a magnificent porch which adorns the entry prevents it from presenting a building an appearance. This doorway is still marked by Syrian character; nevertheless we can already trace in it the chief tendencies which, modified and brought to perfection by the architects of the Green Mosque at Brâsî and of the Bayazidîya of Constantinople, evolved those splendid porches of the most ancient Turkish mosques. In the middle of the court a small square building serves as a mosque, representing the Khusra Khane of the Persian mosques. The interior decoration of this caravanserai is reduced to its most simple expression, as being a building erected for public use. But these caravanserais no longer follow the Persian plan at all, while on the other hand the madrasâs or mosques-madrasas still draw their inspiration from it. But in Erzerum, for example, the plan of the mosque is doubled by a long nave, at the end of which is a tomb (Imaret Ulu Jami' or Chifte Minare); cf. Texter, Arménien, Perse, et Mésopotamie, and assumes almost the appearance of a church-nave preceded by the bower hall surrounded with dwelling-rooms. In this case we must trace it in a Byzantine tradition.

As to the mausoleums, or tombs, they share as much in the Persian as in the Armenian tradition (cf. the tombs of Akhlat; see Lynch, Travels in...
It is certain that Armenia also exercised a very strong influence on Seljuk architecture. The chief reasons for this will be found in the present writer's *Manual*. We might, therefore, sum up the character of Seljuk art by describing it as a mixture of Persian, Syrian, and Christian art. They have been completely explained by the geographical position of Konia (Iconium). We may remark, moreover, that as we travel northwards the Seljuk buildings assume an unctuous and heavy style of decoration which seems to be strictly due to the predominance of Armenian art, for the more we approach the south, the more Syrian influence reveals itself by its refinement, distinctness, and exactitude. The harmonious collocation of forms of stone architecture and of enamelled decoration did not at once reach complete perfection. It is easy to understand that brick architecture and stone architecture, which proceed from entirely different starting points, and consequently have quite distinct characters, could be harmonized only after many bungling attempts and trials. One of the first buildings of this nature is the mosque of Sultan III. It is a magnificent structure, having nearly the same dimensions as the mosque of Sultan IV. The greatest ornamentation of the mosque consists, in fact, of a very homogeneous exterior harmony of marble architecture; a great porch opens on a façade, supported by enormous pillars and flanked by two niches; the porch is still the Seljuk porch, but simplified, corrected, and admirably crowned by a kind of half-dome in stalactites; the latter is encircled by very fine arabesques, which are themselves set, as is the entire porch, in a majestic door-frame decorated with sculptured and inscribed decorations in magnificent characters. The interior is completely decorated with faience mosaic of the greatest beauty. The mihrāb, entirely of enamelled ware, is very lofty, and the general impression made by it recalls a little that of a great Seljuk doorway; the walls are decorated with a ceramic panelling surmounted by a magnificent frieze, and the inner wall of the mosque opposite the mihrāb, which is generally bare of decoration, here assumes a singular importance by reason of two great *kalâmets* on the ground floor, and a fine aicove on the first floor, all entirely executed in very beautiful enamelled work. The plan of this mosque at Brusa, although rendered totally different from those which we have already described, is the result of a very skilful use of large cupolas, recalls, although in an imperfect manner, the cruciform plans of the madrasas, because of these two lateral *kalâmets* which flank the chief cupola. This enamelled decoration is still Persian in its workmanship and suggestion, and even the first secular buildings of Constantinople, such as the Chini Kiosk, built at the Seraglio in 1456, in their plan and appearance are still altogether Persian.

At the time of the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks, however, the influence of the Byzantine buildings immediately made itself felt on the productions of the Sultans' architects who built for them their first mosques. Thus the mosque of Sultan Bayazid, commenced in 1497, reproduces on a small scale the plan of St. Sophia at Constantinople, i.e. its main characteristic is a great cupola resting on pendentes, supported in front and behind by two large semi-cupolas of equal radius. But this mosque is already distinguished from the mosque of Brusa by a correction in the plan, and in the general arrangement of the exterior and interior parts, a correction which shows an art already completely master of its methods. This art, now that it has been able to borrow from Byzantine the chief element of structural arrangement, may be regarded as complete, for till the conquest of Byzantium the mosques did not possess that character of boldness, exactness, and definiteness which an architectural work must possess in order to rank among works of art. As long as the plan is undetermined, the work of architecture cannot be considered as complete.

The Turkish mosque consists, then, of a praying place properly called—a large rectangular hall covered by an enormous cupola supported by two large semi-cupolas. The mihrāb of marble or of enamel-work faces the entrance. Coloured panels are set in plaster traceries light the mosque. The Turkish mosques are much the best lit of all, even the older ones of their plain panes are preserved, which is not often. In front of the mosque is a court surrounded by porticoes; in the centre a fountain, the *φάτος* of the Byzantine churches, and commanding the four corners of the court, gigantic minarets like monolithic pillars crowned by a pointed roof. Such is the type of the Ottoman mosque from Bosna-Serai to Cairo.

From this time Ottoman art made giant strides, and the wonderful great mosques, the outlines of which still in our day adorn the capital of Turkey, possibly erected one that may be regarded as the greatest of Ottoman architecture; it is that of Sultan Selim; the Suleimaniya, or mosque of Sulaiman the Magnificent, with its court surrounded with porticoes, its four minarets, its colossal dome supported by four great piers and true columns of porphyry and syenite seized from the Imperial palaces, its coloured panels and its enamel-work; the mosque of Shahzada; that of Sultan Ahmad, the largest of all; and the Jami of Yeni Valideh, one of the finest.

Sulaiman's architect, the celebrated Sinan, is the builder of the finest mosques raised during the reign of the great legislator, but his masterpiece is perhaps not at Constantinople; it is possibly his last work, the Selimiya of Adrianople, which is the most perfect of all, with the extreme simplicity of its plan, the harmony of its proportions, and the perfection of its outline. Unfortunately the decadence of this fine art was rapid; contact with Western art was fatal to it. Already in the mosque Nur-i-Ostiana (1746) we see the introduction of European elements into Ottoman architecture. That intermixture, which perhaps in skilful hands might have been able to bring about a happy modification of Turkish art, was left in the hands of second-rate French or Italian architects. These, by their very work, only brought about the decay of that art which had produced such great masterpieces.

A few words remain to be said on other architectural works. The Ottomans built numerous schools, madrasas, and monasteries, or *takiyas*. These are generally occupied by dervishes of the Mevlevi order, who played such an important part at the commencement of the history of the Ottoman empire, and do so still in a quiet way, since it is their Grand Master who acts as judge of each Sirdar, invests the girds of the Prophet's sabre in the old mosque of Ayyub. Frequently the architecture of these buildings is affected by local traditions, and their case differs from that of the mosques which from the commencement of Sulaiman's reign were all erected on plans derived more or less directly from the types invented by Sinan.

The tombs of sovereigns and of great personages are influenced more or less, as regards their plan, to the use of the cupola. To give a list of them here would be tedious. We shall mention especially those which are near St. Sophia, those of the Sultans Selim, Murad, and Muhammad IV., that of Sultan Ahmad, and, above all, those of Suleimân and Bozalana, near the Sulaimanya. Turkish tombs are often simplified to mere steles, but it
also happens that these stèles, passing through stages of increasing richness of decoration, are evolved into monuments luxuriantly gilded and carved, which are sheltered under kiosks or cupola-crowned pavilions.

From their ancient nomad life the Turks have preserved a love of nature and of gardens; they regard the houses or palaces they erect only as transitory dwellings. Except the palaces of the sultans, it is rare to see in Turkey houses other than those of wood, or with wooden frameworks; such is, at any rate, generally the character of the Turkish house. Even when rich or luxurious, it is only a transient decoration; and this feeling seems to be essentially Muhammadan, for we find it in all the countries of Islam, where men build only for themselves, not for their children. At the zenith of their splendour the Ottomans were great constructors of buildings for public use—fountains, caravanserais, bridges, aqueducts, reservoirs, roads, inārets, or kitchens for the poor, and hospitals and shelters for the sick. The sultans, their ministers, and persons of position vied in strenuous rivalry in erecting during their lifetime such buildings as might perpetuate their memory. The study of Ottoman art has been of a merely superficial character; but it cannot fail to afford great interest from the parallel suggested between the magnificence and wide scope of the conceptions of the Ottoman architects and the splendour and energy which characterize the history of the Ottoman sultans. We might say that the characteristic of Persia is elegance, that of Syria and Egypt wealth, that of Moorish art abundance, and even redundancy, and that of Turkish force—characteristics which are found both in the history and in the art of these nations. This study of the Turkish buildings would be incomplete if unaccompanied by a chronology, which is accordingly appended (including the Seljuk buildings from which, without a doubt, Ottoman art is derived).


555 2160 Palace of the Seljuks at Konia.
671 1216 Tash madrasa at As-sahbil.
614 1217 Shifisht madrasa at Sivas.
677 1224 Mosque of Ali-ad-din at Konia.
677 1229 Caravanserai of Sultan Khan.
640 1243 Serehli madrasa at Konia.
720 1320 Mosque of House at Raisiya.
768 1367 Ulu Jami' at Brusa.
813 1415 Yeshl Jami' at Brasa.

856-81 1452-76 (1) Muhammad II. builds the mosque of Ayvab, the palace of the Old Seraglio, the mosque named Jami' of Constantinople.
902 1470 Mosque of Sultan Bayazid at Constantinople.
919 1518 Built at Constantinople, during the reign of Selim I: the mosques of Shahma, Selimiya, Mihrimah, Sultanah, Rustam Fasha, etc.

5: The Indian School. - Islam, as it spread westward, had transformed everything in its passage. We have seen that in converting Persia it had not been able to effect a thorough conversion to the new doctrine, since the Muhammadans of Persia differ so strongly from those of Turkey, Arabia, and the Maghrib, that the former and the latter form, so to speak, two distinct sects, Shi'ites and Sunnites, each of which considers itself the only orthodox party. Similarly the Muhammadan art of Persia differs more fundamentally from the arts of other Muslim countries than the latter differ among themselves. We shall see that in India Islam had difficulty in taking artistic shape, and in creating devices and forms whose Islamic character might differentiate them from those consecrated to other religions. We shall also see subsequently that in the far East, in China, Muhammadan art tends to disappear entirely under the effect of the strong originality of the Chinese character. In that country there is an 'influence of the mass,' as chemists would say. In India and in China the Muhammadan is only in a minority; he disappears in the crowd, and despite his stubbornness without being able to defend himself against them or to escape them.

The first Muhammadan conquest of India dates from A.D. 712. The first Indo-Muhammadan kingdom was in the 10th cent. A.D., that of Ghazni, which united one day the Panjāb, Multān, Gujrat, and Khásmir up to the Ganges. Delhi became the capital of the Afghan House of Ghor after the destruction of Ghazni (A.D. 1192). It was sacked in 1398 by Timur. Bābar (1494–1530), his great-grandson, founded a stable empire on the ruins of the ancient Muhammadan kingdoms of India. It was then that, under the dynasty of the Great Mughals, we pass to the history of the Musulmān, the character of which, as we shall see, with its long and complicated history, is the last and most notable phenomenon of the development of Persia, and the reaction of the great element against Islam had been so powerful that the art devoted to Muhammadan buildings spin off from all, preserved a marked local character. Bābar and his successors, by admirable general organization, unity of policy, and remarkable administrative ability, bestowed on their Empire a transient homogeneity, which forms its most striking characteristic, and which is reflected even in the buildings that they have left.

Accordingly, previous to the time of the Great Mughals, the Muhammadan buildings of India exhibit, in proportion as we approach the early times of the Hijra, features of increasing importance, borrowed from local traditions and from native art. From these the Muhammadans eliminated all representations of men and animals. Among them we find the building of the Jain art of construction, the piling up of materials, corbelings, methods borrowed from timber-work, ceilings with simple or superimposed panels.

With the Great Mughals, on the contrary, we see the distinctively Persian influence which, commencing under Bābar, continued under Akbar, to become dominant under his successors.

Fergusson, the best historian of the Muhammadan architecture of India, proposes the following classification of the Muhammadan styles of that country:

(1) Style of the Ghaznavids.
(2) Pathan style (Northern India, 1193-1554).
(3) Style of Jaunpur (1394–1476).
(4) Style of Gujrat (1586–1578), derived almost exclusively from the architecture of the Jain buildings.
(5) Style of the buildings of Malwa (from 1401 to the Mughal conquest), allied to that of Delhi.
(6) Style of Bengal (1293–1576).
(7) Style of Kāhilpur (1347–1525).
(8) Style of Bijapur (1489–1660), which exhibits an almost exclusively Persian character.
(9) Style of Golkonda (1512–1752), in which decadence already appears.
(10) Mughal art, which on which nearly all these different schools are based, especially those which have undergone the influence of Persian art. The chief monuments are at Fathpur, Agra, and Delhi.
(11) Buildings in Sind, of a Persian character.
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(12) Buildings of Oudh (1756-1847).
(13) Buildings of Mysore (1760-1799).

In all these different countries, as elsewhere, the Muhammadans have left mosques, madrasas, and tombs. It is naturally in these buildings that we ought to look for Muhammadan characteristics, and yet in the early Indian mosques like that of Ajmir (d. 1235) and the Mosque of Kutab at Delhi, though the facade overlooking the large court is furnished with pointed window-eyes, more or less recalling Western Muhammadan art, the interior of the building possesses an exclusively Hindu character. As Ferguson says, 'the more the mosque was excised, it was a screen in the pointed style before a Jain temple. Historians agree in saying that these two mosques and many others were built of fragments which were taken from pagan temples. Cunningham discovered in the mosque of Kutab at Delhi an inscription stating that twenty-seven pagan temples were despoiled in order to provide materials for them. Thus, to quote Ferguson again (on the plan of the mosque of Ajmir, Indian and Eastern Architecture, 1899, p. 128), 'if we refer to the plan of the mosque at Jaunpur At the entrance and remove in our thought the principal cell and its porch in the centre of the court and the constructions in front of it from the side of the entrance, keeping only the portico which surrounds the court and that at the back with the cupolas, we have a picture of the plan of the mosque provided the back-wall be turned towards Mecca.' Later on the mosque becomes gradually free from Hindu forms, and under the Mughals all its features are Persian, a little softened, however, by the tendency of the Hindu genius to curve the lines. The public buildings, caravanserais, and bungalows, dams, bridges, and reservoirs also reveal the magnificence of the Muhammadan rulers of India. Historians have depicted for us the splendour of their State ceremonies, with a lavish expenditure of details which makes an indelible impression.

We have already spoken of the early mosques of India, that of Ajmir and that of Delhi. We speak of the buildings of Ghazni only by way of connecting the complete, for they have an almost exclusively Persian character. By the side of the mosque of Kutab at Delhi rises the tomb of the Sultan Altamah (1255), the pointed arches of which are still dressed with horizontal joinings, while on the sides of the court a dome is roofed with courses of corbeling. Consequently the local tradition still persists behind this pointed decoration. The doorway of Al-ud-din at the same mosque already contains a much greater number of Western elements, and the arches are dressed with voussoirs. But the small columns of the principal porch and a thousand details exhibit the tenacious life of the local traditions.

After the reign of Al-ud-din the style of building becomes more severe (tomb of Tughlaq at Delhi, and the tomb of Shāh-Shah at Sassesram in Shahabad). At Jaunpur the mosques are great vaulted halls, but the porticoes preserve a Jain appearance. The mosques of Gajrat, while retaining the features of the local style, display a remarkable spaciousness of conception. In Bengal, brick architecture assumes a majestic type, which is extremely striking, as in the mosque of Khedim-ar-RASUL at Gur. The Adina mosque at Malda being a Western plan it is the same at Kalburga, where vaulted construction almost entirely replaces that by corbelings. At Bijapur the Persian style dominates, but possibly the first sultan of Bijapur, who was a son of Sultan Murad II., contributed to this artistic revolution by summoning experienced architects from Turkey and Persia; such is the opinion of Ferguson—a correct one in the present writer's judgment. The masterpiece of the architects of Bijapur is the tomb of Mahmud, with its enormous cupola of 40 metres in interior diameter, and 55 metres in height under the crown.

The buildings of Indore are also in the Persian style, but of brick, with bulbous domes. In the 16th. cent. appear the buildings of the Great Mughals, and it is in them that we may say that Persia played in relation to the Muhammadan art of India, the same part which the Italian Renaissance played in relation to France and Spain. The buildings under the reign of Bābar (d. 1530) are few, but in a chaste and graceful style. Under Akbar architectural style assumes a remarkably force and magnificence, keeping all the while its great originality. Here Persian grace and elegance, destined to preponderate under Akbar's successors in the buildings of Agra and Delhi, mingle with the strength of the Pathan and Jain styles. This is noticeable in the wonderful buildings of the Fatehpur-Sikri palace, thence the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, with its Persian domes. If the tomb of Itmad-ud-daula at Agra, possibly a little Jainsque in appearance, has purely Persian details (arches, windows, ornaments), the Tāj Mahal, erected by Shāh-Jahān at Agra in memory of his wife, the Empress Mumtāz-i-Mahal, is itself purely Persian as a whole and in details (built between 1630 and 1647). Twenty thousand artisans worked on it for seven years. What interests us more than the particularity of its cost in time and money, is to see in what a masterly fashion the architect of this imposing building has been able, while preserving Persian devices and details invented, arranged, and reduced to rules andornamentals, with new drawings and while transferring these forms to marble architecture, to deduce from them effects so novel and so striking that the Tāj Mahal rightly passes for one of the most wonderful buildings in the world. On a large platform measuring 35 metres each way rises the Tāj, the pointed and slightly bulbous dome of which is about 210 ft. in exterior height. This cupola crowns the hall containing the tomb, supported by four accessory halls and five great pointed porches. The whole building is of marble, inlaid with the rarest kinds of hard stones, black or coloured marbles, with parts gilded. In the interior the hall of the tomb, which holds only an imitation of the sarcophagus, is decorated even more luxuriantly than the exterior of the building.

The Tāj forms the centre of a plan in which gardens, terraces rising one above another, porches, pavilions, basin-shaped reservoirs, and marble aqueducts combine into a whole of wonderful beauty and harmony.

The decorations of the palace of the early Mughals were in a style befitting their power and splendour, and the remains of their palace at Delhi still exhibit portions admirable from an architectural point of view. Unfortunately, this wonderful efflorescence of art was only temporary;
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the mausoleums of Golconda already seem heavy, but put together, incoherent. After the proof of the Mughals was shattered in consequence of the death of Aurangzib, several kingdoms rose on its ruins, and this confusion was immediately reflected in the most thorough disorder of architectural details. Decadence had set in beyond hope of cure.

It is not necessary to mention any Chinese mosques here. Nothing in their decorations presents any feature whatever which differs in character from those of the Persian style, and the whole of its influence. We shall conclude this account with a short chronological list of the buildings of India.

10th cent., Buildings of Ghamul.
906 1906 Mausoleum of Alamu at Dault.
729 1929 Mausoleum of Tuglaq at Delhi.
549 1999 Mausoleum of Kaliburg.
769 1998 Mosque of Rabia at Staff at Goa.
829 2000 Great Mosque of Ahmedabad.
929 2099 Tomb of Shir-Shah at Shahabad.
902 2030 Babur's tombs at the celebrated Turkish architect Sinan to India.
904 2094 Tomb of Humayun at Delhi.
906 2096 Akbar makes Agra one of the most beautiful cities of India.
908 1900 Akbar founds Palpur-Shari and its mosque.
1000 1903 Tomb of Mumad at Bijapur.
1040 1903 At the result of a conference, the architect Deginnings of the Taz Mainal at Agra.


H. SALADIN.

ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).—1. Mosques.—The mosque dates from the beginnings of Islam. The simplicity of Muslim worship demanded a simple plan, which was settled as early as the 1st centuries of the Hijra. It consisted of a large square court (q

a ralling of carved wood, the masqara. On the side facing the court it contains the platform (dikka) for the clerics (muballigh) who repeat

the words of the imām. At the back of the prayer-
hall opens the niche (mihrab), indicating the direc-
tion of Mecca (qibla), with the pulpit (minbar) at the

side, from which the high priest (ālim) and the

preacher (ḥāfiz) preside at prayer and divine

service.

This arrangement presents clear analogies to that of primitive churches. The court surrounded by porticoes, themuqarnas and ribat, was built sometimes in a corner and sometimes against a face of the building. These analogies are easily explained. The conquering Muslims, finding a more advanced art among the conquered peoples, took possession of it, and began by transforming a large number of churches into mosques.

We may mention two famous buildings of this kind: the great Mosque at Damascus and the al-Aqṣā Mosque at Jerusalem, which was at the first glance betray their Christian origin.

The style and methods of construction were modified during the course of time, particularly as to choice of materials, gateways, façades, and minarets, profile outline of the interior arches and decoration; but the general plan remained the same until the Ottoman conquest.

The classical and primitive name of the mosque was masjid, 'place of prayer.' The Qur'an does not contain any other expression, and the ancient writers designate by that name every mosque, large or small. But towards the 4th cent. of the Hijra, on account of the progress of culture and of architecture, the mosque divided in a fashion into two.

The great Mosque, in which the congregational prayer (jum'a) took place, was called simply al-jam'a, 'the great Mosque.' Since that time the word masijd has been reserved for the mosques of the second rank, to which the number which is constantly diminishing. No great Mosques continue to be called masjid except those of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (al-Aqṣā). Tradition, following the Qur'an, calls them by this name, and it has thus remained popular.

This evolution of terms traceable in literature is reflected in the inscriptions, which furnish definite, official, and dated evidence. The great Mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun, built in Cairo in 975 (1092), still bears the name of masjid in its dedicatory inscription. The name of the Mosque of the Nilometer, built in Cairo in 1092 (1092), is called jam'i in its three foundation inscriptions.

2. Madrasa.—When diffusing the Shi'i heresy in Egypt and Syria, the Fatimid khilafah did not modify the general mosque-plan; we meet with it again especially in those which they built in Cairo. But soon after their time the movement of religious ideas and the political situation created by the Mongol invasions, and the remembrance of the khilafate of Baghdad called forth in the Middle

East an orthodox or Sunnite reaction, directed specially against Alid or Shi'ite sects and dynasties. This religious (Aš'arite) and political (Sunnite) reaction caused a series of reforms in all domains
of civilization. One of the most important was the extension of the madrasa. Originating in Khorasan about the beginning of the 4th cent. A.H., the madrasa was at first simply a private school of religious sciences, i.e. of tradition, exegesis, and law, according to the Sunnite rites. But in the Il-khanian and A.H. the Seljuk sultans of Bagdad, having become powerful vassals of the Abbasid khalifate, and the official protectors of Sunnism and Shi'ism, transformed the madrasa into a State institution, intended to produce a select body of officials for all branches of administra- tion. This was carried out at first by Saladin, the founder of the first Egyptian fikak, a central State, defended by a regular army, and governed, from high to low, by a hierarchy of officials. The madrasa became the powerful centre of religious and political propa- ganda, the school of official Sunnism, and almost a government institution. It was in this form that it was introduced into Syria in the 6th cent. A.H. by the Sunnite At'abeks, particularly Nur-ad-din; then into Egypt by Saladin.

If the madrasa differs from the mosque in its character and purpose, its origin and history, it is also distinguished from it by its plan. When Saladin introduced it into Egypt, this plan was already settled: a small square or rectangle (qubba or qâ'a), enclosed by four high walls, with four halls (liwâ'is) in the form of a Greek cross, opening on to the court by a high arch (sugq), and, in the outer corners of the building, four pavilions for the use of the civil establishment. This symmetrical plan with four branches was admirably suited for the quadruple madrasa, i.e. the school devoted to the four chief Sunnite sects (Hanafite, Shâfi'ite, Malikite, and Hanbalite). Each sect was installed in one of the four liwâ'is, as is testified by the inscriptions in the large madrasa of the Sultan Hasan, built in Cairo in 764 (1363). This plan seems to have originated in Syria. It is found in a curious Syrian monument, of a far earlier date than the Syro-Egyptian madrasas, the Qair of 'Amman. Like the plan of the mosque, it combines elements of various origin: the liwâ'is are arched in the Persian style (Sasanian palaces), but their arrangement in a cross around a central court recalls the symmetrical plan with two axes of certain Byzantine and Syrian churches, which the Qurân resembles in many other architectural details.

Like the mosque, the madrasa became in time modified in its style and methods of construc- tion. At the end of the 12th cent., its liwâ'is were covered with barrel-vaults (qâ'aq or specific) of brick (liyun), following the Persian and Byzantine methods (without centring). The last large vaulted madrasa is that of the Sultan Barqûq, built in 788 (1386). Then the vaults were replaced by a flat wooden (hashab) roof (nagq) and ceilings whose rich polychrome decoration merely disguises a serious decadence in the art of building. The only vault that remained was that of the front arch of the four liwâ'is opening on the court, built with arch-stones. In spite of these modifications, the plan and general arrangement of the madrasa subsisted until the Ottoman conquest.

The Sunnite reaction gave rise to some institutions analogous to the madrasa, particularly the dâr al-hadith, the 'school of tradition' (Sunnite). But these establishments, not having the same political standing, remained in the background and created no type of architecture; or rather, being simply varieties of the madrasa, they adopted its general plan.

Under the Ayyûbids, who may have feared a troublesome return of the Shi'ite doctrines, the madrasa retained its character as a State institution. Its function was to be the Fâtimid school, the dâr al-tâm, a kind of academy with eclectic tendencies, where, along with Shi'ite doctrines, were taught the sciences inherited from Persia and ancient Greece. But Sunnism did not encounter the Shi'ite sects only. The Crusades had stirred up another opponent, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Saladin and his successors, impeded by feudal administra- tion and political decentralization, had weakened but not destroyed these foes before Baibars. On the ruins of Ayyûbīud feudalism, he founded the kingdom of the Mamlûks, a central State, defended by a regular army, and governed, from high to low, by a hierarchy of officials. The madrasa became the great religious and political centre of the Mamlûk state, which at once the Latin kingdom and the fortresses of the Assassins, the last bulwark of Shi'ite heresy in Syria. He afterwards established his prestige in the eyes of the Muslim masses by welcoming to Cairo the wreck of the khalifate of Bagdad, which had been overturned by Hâljâgû (1260). In re-estabhlishing, for his own benefit, the duality of the spiritual and temporal powers, he re-tied the thread broken by the Mongol invasion, and completed the work begun by the great Sunnites of the preceding century, with opening the way for every original character and assume that of the mosque. All the large madrasas were then fitted up for the Friday service. The liwân gibrît, which was larger than the other three, served as prayer- hall and sheltered the pulpit and the mihrâb. Last of all the minaret came to give to the madrasa the complete appearance of a mosque. But it had acquired such prestige that, instead of merging in the mosque, it threatened rather to supplant it.

While the number of the great Mosques of classical plan continued to diminish, that of the madrasas of cruciform plan increased under the Ottoman conquest.

This evolution is reflected in linguistic usage also. The madrasa set apart for religious worship took the name of a mosque (jâmi'); then they were called simply jâmi' like the great Mosques of Maqrizi, who drew up his Topography of Cairo in the first quarter of the 15th cent. A.D., gives this name to the majority of the large madrasas of the Mamlûks. Finally, epigraphy officially established this use from the year 930 (1524), when the word madrasa fell into the background as the old word masjid had done. At the present day in Egypt it is applied exclusively to a civil and lay school; every great religious building is a jâmi'. Thus the original mosque, the masjid, became subdivided into great Mosque (jâmi') and small mosque (masjid). The madrasa, in its turn, subdivided into jâmi' and lay school. These two classes of jâmi' became blended in their purpose but not in their plan. They remained distinct until the Ottoman conquest, which caused the madrasa-plan to disappear. In Egypt and Syria the Ottomans continued to build jâmi's on the plan of the great Mosques, but modified under the influence of the Turkish school, whose mosques are built on the St. Sophia plan (the dome typie).

3. Monasteries.—The Sunnite reaction, which brought the madrasa from Persia to Egypt, mingled during its course with tributaries of ancient origin, quite foreign to primitive Islam. One of the most important was Sûfism, i.e. Neo-Platonism with mystic tendencies of Persian origin. The public building of Sufism is the Sâfî monastery, the hânanâq, a Persian word which penetrated with the building first into Syria and then into Egypt, through Saladin, the founder of the first Egyptian hânanânq. About that time it became.
confused with the ribāṭ, an Arabic word denoting an ancient military settlement, which had also become, by a profound change of the original idea, a Sufi monastery.

The ribāṭ and the bānaqāḥ flourished under the Ayyūbids, and then under the Mamluks, but without carrying any real type of architecture. These monasteries sometimes assume the plan of the great Mosque (monastery of the Emir Shahīḥū in Cairo, 756 [1355]), and sometimes that of the madrasa (monastery of the Sultan Baibars II. in Cairo, 709 [1310]). Like the architectural types, they possessed all the visible appliances for worship: minaret, prayer-hall, pulpit, and mīhrāb. But their dependencies, fitted up for cenotetic life, and arranged in long lines of cells, give a peculiar appearance to their plan. Several curious traces of them still survive, especially in Cairo, where the monastery of the Sultan Ināl (588 [1454]) affords the most complete specimen.

At the Ottoman conquest the ribāṭ and the bānaqāḥ gave way to the monasteries of Turkish dervishes, the plan of which also came under the influence of the Constantinople school (porticoes with domes). We may mention, lastly, the ẓāwīya, a word which means, in the Muslim World, a cell or hermitage, and then a real monastery, but which in Egypt is applied only to a very small mosque, an oratory, or a chapel.

4. Fountains and Schools.—Connected with these there are three great types—the mosque, the madrasa, and the monastery—two secondary types, the sabil and the kuttāb. Sabil means 'road'; fi sabil allāh, 'in the way of Allah,' 'for the sake of God,' is said of every pious work, of the Holy War as well as of almsgiving, and especially of the foundation use of incantations. In the East water is a treasure; according to a saying attributed to Muhammad, to give a drink of water is one of the most meritorious charities. Every free foundation is a sabil, but the sabil par excellence is the public fountain.

In Syro-Egyptian architecture, the sabil is rarely isolated. It is placed at the corner of a mosque, a madrasa, or a monastery, on the ground-floor, and can be recognized by its two large square windows at right angles, closed with beautiful built and decorated gratings. Above the sabil is situated the primary school (kuttāb or maktāb), which is rendered conspicuous at a distance by its elegant loggia, open on both sides, in rows of arches on small pillars. The latter, to whose date most of these sabils go back, were almost all destroyed until the Ottoman invasion. At that time the sabil became separated, first along with the kuttāb, and then quite alone. Its style has degenerated down to our time, when the fountain displays all the false taste of the modern Turkish school.

5. Mausoleums.—For the obscure dead a grave is sufficient. The illustrious dead, not content with a tomb, require a mausoleum. As far back as it is possible to go, the Syro-Egyptian mausoleum preserves its own characteristic form: a cubical hall, square in plan, covered with a dome. Is this type a distant recollection of the ancient Egyptian mastaba? It seems to be more directly connected with a Christian type, the kalybe (kolybe), some traces of which still survive in Syria. The problem of building the dome on a square plan, outlined in these old Syrian kalybes, receives in Muslim architecture the most varied solutions, which reflect the successive efforts and inventions of the Persians, Romans, and Byzantines. The transition between the square and the circle is built of bricks dressed or arranged in corbels, of beams covered with stucco, of hanging arches in semi-ellipses, or of beautiful stone pendants like stalactites. The materials, proportions, outline of the square, of the drum, and of the dome, the decoration—all, in a word, that constitutes the style—changed from age to age, but the general plan remained the same until the Ottoman conquest.

The classical name of the mausoleum is turba. But as the dome is the most conspicuous feature, the name of the latter (gubbah) was extended to the whole building. In literature and the Syro-Egyptian inscriptions these two words are indifferently applied to the mausoleum as a whole, i.e. the architectural ensemble which itself is called qabr or madfān or marqūd or darbū, the last an Arabic word of Aramaic origin.

The mausoleum is often built by itself, isolated in a cemetery. Sometimes there are several together in a single enclosure (kastā), but not forming an organic whole. Frequently the mausoleum of a great person is placed in the corner of a religious building which he has founded. Like the great Italian condottieri of the Renaissance, the Sultans and Emirs formed slaves who died well to fortune, and who were always uncertain of the future, took care to provide for their own tombs beforehand.

This association creates three chief combined types: the mosque-mausoleum, the madrasa-mausoleum, and the monastery-mausoleum. We may mention in Cairo: the mosque of the Sultan Shāhī ḥū (823 [1420]), the madrasa of the Sultan Qāyūt-Bāy (879 [1474]), and the monastery of the Sultan Qareṣ (913 [1411]), popularly called the tomb of Barqūq.

We find also more complicated types, e.g. the mosque-madrasa-mausoleum. We may cite those of the Sultans Barqūq (788 [1386]) and Ināl (758 [1454]). Now, in these mausoleums, the sabil-kuttab motif, and unite one or several minarets to one or several domes. They do not have special names. The inscriptions of these huge buildings, agreeing with the literary texts, refer to them sometimes under one name and sometimes under another, according to the part of the whole that they wish to emphasize.

Like all the types of Syro-Egyptian architecture, the turba disappeared after the Ottoman conquest. The name continued in use, but it refers to tombs of any kind. Since the 16th cent. the great cities in Egypt and Syria have not had any mausoleums worthy of their past.

6. Holy places and pilgrimages.—In spite of the express intention of its founder, İslām at an early date adopted the worship of saints, and the belief in miracles accomplished by their intercession. This cult was too deeply rooted in the Oriental religions for Muhammad to make it disappear. In Syria, especially, the old pagan cults connected with local gods, which had resisted Christianity, lay hidden under İslām, which had to tolerate while apparently assimilating them. The tenacity of these local traditions explains the manifold origin of Muslim saints. Some of them were pagans, and their architecture took the form of ideas, beliefs, or mere words into Muslim saints; others are the great personages in the Qur'ān, Muhammad, Jesus, and the Jewish prophets; others again are heroes of history, conquerors, or famous sovereigns; and others, ascetics, monks, or scholars, celebrated for their learning and canonized by the common people with their irresistible inclination towards the supernatural. All these saints have their sanctuaries (mashḥad). The belief in miracles wrought by their intercession makes these sanctuaries places of pilgrimage (maṣdar).

The mashḥad has not created any special type of architecture. As it is almost invariably erected at the grave of the saint, it takes the plan of the
The architecture of several of these religious buildings is of great interest, especially their domes, which were often used as a symbol of the heavens. The dome was a common feature in the architecture of the Persian Empire, and it is likely that the Persians derived their techniques from the earlier Etruscan and Greek traditions.

From the architectural point of view it is worth noting that the Persians had developed a form of the dome that was quite different from the earlier domes of the Greeks and Romans. The Persian dome was not simply a half-circle, but was made up of a series of smaller domes, each of which was supported by a column. This allowed for a greater degree of flexibility in the design of the building, and it also allowed for a more efficient use of space.

The Persian architects also used a great deal of ornamentation in their buildings, and this can be seen in the use of大量的 relief sculptures and intricate carvings. They were also skilled in the use of glass and other materials, and they used these materials to create stunning visual effects.

In conclusion, the architecture of the Persians is a fascinating topic that has been the subject of much study and debate. While the results of these studies are not always clear, it is clear that the Persians were skilled architects who were able to create buildings that were both functional and beautiful. Their influence can still be seen today, and it is clear that their contributions to the field of architecture were significant.
by the Pahlavi writers of a later date to have existed in those early times (cf. Pahlavi and Sanskrit., ii. 30, 37, 40; Zat-saram, vii. 22, xi. 8-10; Bündahish, xii. 18, 34, xvii. 7, etc.), so that it is possible that the temple at Ecbatana, as described by Polybius, may have preserved some architectural features historically prior to the Achaemenian period. These customs enjoined by their religion, moreover, the early Iranians, whether Medians or Bactrians, made use of temporary structures, called dakhmajas (wh. see) in the Avesta (Vend. i. 9, xii. 54, vi. 44-51, etc.), on which to expose the dead, just as their modern representatives, the Parsis (wh. see) and Gabars (wh. see) still follow the custom in their 'Towers of Silence'; but what kind of these recepts may have been in ancient times is only a matter of inference.

2. Achaemenian period (B.C. 550-330).—With the victory of Cyrus of Persia over the Median king Astyages, the supremacy of N. Iran passed to S. Iran, and a new dominion, the sovereignty of the Achæmenians, or the combined rule of the Medes and Persians, came into being. The architectural remains, both religious and civil, which belong to this period are abundant, and they show the art of the builder in early Persia at its zenith. Terraced platforms of massive masonry and palace-gardens with tall fluted columns, crowned by bull-headed capitals, were typical of the age.

Ecbatana, Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa were the capitals of the Medo-Persian empire, and the chief seats, therefore, of architectural relics. The site of Ecbatana is now occupied by Hamadan; and there, or in its vicinity, are to be found portions of broken columns, and a few carved stones, remnants of walls that belonged to ruined structures, and may date back to the Achaemenian period. But no systematic excavations have been carried on to determine their age, or tell whether extensive finds of a similar character may yet be made. If we leave Ecbatana out of account, the earliest remains of Achaemenian architecture are to be seen at Pasargadae, the capital of Cyrus the Great, in the plain of the modern Murghab, between Isfahan and Shiraz. As we approach it from the north, we first pass the remains of a ruined platform on the crest of a range of low hills on the left. It was apparently designed to support an audience-hall of Cyrus, but was never completed. Spread over the surface of the plain itself traces of the royal city are to be seen. Nearest to the ridge is a single shattered wall of a monumental building, which have been of from 10 to 12 feet high by 10 ft. square, and which may have served as a shrine for the sacred fire, although some authorities (on less good grounds, it seems) believe that it was a princely tomb. A second group of ruins lies not far distant to the south, and comprises a high round column (not fluted), some angle-piers of an edifice that once surrounded a royal court, and a stone shaft consisting of three blocks, on the uppermost of which is inscribed in cuneiform characters, 'To Cyrus, the Achaemenian.' A huge slab stands somewhat to the east of this group, and on its face is carved in low relief a winged representation of the Great King, above whose head was similarly inscribed the device of Cyrus just quoted, although the part of the stone containing it has been sawn off and lost within the last century. Still another collection of ruins lies somewhat to the south-east, and shows vestiges of pillars and stone door-sills grouped around a paved court that belonged to some palace or temple.

Most important of all the ruins is the tomb of Cyrus, which lies about a mile beyond in a south-westerly direction. It is known to be his mausoleum from descriptions in the classics. The structure resembles a small house, with a slightly pointed roof, and is made of a handsome white sandstone resembling marble. It stands high upon a sub-basement, built of the same material and consisting of a large foundation plinth, nearly 50 ft. long, 40 ft. wide, and 2 ft. high, surmounted by a series of six stone layers that form a pyramidal series of high steps approaching the mausoleum from every side. The mammoth structure, which make up the tomb itself were originally fastened together by iron clamps, but without the use of mortar; and so we distinctly see that the structure still forms a compact whole, even though falling more and more into ruin. The sepulchre, measured from the outside, is about 20 ft. long, by 17 broad, and 18 high. A very low door in the western side serves as an entrance. The mortuary chamber measures 10½ ft. long, by 7½ ft. wide, and 8 ft. high (the exact measurements in metres may be found in Jackson, Persia, p. 288). It is needless to add that the chamber is now empty. From an architectural style the tomb of Cyrus is thought to show Lycian influence, since somewhat similar burial edifices have been found in Asia Minor, the land first conquered by Cyrus after Media; but it may also be possible that the idea of such a vaulted sepulchre was suggested by some of the Avestan kats, 'house,' a temporary structure for the body before it was carried to the dakhma.

Around the tomb, moreover, there once stood a decorative colonnade, as is clear from the fragments of columns still upstanding. About 350 yards beyond it are the vestiges of a platform on which was once erected a habitation for the Magian priests who were custodians of the tomb, as we know from Arrian (Anabasis, vi. 29. 7).

A single other important site of Achaemenian architecture, religious in its character, is found at some distance to the N.W. in the same plain; it is in the form of the bases of two altars, used by the Magi in celebrating their sacrificial rites, as they did, in the open air.

Illustrations and descriptions of all the architectural monuments in the Murghab Plain are to be found in the works of Teixier, Piandrin and Grote, Ker Porter, Stolze and Andrews, Dieulafoy, Perrot and Chippies, Curzon, and Jackson; and they convey a good idea of the architecture of Cyrus's capital.

Far grander than the ruins of Pasargadae are those of Persepolis, the capital of Darius, and Xerxes, and their successors. These tokens of a vanished empire are spread over a considerable area in the Plain of Murghab, some forty miles to the south of Cyrus's city. The most important of these structures are the towers of the lost city of Stakhra, indicated by some broken columns, remains of portals, and scattered fragments of buildings blocks at the site now called Stakhr or Isakhr. The southernmost point of this city is now marked by a small granite stagion, some 40 ft. square and 7 ft. high, which the natives call Takh-ti Ta'us, 'Peacock Throne,' or Takh-ti Rustam, 'Throne of (the hero) Rustam.' A mile or so farther south rises the Platform of Persepolis itself, with its inner staircases and palace-crowned terraces, which the Persians call Takh-ti Jamshid, 'Throne of Jamshid,' after the legendary king of that name, or Chuhul Mindar, 'Forty Pillars,' from the columns that remain standing. The great staircase leading up to the palace may date back to legendary times (cf. possibly Bündahish, xxix. 14). We know from an inscription on the southern wall that it owed its origin as a stronghold to Darius I., apparently about B.C. 516-513, and it is generally believed that Greek designers were employed in its construction (see Justi, 'Gesicht. Iran' in Geiger and Kuhn's Grundriss, li. 448-449). Even when considered apart from the edifices that stood upon it, the platform is a remarkable piece of constructive
It measures over 1500 ft. from north to south, varying from 20 to 50 ft. in height, according to the elevation of the three main terraces, and it has an expanse running back eastward for nearly 1000 ft. until it merges into a low range of hills, called Kuh-i Rahmat, 'Mountain of Mercy,' in spurs of which have been partly used away to furnish material for its construction. By the aid of inscriptions, and judging from the position of the different ruins, the columns that remain standing, and the arrangement of the bases of those that have fallen, as well as from the outlines of the walls, porticoes, pilasters, and sculptured pediments, we are able to identify each of the buildings that once occupied this site. Opposite the Grand Staircase of approach at the northern end, is the Porch of Xerxes; 50 yards to the south stand the relics of the Audience Hall of Xerxes; still farther southward, and near a mound, are the better preserved remains of the Palace of Darius; while a short distance southward again, across a ruined courtyard, are some traces of a Palace of Artaxerxes II. Ochus, identified by a stone inscription last year. Directly behind this is the Palace of Xerxes himself, with a minor edifice still farther back, while at some distance northward is the great Hall of a Hundred Columns, erected by Darius, which forms the south-east corner, standing in stone the king seated on his throne of state. The destruction of these gorgeous buildings is attributed to the drunken act of Alexander the Great, when he burst the citadel after his victory over the last Darius; but though the hand of the conqueror destroyed the beauty of the edifices and left them a ruin for all time, it could not obliterate those traces that still in after ages bear witness to their ancient glory.

Some further remains of royal architecture are to be seen at Persepolis and in its vicinity; they are the rock-hewn tombs of the Achaemenian kings. Three of these sepulchres are cut in the hills, behind the great platform already described. They are believed to be the mortuary chambers of Artaxerxes II. Mennmon (B.C. 494-465), Artaxerxes II. Ochus (B.C. 358-337), and of Darius III. Codomannus (B.C. 336-330), if we are justified in regarding the unfinished grave as that of the last of the Achaemenians. More imposing in size and older in point of time are the four tombs carved in the rocky front of the necropolis cliff of Naksh-i Rustam, on the other side of the plain, about 6 miles north-west of the platform. These sepulchres, which were the model for the three later ones, are each hewn in the shape of an immense Greek cross, and sunk deep in the face of the rock. They are elaborately carved in architectural style to represent a façade decorated with bull-capped pillars, two on either side of the doorway, and surmounted in each case by a richly sculptured relief of the king, his subjects, and Ormazd. An inscription shows that one of these tombs was the sepulchre of Darius the Great; the other vaults, it is believed, belonged to Xerxes, Artaxerxes I., and Darius II. A few yards distant from the tomb last named is there a square stone edifice which closely resembles the rectangular structure at Pasargade, already mentioned, but well preserved, and, like the latter, probably a fire-shrine rather than a tomb. Near a base of the necropolis hill, but hidden from the shrine by the spur of the cliff, are the remains of two altars, hewn out of the living rock and serving as fine examples of the stonecutter's work for religious purposes in Achaemenian times. To the same age may likewise belong some rude cuttings in the rocks on the crest of the cliff, apparently designed as repositories for exposing the bodies of the dead in accordance with the ancient Zoroastrian custom, but the date is not certain. To a later age, however, we must assign the seven sculptures cut in the rock beneath the tombs themselves, since their subjects prove them to be of Sassanian origin. The most beautiful of these Sassanian tombs is to be supplemented by several other sepulchres, somewhat resembling those of Naksh-i Rustam, but probably dating from an earlier period than they or the Persepolitan tombs, and without inscriptions or ornamentation, excepting one which has a crude relief. They are approached by a terrace from Sabah, between Hamadan and Kermanshah, at Holvan in Western Persia, and Takirikha in Azerbaijan, as well as elsewhere (see de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse, iv. 292-302, and Justi, op. cit. ii. 450, 460).

The fourth and last of the great Achaemenian capitals was Susa, whose remains were first made known by Loftus in 1832, and were excavated with very important results by Dieulafoy in 1884, 1885, 1886, followed by de Morgan in 1897, 1898, 1899. The ruins are now at their height in the occupation of the residence of the Achaemenian kings and the old seat of government of Elam. The ruins extend over several tells, or hilly spots, between the river Chaur, or Jaur, and the Kerkhah, in the vicinity of the modern city. Achaemenian remains and groups of remains are distinguishable, according to the results of the explorations that have been mentioned: They are, first, the tell, called the Citadell; second, the Royal City, where stood the palaces of the successors of Darius; third, the traces of the city itself; and, fourth, the vestiges of the inhabited town along the river's edge. If we may judge from the elaborate finds made by Dieulafoy, the Citadel and the Royal City must have made an imposing spectacle in the days of their pristine glory (see the plates in Dieulafoy, L'Acropole de Susa); and the same investigator's researches have revealed, among other ruins, the remains of the apadana, or throne-room, of Artaxerxes II. Mennmon, which was erected on the earlier occupied by a palace of Darius I., which had never been destroyed by fire. It was here that the archaeological expedition, led by Dieulafoy and his wife, discovered the frieze of archers and a lion-frieze, together with the remains of an enameled staircase and various other objects that enticed the keenest student of Persian architecture and art. In point of style the Susian remains are quite like those of Persepolis, even as regards the character of the so-called 'Persepolitan column,' and, like the latter, they are thought to show traces of Greek influence combined with Assyro-Babylonian elements and other features already mentioned, although they are so thoroughly Persianized as to possess an individuality of their own.

The ruins of the palace edifice in Persia may be referred to here as belonging possibly to the latter part of the Achaemenian period; it is the remains of the great temple of Anaitis (see ANAHITA) at Kangavar, between Hamadan and Kermanshah. A portion of the N.W. wall of the stylobate on which the temple stood is still intact, and is crowned with the remains of a colonnade of pillars, while on the south-eastern side of the temple precinct there is a disordered mass of large granite blocks and columns, whose size conveys some idea of the magnificence of the sanctuary which is now a mass of ruins. Owing to the presence of certain characteristics in the columns, which seem to show later Greek or Syro-Roman affinities, Dieulafoy and some others propose to assign this temple to the Parthian period; but, to the present writer, the evidence seems
stronger in favour of attributing its erection to Artaxerxes Mnemon or some other of the later Achaemenians. For the sake of completeness it should be added that Dieulafoy, on the contrary, assigns to the Achaemenian period some of the remains of Firuzabad and Sarvestan in S.W. Persia; but other authorities, like Perrot and Chipiez, de Morgen, and Gayet, are better justified in assigning them to the Sassanian epoch.

3. Seljuk and Parthian periods (B.C. 330- A.D. 969). - The interregnum of seventy years occupied by the wars of Alexander's direct successors and the Seljuk rule exercised no appreciable effect on Persian architecture, unless it was to extend the sphere of possibility for Greek influence. The Parthians were Philhellenes, as is shown by their employing the Greek language and Greek devices on their coins; but they were not great architects, as is clear from the Parthian ruins—practically the only ones surviving—at Hatra and at Wara, although these are built with crude solidity, if not with beauty of design. Among the latter is Hastra, the modern al-Lādar, in Mesopotamia, which was either a palace or a temple, or possibly both combined in a single precinct, for which reason it is commonly spoken of as a palace-temple. The ruins of the browning structure of the pre-Khosrow 3rd or even of the 5th century and the bases on the left are the bases of the tower-tombs of Jenghiz Khan's grandson Hulagüt (d. 1265) and his queen at Maragha, the royal seat of the period.

4. Sassanian period (A.D. 224-661). - The Sassanian monarchs, unlike their Parthian forerunners, were great builders, and distant architectural rivals of the Achaemenians. An enumeration of the places where monuments that date from their reign are found would take in a large part of Persia, as is clear from such a list as that given by Justi (op. cit. ii. 540-541). These remains show advances in constructive art over the Parthian period, more especially in the development of the dome, an outgrowth of the arched vault, and in the elaboration of the façade of such a palace as that at Ctesiphon, where high recessed arches and galleried panels on either side, anticipate the sweeping curve of the grand portal and the panelled front which is typical of the mosque and madrasa architecture in Muhammadan times. The standard of royal magnificence under the Sasanians is shown in the ruins of Qasr-i Shirin, the castle built by Khusru II. Parviz (A.D. 600), for his favourite, on the road between Baghdad and Kermanshah, and is evident in the sculptured grotto at Taq-i Bostān, near the latter city. To about the second half of the period belong the ruins at Mashtit and at Ammun (the 'Rabbah of the children of Ammon' of Dt 30), as well as the palace called Aivan-i Khusru, not far from Susa. The religious architectural treatment of the Sasanian period is represented by the construction of numerous fire-temples, like the atash-Kudah, near Ispahan, and that at Abargah or at Jaur, in the district southeast of Shiraz; or, again, by a portion of the crumbling sanctuary of brick at Taq-i Sulaimān, near Lake Urmia. The style of construction of a Sasanian caravanserai may be judged by the stone ruins, said to be the work of Khusru I, 'Anūshirvān the Just' (A.D. 591-629), at Aqāhān, between Teherān and Meshed. The Sasanian architecture seems to have been influenced by several bridges and dams, as at Dizful and Shuster, or the stone aqueducts, descriptions of which may be seen in the standard works mentioned at the end of this article.

5. Muhammadan period (from A.D. 661). - As already stated, the history of the Muhammadan period of Persian architecture forms a special branch of Muslim art, and the best examples of its development are found in the mosques, the religious edifices which supplanted the fire-temples of Persia adopted Islam as its national faith, and which are characterized by towering domes (sometimes bulbous in shape), high façades with immense recessed arches, graceful minarets that give balance to an unusual number, and exteriors decorated with glazed tiles and scroll-like arabesques. The architectural remains of the first period of the Khalifate, the Umayyads and Abbásids (A.D. 661-847), have mostly been destroyed by the long series of wars that have devastated Persia from time to time; but the foundation of the mosque of Harūn al-Rashid at Kāzvin (A.D. 786) belongs to that epoch, and a mosque at Shiraz, built in the latter part of the 9th cent. by the Safarid Amr ibn Lāth, is numbered among the older remains (M'Tom at Al-Tayfīquine en Perse, ii. 137 and plate lix.), there is a ruin of a Parthian palace or temple at Velajjord, near Kangavar, and mention has already been made of the view which would associate the ruined temple at Kangavar with the Parthian era. The scarcity of Parthian remains is probably to be accounted for, as in other cases, by the fact that brick was more largely used than stone in the construction of their buildings. As to originality in architectural art, the Persians are credited with the development of the arch- and tunnel-shaped roof, in contrast to the flat ceiling and square lintel of the Achaemenian period.
Mongols in north-western Persia; while the mausoleum of Uljaitu Khodabandah (d. 1316) is of the later Mongol period. The best illustration of the architecture which flourished during the rule of the Tartars, after Timur's invasion, is the beautiful Masjid-i Kabud, or 'Blue Mosque,' erected by Shah Jahan, or Shahzad. Muhammadan architecture in Persia reached its height in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great (1585-1629), and is well illustrated by the Masjid-i Shah, or 'Royal Mosque,' erected in 1612 at Isfahan, and by the other imperial edifices of the same period. The arch of the mausoleum of Shah Abbas was not confined to his capital, however, or to places and places of worship, but was exercised in the construction of caravanserais, bridges, and other useful structures in many parts of Persia, so that his name is widely known throughout the land as the patron of the builder's art.

The cities which best show the different styles of Muhammadan architecture are those which had the honour at one time or another to be the royal capital, Isfahan, Tabriz, Kerman, and Shiraz; but hardly of lesser fame are Kurn, Kashan, Meshed, Bāstān, and Ardabil. Modern architectural tendencies are best observed in the present capital, Tehran, where it is possible to see European art combined with the most conservative features of the past. When viewed as a whole, it may be said that Persia's contribution to the history of architecture, if not distinctly original, is, nevertheless, considerable, and deserves the attention of the student of religious art as well as the architectural specialist.

LITERATURE.—For a general description consult Perrot-Chipiez, Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité, v. Paris, 1890; Gayet, L'Art persan, Paris, 1886; Geiger, Ostiran. Sultun im Alte-
thum, Erlangen, 1885, pp. 216-222; Saladin, Manuel d'art musulman, l. ch. iv. (École Prusse), Paris, 1907. For special discussions, illustrative drawings, and photographic reproductions, see Flandin-Coste, Voyage en Perse, 8 vols., Paris, 1843-54; Texier, Description de l'Egypte, la Perse, et le Méopotame, 2 vols., Paris, 1842-46; Duhault, L'Art antique de la Perse, 4 vols., Paris, 1884-90, and L'Acropole de Salamine, la Perse, 4 vols., Paris, 1896-1902; Mme. Jane Duhault d'Asso: J'art des peuples de l'Orient, 1898-99, Paris, 1898; de Morgan, Mission scientifique en Perse, v., Paris, 1896; Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies of the ancient East, London, 1893; J. S. Maria, Monuments de Perse, vols. I and II, London, 1899; Rawlinson, The Story of Persepolis, part II, London, 1907; S. F. and T. A. J. This is an account of the fabulous temple, 'the temple, at Amlar near Tartas. This erection is built in a court, 52 yds. by 60, hewn in the rock and levelled, the 8. wall being about 10 ft. high. If there ever was any wall on the N. or front side, as is probable, it has now disappeared, and is replaced by a hedge. Remains of columns near the corners of the court suggest that the walls were flanked by cloisters. The 'temple' is in reality a cella, and stands on a square mass of rock high and being composed of three enormous blocks of stone covered with a monolithic roof. The blocks having been superimposed, the structure was apparently carved out in the form it now presents. The roof opening is twinned with the most conservative features of the past. When viewed as a whole, it may be said that Persia's contribution to the history of architecture, if not distinctly original, is, nevertheless, considerable, and deserves the attention of the student of religious art as well as the architectural specialist.

ARCHITECTURE (Phoenician).—Worshipers of the powers of nature, it is not surprising that the Phoenicians, in the earlier stages of their national existence, should have discarded the work of the architect and builder, and taken to worshiping in the 'high places' so often referred to in the Old Testament. That these were natural eminences, and not artificial erections, like those of the Babylonians and Assyrians, is quite clear from the statements concerning them. They were within easy access from the cities, and thither the people resorted when assembling for worship. How common they were may be gathered from the fact that they were the customary places for worship among the Israelites until the 7th century B.C. The oracle on Carmel, which, according to Thucydus and Strabo, was the seat of an oracle in the Phoenician temple, is seemingly a sacred place of this kind. The god consulted had neither statue nor temple, but only an altar which was much revered. This altar was probably of unhewn stones, like the one dedicated to Jehovah upon that same mount Carmel which Elijah re-built and consecrated anew on the day when he confounded the prophets of Baal. In all probability the Phoenicians would have continued worshipping in the same way, without temple and image, had it not been for foreign influence. The close relations, however, which the Phoenicians had with Egypt, brought them under the influence of that nation, with its splendid temples and elaborate ritual, and the result was that they sought to imitate them, though they did so only to a certain extent, as far as our present knowledge goes. The most perfect type of the small imitations of Egyptian temples is that now called al-Ma'bed, 'the temple,' at Amrit near Tartas. This erection is built in a court, 52 yds. by 60, hewn in the rock and levelled, the S. wall being about 10 ft. high. If there ever was any wall on the N. or front side, as is probable, it has now disappeared, and is replaced by a hedge. Remains of columns near the corners of the court suggest that the walls were flanked by cloisters. The 'temple' is in reality a cella, and stands on a square mass of rock high and being composed of three enormous blocks of stone covered with a monolithic roof. The blocks having been superimposed, the structure was apparently carved out in the form it now presents. The roof opening is twinned with the most conservative features of the past. When viewed as a whole, it may be said that Persia's contribution to the history of architecture, if not distinctly original, is, nevertheless, considerable, and deserves the attention of the student of religious art as well as the architectural specialist.
supplied by the spring, and it is possible that this was also the case in ancient times. Backed by verdure, it must have been a secluded and sufficiently picturesque spot, and the difficulty of access to the shrines would naturally prevent their desecration.

It is improbable, however, that these remains show the common religious architecture of their time, and the faces of Astarte at Sidon and Melqart at Tyre were undoubtedly much more important and imposing structures, though Erodotos’ description of the latter (ii. 44) does not point to either of its four gates as the principal entrance. To all appearance he was most struck by its two pillars (ὕλη), ‘one of pure gold and the other of an emerald stone of such size as to shine by night.’ Another important shrine was that of Eshmun on the left bank of the Nahar Ani, about a hour N. of Sidon. This was a rectangular erection built apparently on the side of the slope, remains of the walls and masonry of the terraces being still in existence. The slope looks towards the N., and is in part shaded by the shady trees of the hill. There was a shrine like that at Amrit, which has the same orientation. Large numbers of votive statuettes were found on the site. The stones of the shrine, however, seem to have been long and since the days of the days of the temples to build their houses with, and some, with holes, are used in olive-pressing.†

Of greater importance, perhaps, are the indications available for the architecture of the temple at Gebal, made known by coins of the Roman period.‡ On the left is shown a chapel, the front surmounted by a pediment. The whole front was open, flanked by pilasters supporting the pediment. At the top of the steps giving access to the interior was placed, probably as an offering, a strange emblem surmounted the point of the roof, which seems to have been decorated on each side with three rows of sunken panels.

Naturally the architecture of this building suggests Greek influence, and to all appearance it is a simple reproduction of the Egyptian shrine, but it may be noted that Babylonian architecture had something analogous (see p. 632), and may have been the true origin of the structure. What would seem to be due to Greek influence is the pointed roof.

The real ancient part, however, was probably the structure on the right, which shows a colonnade to which access was gained by a flight of steps, and a large court-yard, with columns—a kind of arcade behind. The representation of this building was evidently altogether too much for the die-sinker, whose ideas of perspective were on a level with those of the Assyrians. Above the cornice of the colonnade is an erection of open work, behind which one sees a conical object towering high in the open—the emblem of the god of the place, corresponding with the sacred stones in which the divinity was supposed to reside.

And here we again have the ‘high place,’ not formed out of the solid rock by the laborious quarrying of all the mass which was not needed, but by an enclosure of hewn stone, ornamented with a colonnade all round. This was naturally much labor to erect than the plain stones of the open, and also more aesthetic than the hill-enclosures marked off by simple rows of tall stones.

But it will be asked: Were these two forms—the ‘high place’ and the chapel or mountain-shrine—the only architectural creations of the Phoenicians for the purpose of worship? All that can be said is that they are the principal forms found. It seems not improbable, however, that they had others, and known as well as these.

In Cyprus the most famous temples were those of Paphos, Amathus, Idalion, and Golgos, in which places were Phoenician settlements, as also, probably, at Citium (now Larosaca), Salamis, and other sites. From Cypriote coins,† an idea may be gained of the celebrated temple of Venus, dedicated to Vesta or Astarte. It consisted of a central erection—a kind of pylon—in the form of two narrow towers connected, in the upper part, by a chamber or chambers furnished with three windows. Below this was the entrance, in which was the main cult, and there—a conical stone surmounted by a naëve indication of a head, and two rudimentary arms.

Perrot suggests that the size of the opening has been purposely exaggerated by the engraver in order to exhibit the divine image, which was, in reality, not at the entrance, but at the far end of the sanctuary. On each side of the pylon were porticoes or colonnades, flat-roofed, hardly more than half the height of the central portion, surmounted by pediments and enriched with statues of the goddess. Under these arcades objects like candelabra are shown, the upper part arranged either for the purpose of giving light or for the burning of incense. Above the upper structure, and between the two towers, are shown a star and the crescent moon—emblems of the goddess. The space in front of the building seems to be represented paved, and enclosed by a semicircular railing, provided with a double gate. Within this enclosure is a dove, apparently sacred. Some details vary somewhat in the different coins;‡ and it is to be supposed that the engraver had no intention of giving more than a general idea of the building, so that numerous accessories have been omitted. As well as to the enclosure, so much of the body of the edifice was rectangular, 67 metres by 50, surrounded by a court-yard 210 by 164, more or less. As it is based upon actual exploration, it is to be preferred to the plan given by Gerhard after the indications of travellers who visited the site in the early years of the 19th cent.;§ but how the latter could have obtained the exceedingly probable details of the interior which he gives is difficult to understand. According to his plan, there were two enclosures, the first provided with four entrances, and surrounded by a colonnade. A doorway opened to the second enclosure, in which was the temple. There we see the semicircular railing, the paved forecourt, the sites of the towers, the central portion of the building, divided into a vestibule, a large hall, and a sanctuary wherein was the sacred image; likewise the lateral structures, each with four chambers, to which admission was gained only.

* Renan, Mission, pl. 9; Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 189.
† Von Landa, Haufige Nachbildung phönienscher Altäre, with plans, etc., by Maxmady Bey from AE, 1902.
‡ Donaldson, Architekture Numismatica, No. 30; Perrot, Phénicie, fig. 18.
§ Upon these objects see p. 584.

† Guignard, Reris de l’Echaman-temple de Sidon dans l’examen phöniens Altäre, with plans, etc., by Maxmady Bey from AE, 1902.
‡ Guignard, Reris de l’Echaman-temple de Sidon dans l’examen phöniens Altäre, with plans, etc., by Maxmady Bey from AE, 1902.
§ Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 189.
¶ Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 85 (reproduced from Donaldson’s Architekture Numismatica) with fig. 190, to which admission was gained only.
from the large central hall, and one (that at the end) which could be entered only from the sanctuary. The two plans are so different that one asks whether they could have been taken from the same remains. According to Tacitus, the stone emblematic of the goddess was in the open air, indicating that the place where it stood had no roof; notwithstanding this, it is said never to have been wet with rain. This rather favours Di Cesnola's plan, which, however, does not agree with the picture on the coins. Probably further exploration is needed.

In 1879, Cesnola visited the Island of Malta, Malta, 1882, reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, ib. flg. 225. lb. figs. 219, 220.

Strange walls, hard.

The temple at Paphos, without the lateral structures or aisles. At Golgoz the temple was a parallelogram, the roof supported by five rows of three columns each. There were two doors, one S., the other E. A large cone of grey stone found on the site implies that the building was dedicated to the goddess of Paphos. It resembles in form, but on a large scale, the terra-cotta cones found in such numbers at Tellah in S. Babylonia. Many figures of women holding or sucking their children, and cows sucking their calves, were discovered at many points on the site. Numerous pedestals, each of which anacreon bore a statue, and some of them two, were found. Ceccaldi, who studied the objects dispersed there, has given a very vivid picture of the appearance of the temple when it was still standing. Its four walls were of sunbaked brick covered with white or coloured cement, and the pillars were of wood, with stone capitals, the sides of the roof which they supported having only a very slight slope, forming a terrace, like the present Cypriote roofs. The roof was of wood covered with reeds and mats, upon which was spread a thick layer of earth beaten down hard. The exterior was therefore of a very simple appearance, holding or sucking, but being assimilated to the conical object on a plinth, surmounted by a flat top, on which stands a dove, the emblem of the goddess. In front is a semicircular enclosure with a single central gate. The whole shows a simple form of the temple at Paphos, without the lateral structures or aisles.

This is a vivid and probable picture, of which, however, some of the details require verification. Perrot suggests that this building was simply a treasury or museum belonging to the real temple. A few underground buildings exist, the most noteworthy being the crypt at Curium, in which were found many objects of value. Having descended the steps and passed along a short passage, one finds three successive bayed rooms, and at right angles with these, a fourth, with a further length of the passage. This interesting and well-built structure seems to have been used as a treasure-chamber, but whether intended for such is uncertain. That at Larnaca is known as the Panaghia Phaneromini. Enormous blocks, as well as small stones, have been used in this construction, which consists of a vestibule with a door leading to a small chamber, within which was found an old spring, probably some sacred source. The roof was formed of two large blocks of stone considerably arched on the under side. It has been thought to be a tomb; but in view of the existence of the spring, this is unlikely.

Far behind the perfection of the temples of Phoenicia and Cyprus are those of Malta and Gozo. The Gozans (now at Malta) naturally, a wide gap separates them from the structures of the Phoenicians, but the conical (sacred) stones found therein have caused them to be regarded as certainly Phoenician. Evans and others, however, are of opinion that these buildings are really Libyan. At Gozzo there are two temples, side by side, and joined together by a wall, which forms a kind of rough façade. Passing through a narrow entrance, one reaches, in the case of the larger building, first a small and afterwards, continuing along the passage, a larger hall arranged at right angles thereto. The rear termination of the building is an apse in the form of a semicircle, and the whole suggests the arrangement of a church choir with deep bays. In consequence of its size the apse building has the first hall larger than the second, and the semicircular apse at the end is decidedly smaller; otherwise the arrangement is in both cases the same. In the various apses of which the building consists, the ground is made to mount by means of steps and side entrances. A wall was built off these raised bays, which then resembled the chapels in Catholic churches. It was in the right-hand bay, in the first hall, that the cone was found which gave the clue to the nature of these structures. Though symmetrically planned, the individual bays are not by any means regular in shape, and the stone supports for the furniture or sacred objects of the shrines seem to be placed without any attempt at orderly arrangement.

Still more irregular than that of Hagiar Kim, Malta, in which, moreover, the want of care and regularity extends also to the arrangement of the stones that form the walls, which are in some cases of enormous size. There are two entrances, giving access to two bays or apses on the E. and W.

* Di Cesnola, Phoen. fig. 214.
* Cesnola, Cyprus, p. 80, reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 214.
* Cesnola, Cyprus, p. 214; Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 214.
* Gerhard, Akademische Abhandlungen, xiii. 17; Perrot-Chipiez, 16. fig. 230.
* Cesnola, Cyprus, p. 199; Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 204.

They are called the Góspit, the enormous stones used in their construction having led to the tradition that they were the work of giant builders. Plans and views, from La Marca, Nouvelles Annales de l'Institut de correspondance archéologique, publiées par la section française, t. 1, Paris, 1839, pp. 1-22 and pl. 1-15, are published in Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, figs. 221-224.

Caruana, Report on the Phoenician and Roman Antiquities in the group of the Islands of Malta, Malta, 1885, reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, 16. fig. 235.
fous on the W., but the southernmost of each seems to have been separated from the rest, and partitions in the case of two others are shown on the plan. Stones decorated with spiral ornaments show that attempts at decoration were made; the ground upon which the spirals are carved is covered with a number of minute holes, emblematic, it is supposed, of the starry vault of heaven.* A striking altar,† with fluting, decorated with a representation of a growing tree, has the same ground-work, which covers also many of the great blocks of stone used in the building. Another altar, like a small table‡ with a thick central support—a type met with often in Syria—was found in one of the large bays.

Sculptures show that similar temples to those in Syria existed, in Punic times, in Sicily and Carthage. One of these was known under the name of Erck Hayim, 'Length of Lives,' and was dedicated to Astarte as goddess of longevity, whence the name of Eryx, given by the Greeks to the city where it was. It stood on the peak of a mountain, within that mighty wall which protected the summit. Judging from a stele found at Lilybaeum (Marsala), a temple to Hammon existed there. The upper part of this monument§ shows a priest adoring the sun-dial, or fire altar, behind which is the sacred cone with 'arms and head,' similar to the symbols found on the votive steles at Carthage. Inscriptions dedicated to Batal Samaim, 'the lord of the heavens,' at Bata Hayim, Ammon, and El, make it probable that Phoenician temples to these deities existed in Sardinia, where they were found. A shrine¶ in the Egyptian style, found at Suleis (Beja, in Etruria), has an openness between a disc, and a row of uraei above. In another example from the same place,¶ carved with a goddess in Greek costume, we have a mixture of styles, Doric columns being introduced as supports of an entablature showing the Egyptian winged disc surmounted by a row of uraei.

Carthage and its dependencies have but little to offer in the way of religious architecture in the Phoenician style. At Euboe a lintel of a doorway** covered with a large lotus-fish relief is seen above them, and two crescent moons on each side, and at Jezza a capital of a column†† in modified Ionic, suggesting Cypriote influence, testify to buildings erected there. At Carthage itself the great temple of Eshmun, Baal Hammon, and El-Mat, seems to be, the Phoenician temples to these deities were associated with the Egyptian, and as such were considered of the same order as the Egyptian cult. When the Phoenicians were conquered by the Romans, it was re-built as the temple of Aesculapius; but nothing now exists of it, as the church of St. Louis and its dependencies at present cover the site.

The ornamentation of the Phoenician temples has been referred to from time to time in the preceding pages, but a few additional words are necessary. The cornices are often plain, but when a row of uraei-serpents was added,** the effect was decidedly decorative. Egyptian influence was also evident in the entablature of the temple at Gebal,§§ with its Greco-Roman decoration, including scrolls and flowers flanking a conventional Egyptian winged disc-emblem with uraei. The doorway at Um-al-Awamid,¶¶ being much more Egyptian in style, forms a striking piece for comparison. Egyptian influence is again manifest in the relief showing a sphinx, beautifully carved, found at Arad.¶¶

* Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 237.
* CIS, pl. 29, reproduced in Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 239.†
† Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 233.¶
¶ Tb. fig. 19.¶¶ Tb. fig. 524.** Tb. fig. 535.
|| Renan, Mission, pl. 29;* Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, fig. 61.
| Perrot-Chipiez, 63, fig. 48.|| Tb. fig. 68.
§§ Tb. fig. 73.*

Apparently it was a favourite decoration with the Phoenicians, for it occurs also as the support of a throne in the decorative panel-relief showing a seated personage in the presence of the sacred fire (see below, p. 885 f.). Gradine ornaments,* such as are found in Assyro-Babylonian reliefs showing fortifications, occur on alabaster slabs from Gebal, now in the Louvre. They suggest the Assyro-Babylonian temple-tower, surmounting a decoration of flowers in squares over a band of laurel. This gradine-ornament is also applied to altars,† and even of the Round Temple. As if in the case of the Round tower-like monument of the tomb of Amrkt,‡ however, the idea that it was really a battle-ment is lost by the material between the gradines being left; there are no openings. The great disadvantage to the modern student of their decoration, however, is that the remains are so scanty.

There is hardly any doubt that the architecture of the Phoenicians has had an influence on that of the nations around. Perrot and Chipiez cite the old mosques in Jerusalem, and temples with their great rectangular courts surrounded on all four sides by rows of columns, the idol alone being absent. 'If one wish to have the type complete, one must go as far as Mecca, and enter into the Ka'ba, where the triumph of the Qur'an has not succeeded in ousting the primitive bethel, the black stone, which, set up in the sanctuary, has received the homage of the Arab tribes throughout many centuries' (Phénicie, p. 319 f.).

But perhaps most interesting of all the elements not derived directly from Phoenician architecture. We have always to take into consideration the possibility of their having come down to the nations which produced them by some collateral line, and the influence of the Romans on them may be due to action and reaction. Whatever reservations may be made, however, the evidence of history and the monuments seems to show that the influence of Phoenicia preponderated.

ARCHITECTURE (Roman).—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.—If it be necessary in the case of Greece to point out that religious buildings were but a part of the architectural activity of the state, it is still more necessary with regard to Rome. Roman religious architecture plays a very small and comparatively unimportant rôle. Her baths, her palaces, her amphitheatres, and other public buildings were all upon a grander scale than her temples.

When Rome became mistress of the world, although she had at that time no architecture of her own, she made use of artists from all nations, and thus arose a composite style of the architectures of the world, in which Greece played by far the largest part. The origin of the Roman temples seems to have been partly Etruscan, partly Greek; but whatever part Etruscan architecture played in other branches of Roman architecture, the Roman temple in its final form was almost wholly Greek. This is the reason that the great development of Roman architecture was almost entirely in the hands of Greek artists, and it is by no means easy to determine how much can really be considered Roman at all.

The true Greek style was tamely accommodated, the arch, as has been shown, being only occasionally used. The style of the Romans, however, was a hybrid, partly arcuated and partly tamely accommodated, and in their hands the fusion of the two elements never became complete. It is generally said that the arch in Roman architecture is the arch of the Etruscans: it is, however, doubtful whether it was not an introduction of the Greek artists of the East
and Alexandria. In any case both the arch and the barrel vault date back to remote ages in the East, and the later Greek architects were more likely to be influenced by these traditions than by the comparatively obscure work of Etruria. At the same time, fine arches with large voussoirs were built by the Etruscans, as in the canal of the Marta at Gravina, supposed to date from the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C., or the Cloaca Maxima at Rome of the 6th. If, however, the Romans themselves had continued the tradition and built in a fine stone arched style, it at least seems probable that some remnants, however scanty, would have come down to us. Indeed, we know that early Roman architecture was of brick, and brick vaulting with voussoirs occurs in Egypt as far back as B.C. 3500. Even the intersecting vault is found in a Greek example at Pergamos dating from the 2nd cent. B.C. The earliest surviving Roman building that had arches is the Tabularium, and it dates only from B.C. 78, long after the sack of Corinth, when Rome passed under the rule of Greece intellectually and artistically. Arches were in use in Greece at any rate for structural purposes, as early as the time of Eumenes I. (B.C. 263–241), so there is no reason to suppose that Greek architects working for Rome were in any way necessarily indebted to their Etruscan predecessors. Even the triumphal arch—that ornamental form which we are wont to consider typically Roman—was built in Athens in B.C. 318. The earliest instance of such an arch in Rome is that of Scipio Africanus (B.C. 190), of which we have the record, but no remains. The most that can be said, then, is that it is not impossible that the Romans may have had a developed arched style derived from the Etruscans before they fell under the dominion of Greece; but there is no evidence of any kind, and, as far as existing remains are concerned, there are no new developments that precede Greek work. The attached column, for instance, sometimes spoken of as a Roman invention, occurs in the Arisonoeum in but slightly modified form, in the monument of Lycurgus in Athens, and at Phigalia, and if those of the Erechtheum were of Roman date.

With regard to their brick and concrete construction it is otherwise. The Romans were certainly great engineers. There is, however, not the same intellectual nicety about Roman work that there is in Greek work, and this was never acquired. When the Roman Empire was finally divided, the Greek or Byzantine portion at once began to develop a more scientific style in marked contrast with the rude work of the West. Roman work was practical, rough and ready, often grandiose, but lacking in the finer artistic sense.

It is likely that we shall never be able to say what elements are Roman and what are Hellenistic, but it is possible in the general plan of the Roman influence is strongest.

The Romans borrowed the Greek orders; or perhaps a more correct way of putting it is to say that the Greek architects working for Rome used their own orders, and by slow degrees trained a native school. The Doric order became very debased, and is found in a great variety of forms. The simpler of these forms are commonly grouped together as Tuscan, but they differ very much among themselves, and there is no historical evidence for any Tuscan origin. Vitruvius uses the term, but it is impossible to draw any clear dividing line between Tuscan and the debased Doric. The cause of the common error is that the Renaissance architects did make such a hard and fast division as that between Renaissance work has a definite meaning, but has no relation to anything in Rome. There was a Roman tendency to dispense with the fluting of Greek work both in Doric and Ionic, and occasionally in the Corinthian order, which greatly detracts from the strong refined vertical character of the shaft. Flutings were expensive to work, and were not showy enough to please Roman taste, which preferred monolithic shafts in hard brightly-coloured marbles in which fluting would have little effect. The column loses the sturdy proportions of Greek Doric, and tends to assimilate itself to the proportions of the other orders. In most of the existing examples of Roman Doric there is a base, but this is absent in early examples such as those at Pompeii, which are much more Greek in feeling. It has been suggested that the origin of the base is Etruscan, but its absence in early work is against this theory; and the part that Vitruvius would assign to Etruscan influence in architecture is not much more of a reality than the part assigned by Virgil to Æneas in Roman history. The contours gradually deteriorate, and the echinos of the Doric column speedily becomes a simple quarter round. In the almost unique early example of the Temple of Hercules at Cora the hyperbolic curve is found, and is obviously executed by Greeks. The architrave shrinks in importance, and the whole entablature is much shallower. There is a marked tendency for the intercolumniations to become wider. This is mainly the result of the fact that the order as such is not an essential part of the construction in Roman work. It does not govern the building, but is merely something applied afterwards, and has to suit its proportions to the available space. It is to this that we owe the introduction of the pedestal as a regular feature, which occurs only occasionally in Greek work. The architrave is set farther back than in Greek architecture, and the line of its face tends to fall within the base (fig. 1). The beautiful sculpture

![Roman Doric Order: Temple of Hercules at Cora](image-url)
The Ionic order remains the same in its principal features, but the capital is not infrequently found with the volutes set anglewise (fig. 2). They are, however, comparatively rare, although the text-books speak of them as almost universal. This arrangement in Greek work at Pompeii has already been noted, and its first known occurrence in Italy is at Pompeii, where the refined carving marks it as the work of Greek hands. The volute in Roman Ionic projects very much less than in Greek examples, and the proportions are not at all satisfactory. There is generally a dentil course beneath the cornice as in Asiatic Greek examples: this occurs even in Roman Doric in the Theatre of Marcellus. The Roman dentils, however, are set much closer together and are shallower in Greek work, generally with a fillet underneath.

The tendency throughout is towards greater enrichment, clearly seen in the choice of the Corinthian as the favourite Roman order. In Greek hands, as at Epidaurus, or the choragic monument of Lysicrates, this order, in spite of its richness, is yet restrained and most delicate in its refinement. In Roman work this is lost, and mere carving takes the place of the sculpture which is still found in the choragic monument. The foliage, too, loses its crispness, and the acanthus mollis takes the place of the acanthus spinosus (fig. 6 in Architecture [Greek]). In some instances, particularly in triumphal arches, the small angle volutes are greatly enlarged, and may have helped to popularise the angle treatment of Roman Ionic. The capital then partakes of the nature of both Ionic and Corinthian, and the egg and dart molding is introduced above the acanthus. Thus treated, the order is sometimes called the Composite order, a name unknown to Vitruvius, and not at all necessary; it is in no true sense a distinct order, although the architects of the Renaissance en-

**FIG. 2.**

**IONIC CAPITAL**

**TEMPLE OF SATURN ROME.**

deavoured it to make so. The origin of the arrangement is as usual Greek, and in the temple of Apollo at Naukratis, the Erechtheum itself, and a capital in the forum of Trajan, we see it in its undeveloped form.

The entablature in Roman Corinthian work is very ornate. The architrave is divided by several moldings more or less enriched. The frieze is often decorated with continuous scroll work, founded on the acanthus leaf, which is beautiful in itself although giving a restless effect as the result of over-ornamentation. Below the cornice a new feature is introduced in the modillions—ornamental brackets which give an aesthetic sense of support (fig. 3).

**FIG. 3.**

**PART OF CORNICE**

**TEMPLE OF JUPITER STATOR.**

Religious buildings.—Of course in most of the great secular work the arch plays an important part, and the orders are placed as ornaments in front of the real arched construction; but except in the case of the propylaea in the East before the sacred temenos, the arch practically plays no part in religious work. The vault, however, does occur (see below). The religious buildings of the Romans were of comparatively small importance, and the great thermae are far more typical of Roman work than the temples. The temples, too, were used for many other besides religious purposes, just as was the case with the great medieval cathedrals. The temple of Concord was not only an art museum of the spoils of the world, but was often used for meetings of the senate, as also was the temple of Mars Ultor. The public weights and measures office was in the temple of Castor. But the Roman temples, although in their main features simply modifications of the Greek, have certain distinctive marks of their own. It seems probable that the early Etruscan temples were often of three cellae placed side by side, and, moreover, that it was the custom to erect them upon a lofty base, or podium.

The Etruscan architecture apparently was largely of wood, and terra-cotta ornaments played a very important part, noticeably in a peculiar fringe of ornamented terra-cotta tiles hanging from under the eaves and apparently also from the main beam of the portico. These features can be traced in Roman work—the lofty podium with a great flight of steps approaching the main portico, the wide intercolumniations, and the use of terra-cotta ornaments—and even the three-celled temple may have had its influence in the great buildings of the Roman temple, or in the case of a triple temple such as occurs at Sbeitla in N. Africa. (See Art and Architecture [Etruscan and Early Italic], p. 803.)

The ruins of the temple of Mars Ultor and three columns of the temple of Castor and Pollux (completed A.D. 6) are probably the earliest extant remains. There may, however, have been earlier examples, as Greece can be said to have begun its dominion over Rome in B.C. 146. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was possibly largely Etruscan. Generally speaking, the earlier the date the purer the work and the more marked the Greek influence. It has been observed that the Greek temple was orientated; but this was not the case with Roman temples, and we find them facing in different directions, generally planned in relation to their architectural surroundings. We find them all round the Forum Romanum, for instance, each facing into the forum. As in the case of Greece, the altar was not in the temple but outside, and the exact raison d'être of the temple itself is by no means so clearly defined.

The typical Roman temple, then, is a rectangular building with a cela very much wider than was usual in Greece. In the temple of Concord the width was greater than the depth, which possibly have been the result of the earlier three-celled temple or of the many uses to which the
Roman temple was put. The architectural effect was always concentrated upon the front, and the back of the temple was often absolutely plain. As part of the same tendency we may notice that the temples were generally only pseudo-peripteral, with attached columns round three sides of the cela and an abnormally large front portico. The temple of Fortuna Virilis is a good early example; there is a very fine later temple known as the Maison Carrée at Nîmes (fig. 4).

The Roman temples within were apparently rarely divided into nave and aisles, so that a greater floor space was obtained, but the span was sometimes reduced by internal columns close against the wall, after the manner of the Greek temple at Phigalia. Occasionally there was an apse, as in the temple of Mars Ultor; and in the temple of Venus and Rome there was an interesting arrangement of a double temple with two cellae and apses back to back (fig. 5). The whole in this case was surrounded by a court and stoa.

The roof appears to have been normally of wood, but certainly in a few instances a concrete or stone vault was employed, as in the above-mentioned temple of Venus and Rome, the temple of Neptune, the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, and the temple at Nîmes known as the Nymphaeum or the Baths of Diana, which has a stone barrel-vault supported on stone arches which rested upon attached columns (fig. 6).

In front of the temple was a great flight of steps generally flanked by two projecting portions of the podium, the steps not extending the entire width of the building. In the temple of Minerva at Assisi the steps are carried between the columns which are raised on pedestals. This was probably from want of space.

A favourite form of temple with the Romans was the circular building which had become popular in Greece during the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. It has been suggested that the Roman circular temple had an independent Etruscan origin. Even if this be the case with regard to the mere fact of the plan being circular, it has certainly nothing whatever to do with the actual form, which is simply a copy of Greek work. The lofty podium is generally found in Roman examples; but this, too, occurs in Greek examples of much earlier date. The picturesquely situate temple of Vesta at Tivoli is a fine example, of which the cela itself may even date back to the close of the 1st cent. B.C., although the Corinthian peristyle is later (fig. 7).

By far the most remarkable of the circular temples, and indeed of all the Roman temples, is the celebrated Pantheon (fig. 8)—a great building 142 ft. 6 in. in diameter; 2 ft. in excess of the domed reading-room of the British Museum. The exterior is plain, not to say ugly; but originally the brick was faced with marble up to the first string course, and above this with stucco, which may possibly have somewhat improved the general appearance although not actually affecting the building architecturally. It is approached by a great portico built from the spoils of Agrippa’s temple, which was taken down for that purpose. This fact was discovered in 1892, and is some consolation to those
who have always maintained that the portico is hopelessly out of place, and ruins the severe dignity that the plain circular building might otherwise have possessed. The date of the main building also has conclusively been proved to be A.D. 120–124, from the stamps upon the bricks of which it is constructed. This is a most important fact, as the assignment of the building to Agrippa has led to many wrong inferences with regard to the history of dome construction.

The building occupies the site of what was once an open circular piazza, the pavement of which has been found some 7 or 8 ft. below the floor of the present building. The walls are 20 ft. in thickness, containing eight great recesses three of which are apses: the highest faces the entrance on the main axis, and the other two are at the extremities of the diameter, at right angles to the main axis. The entrance itself is a great rectangular recess covered by a barrel-vault, and between these four recesses are four others, all of rectangular form. Except in the case of the entrance and the main apse opposite to it, all the recesses have two columns in antis in front. The dome is divided in its lower part by vertical and horizontal ribs into five ranges of thirty-two coffers. Above this it is plain, and the whole building is lit by a huge circular hypostyle opening 20 ft. across. Altogether the interior effect ranks very high among the great buildings of the world.

Under Roman rule many great temples were built in many other countries than Italy, but, as in those countries that had no architectural styles of their own, it is misleading to call them Roman. Particularly in the East we find many buildings that are practically simply a development of Hellenistic architecture. The great temples of Syria, for instance, are not placed at the end of the fora as in Rome, but in a temenos of their own as in Greece, with propylea leading into them. With one exception too (Baalbek) they are orientated in the Greek manner. Of this type is the great temenos of the temple of the Sun at Palmyra. In most instances, just as at Athens, the propylea have a wider intercolumniation in the centre, but it was spanned by an arch, round which the entablature is carried. The propylea of Damascus (fig. 9), which may be dated c. 110 A.D., or not much later, are probably the first instance, and a similar dated example occurs in the temple of Attil (A.D. 151). Baalbek (A.D. 160) and probably Palmyra were the same.

The invention—if so it may be termed—appears to be that of Apollodoros, a Greek of Damascus, and seems a natural development of the arches of later Greek tradition already noted. It afterwards appears in Diocletian’s Palace at Spalato, on the north-east coast of the Adriatic (c. 306 A.D.). It marks an important step, because hitherto the arch had always been carried by portions of walls or piers. On the other hand, the columns had never before carried anything but a horizontal entablature; and the piers and arches behind, with the columns and entablature in front, always remained two distinct and irreconcilable elements. Indeed, it was left for the Byzantine and Gothic architects to work out truly homogeneous styles of column and arch.

Of these Syrian examples the finest is that at Baalbek, which is built upon a great platform forming an acropolis. The general setting out is probably not Roman, and some of the substructure is pre-Roman in date. It was approached by great propylea of Roman times, the restoration of which is largely conjectural. An interesting feature is the hexagonal court, surrounded by a double peristyle upon which the propylea opened. The hexagonal court leads in its turn to a great square court, at the end of which, somewhat in the Roman manner, is the larger of the two temples. Apparently it was never completed. The other temple to the south, the temple of Jupiter, is a very fine piece of work. In some ways the building was a compound of Greek and Roman feeling. It was peribolal with two ranges of columns in the front, but the portico was very deep, and the central intercolumniation was wider than the rest. The interior had attached columns after the manner of the temple at Phigalia, except that the entablature was broken and carried round and back between the columns. It probably had a flat roof, except at the far end, where there was a small vaulted recess, about half the total width, approached by a flight of steps. A curious feature is a two-storey division into shallow niches between the columns, which has a very unpleasing effect. The lower one is arched, with a horizontal cornice, and the upper has only the cornice, but is surmounted by a pediment. The carving is bold and good, and shows the influence of Greek tradition.

Construction. — The Roman method of construc-

![Fig. 9. Damascus](image9)

![Fig. 10. Bay from Colosseum](image10)

Whereas the Greeks generally built in large stone blocks bonding right through the wall, the
Romans built mainly in brick and concrete, and the finer materials were used only for facing. In Rome itself even brick was never used throughout, although in the provinces brick walls or courses of stone and brick alternately are not uncommon. Whether brick or stone was used in the core of the wall or not, the outer face was invariably covered with stucco or some finer material. When brick or stone occurs, its use is not easy to determine, as it would neither add to the strength of the wall, nor admit of its being built without plastering to keep the concrete in position while setting. Bricks were of flat triangular shape, and stones pyramidal. 'Opus incertum' was work where the stones were more or less irregular in shape, and 'opus reticulatum' where they were dressed to a true square, and set diagonal-wise in the wall (fig. 11). In either case occasional courses of large flat bricks, 1 ft. 11 in. long, bonding through the wall, were used. A similar method was adopted with arches to prevent the concrete from spreading and settling down before it had set (fig. 11). The marble or other facings were secured to the wall by iron or bronze cramps running into the body of the wall (fig. 11).

![CONCRETE WALL WITH BRICK FACING](image)

**CONCRETE WALL WITH BRICK FACING**

![OPUS RETICULATUM](image)

**OPUS RETICULATUM**

![TUFFA WALL WITH MARBLE FACING](image)

**TUFFA WALL WITH MARBLE FACING**

![CONCRETE ARCH](image)

**CONCRETE ARCH**

In vaults and domes, arches or ribs of brick were built upon light wooden centering, and cross bonding bricks dividing the whole into compartments were inserted at intervals. The concrete was then poured into these, and the whole set into one solid mass, exerting no outward thrust whatever. Stone vaults, instead of concrete, were occasionally built in later days, as in the Nymphaeum at Nîmes, mentioned above.

Ornamentation.—The ornamental work of the Romans was not nearly so good as their construction, which was sound and workmanlike, and of great durability. One even regrets that they ever attempted ornament at all, as the bold and simple majesty of their great work is only spoilt by the applied ornament. After all there is very little Roman work, if any, more pleasing than the Pont du Gard at Nîmes; and it has no ornament at all. One of the most delightful of their more purely architectural works is the gateway at Trèves, which is practically a wall built without the use of any ornament used by the Romans all derived from Greek sources, but there is a roughness and want of delicacy that shows an entire ignorance of the subtlety and refinement of Greek work. The profiles of the moldings are nearly always segments of circles, instead of the complicated and hyperbolic curves of Greek art. Moreover, the molding, as a rule, does not depend for its effect upon the subtle gradations of light and shade produced by its own contour, but upon the elaboration of the carving cut upon it. Somewhat similarly we find a preference among the Roman architects for the acaenthus mollis with its rounded and less precise form, whereas the Greeks preferred the acaenthus spinosus with its more crisp refined lines (fig. 6, Architecture [Greek]). It is true that the acaenthus spinosus is less satisfactory even than the other, but this kind of thing is well known—the greater the height, the worse the fall. The carving, too, although vigorous in its way, is rougher and much more mechanical than that of Greece. Instead of the fine sculpture that adorned the temples in Greece, we frequently find endless repetitions of ox-skulls and hanging festoons of fruit and flowers between. There was a great tendency to use the ornament in such profusion that it suffocated itself. Such an example, for instance, as the arch at Beneventum is so overloaded that there are practically no plain surfaces at all, and the whole effect is worried and unsatisfying.

Colour was used in their buildings by the Romans as by the Greeks, and the great fondness of the Romans for marbles of many colours gave their buildings an opulence in effect that was one of their most marked characteristics.

One of the most important adjuncts of Roman ornament was the mosaic, which, however difficult to work satisfactorily, is undoubtedly more in consonance with architectonic feeling than any mere surface pigment. Adequately to appreciate Roman work, it would be necessary to study much more than the religious architecture. Rome's finest achievements were in the thermae—the great baths, which were the centres of Roman life, where literature was read and discussed, and politics debated. In these magnificent buildings it was the interior that was the greatest achievement. It was in interior effects that the Roman architects made the real architectural advance, giving to them a magnificence hitherto undreamed of. Magnificence was the aim and end of Roman art; subtlety and refinement were beyond its comprehension. How, ver, of existing remains, it is a religious building—the Pantheon—that gives us the clearest conception of what this interior magnificence was; and for us the Pantheon, with its fine interior and poor exterior, is the great typical example of Roman achievement, as the Parthenon, with its delicate subtleties and sculpture of unsurpassable perfection, is of Greek.


J. B. STOUGHTON HOLBORN.
ARCHITECTURE (Shinto).—There are indications that the original Shinto place of worship was, like the Roman temple, not a building, but simply a plot of ground consecrated for the purpose. It was probably enclosed by a row of twigs of the sacred evergreen sakaki tree stuck in the ground. 'Spirit terraces' for Shinto worship are mentioned in the old records, and the common word for a Shinto shrine, viz. yashiro, means 'house-equivalent,' i.e. a make-believe house for the god—no doubt a plot of ground of this kind. Another word for a shrine is 'kamidana,' which means 'august house,' and is applied alike to a palace and a shrine. Sir Ernest Satow says (TASJ, 1874):

'The architecture of the Shinto temples is derived from the primordial, but with more or less modification in proportion to the influence of Buddhism in each particular case. Those of the purest style retain the thatched roof, others are covered with thick shingling, while others have tiled, and even coppered, roofs. The projecting ends of the rafters (called chigi) have been somewhat lengthened, and carved more or less elaborately.'

It appears from passages in the Nihongi that the chigi were restricted to imperial residences and to Shinto shrines. Another distinctive feature of the shrines is a row of cigar-shaped pieces of timber laid cross-wise on the roof-tree. The walls consist of the sanctuary, the roof, the round, and without bases. The shrine has a wooden floor, raised some feet above the ground. There is a sort of balcony all round, with a flight of steps up to the entrance. A certain amount of brass ornament and wood carving is used in some shrines, but, generally speaking, they are characterized by great simplicity. The wood-carving and metal ornamentation of some of them are traceable to Buddhist influences, and were removed when the Japanese with confidence in the power of the Imperial divinity restored the ancient Shinto shrines. The existence of temples in the time of the Slav Russian Empire is very questionable. Hilarius, a monk of the 10th cent., writes: 'We are no longer building kopishta, but churches of Christ,' from which we may infer that the kopishta (from kop, 'idol') was not peculiar to the Slavs. The oldest Russian chronicles speak only of idols, and the word kopishta may mean simply idols. Among the Baltic Slavs we find the existence of temples attested by German writings, in which the descriptions of the temple were not altered after the restoration of the Imperial power in 1688. They are always of wood, without paint or lacquer, which, of course, limits their duration. The shrines of Isæ are renewed every twenty years. Nor are they of great size. In the 9th cent. a greater shrine had only fourteen feet frontage. At the present day the outer shrine of Isæ—that in honour of the Goddess of Food—measures 34 feet by 19 feet. The great majority of Shinto shrines are very tiny indeed.

The more important Shinto shrines are surrounded by a cluster of subsidiary buildings, which serve various purposes. There is a small oratory, where the Mikado's envoy performs his devotions. No provision is made for ordinary worship. He remains outside in front of the shrine whilst he utters a brief invocation. The joint worship of a congregation of believers is a rare phenomenon in Shinto. Within the precinct there are usually a number of smaller shrines (maeshita) to other deities than the one worshipped in the main building. At Isæ there were formerly more than a hundred of these. Sometimes there is an emado, or picture-gallery, for the reception of za voto offerings of this kind. A characteristic feature in Shinto architecture is the torii, or honorary gateway, which adorns the approaches to the shrine, sometimes in great numbers. These are usually placed in pairs, leaning slightly towards one another. Near the top they are connected by a cross beam or a high beam rests on the upright columns, projecting a little on each side. It is often made to curve upwards at the end. The torii is usually constructed of wood painted red, but may also be of stone, bronze, or even occasionally of brick. They have a symbolic effect. Mr S. Tuke has shown that the torii is identical with the Indian tauran, the Chinese pailou, and the Korean hongsalmun, which are similar in form and purpose. The name is probably Japanese. It means literally 'bird-rest,' i.e. hen-roost; and the gateways were so called from their resemblance to this familiar object.


ARCHITECTURE AND ART (of the pagan Slavs).—The pagan Slavs seem to have had only the most rudimentary ideas on the subject of art. The few monuments which are ascribed to them are very crude, and it cannot yet be asserted with any absolute certainty, which may have been the work of Slav artists. There is no connexion between these monuments and the more or less grotesque descriptions given in some of the Chronicles of the Middle Ages. These chronicles owe to the Germans, Adam of Bremen of the 11th cent. (Gesta Hammenburgensis ecclesiae pontificum), Helmond of the 12th cent. (Chronicon Slavorum), Thietmar, Bishop of Merseburg (976—1011), Saxo Grammaticus the Dane (12th cent.) in his Gesta Danorum, and the biographers of Bishop Otto of Bamberg (12th century).

The majority of the Slavs seem to have worshipped only idols and in the open air, and to have been quite unacquainted with temples. The existence of temples in the Russian Empire is very questionable. Hilarion, a monk of the 10th cent., writes: 'We are no longer building kapishtha, but churches of Christ,' from which we may infer that the kapishtha (from kap, 'idol') was not peculiar to the Slavs. The oldest Russian chronicles speak only of idols, and the word kapishtha may mean simply idols. Among the Baltic Slavs we find the existence of temples attested by German writings, in which the descriptions of the temple were not altered after the restoration of the Imperial power in 1688. They are always of wood, without paint or lacquer, which, of course, limits their duration. The shrines of Isæ are renewed every twenty years. Nor are they of great size. In the 9th cent. a greater shrine had only fourteen feet frontage. At the present day the outer shrine of Isæ—that in honour of the Goddess of Food—measures 34 feet by 19 feet. The great majority of Shinto shrines are very tiny indeed.

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ARDASHIR I.—ARHAT

when on the point of making war; to it they bring gifts after a successful expedition.' Did the Slavs themselves build those temples, which were probably very small? Did they call in foreign architects? We do not know. The Arab geographer Mas'ūdī (10th cent.) had heard of their temples, but he gives an absolutely apocryphal description of them, which cannot be believed, and he places the people whom he is describing in districts no less fanciful (Les prairies d'or, ch. lxvi.).

We have practically no specimen of the architecture of the pagan Slavs; and no ruined temple is known. We know the names of a number of idols worshipped in ancient Russia and among the Baltic Slavs—Swantovit, Perun, Trügul. The present writer has reproduced in his Mythologie slave (1901) illustrations of some of the idols which have been discovered in Germany and in Galicia (Austria). They are believed to be of Slav origin; but we are not absolutely sure, as we have no trustworthy information. German and Ancient Russian writings alone bear witness to the existence of these idols. When Christianity reached the Slavs, these were the architectural style of the neighbouring races, from whom the gospel had come to them—the Roman style prevailing among the Western Slavs, and the Byzantine among the Slavs of Russia, Bulgaria, and Servia.

ARDASHIR I. (Artaxshār, Artakhshathr, Avestes.)—Ardashir I. (A.D. 229-241), the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, was the son of Pāpāk, 'king of Khīr (Chir), south-east of Persepolis. Having made himself master of Persia and some neighbouring kingdoms, Ardashir killed the Parthian 'king of kings,' Artaban, in 224, and seems to have conquered the capital, Ctesiphon, two years later.

From the beginning Ardashir identified his political aims with the restoration of the Mazdāyasnian faith, which, notwithstanding the superficial sway of Hellenism, had never lost its hold on the people. He thus secured a mighty ally—the Zarathushtrian priesthood, the 'race of the Magians'—and continued and accomplished a work already begun by Parthian monarchs. In his zeal for the national religion, he seems to have kept to familiar traditions—his grandfather Sāsān having been attached to the temple of the goddess Arta Virāf (Persepolis)—as well as to his personal feelings. 'He was devoted to the Magian rites, and he himself celebrated the mysteries' (Agathias, Hist. ii. 36). The Avesta texts, destroyed and scattered in the time of Alexander and the following centuries, were collected by Ardashir, and completed by his high priest Tansar (according to a tradition reported in Dinkart, iii.), who thus gave 'a faithful image of the original light.' Another passage, in Dinkart, iv., which corroborates the king's having called Tansar to his capital in order to gather the scattered texts, adds the important fact that canonical authority was attributed only to the collection of Tansar, all doctrines that did not originate from him being considered as heretical. The collection was not completed until the reign of Ardashir's successor Shāh Pāpār I. (241-279). A different tradition, reported in the introduction to the Persian translation of Artā Virāf Nāman, makes Ardashir collect the Avestan texts and the Zend comments from the memories of the priests summoned to the capital (Hang and West, Book of Artā Virāf, Bombay, 1872, pp. xv-xviii). The custom of reciting a chapter, called sauud (Yasna), dates, according to Mašūdī, from Ardashir's time. Hence we may perhaps conclude with Darmesteter (Zend-Av. iii. p. xxxii) that Ardashir and his Hērābid of Hērābād regulated the liturgy. The two chief facts of the restoration, viz. the collection of texts, legends, traditions, laws, and doctrines, and the monopolizing of true faith and of true faith by the king, are expressed in the letter to Tansar to Gushnap, king of Tabaristān (south of the Caspian), preserved, with additions and alterations, in the Zend-Avesta, as a provisional restoration by a Pahlavi original (Darmesteter, op. cit. xxv-xxx).

The pretended letter of Tansar is discussed in a most thorough way by L. H. Mills ('T'anārs's alleged Letter' in Zoroastrian Path, iv. 1912, pp. 21-76), who, in pointing out the peculiar elements of this document, especially a certain ascetic tendency evidently contrasting with the Zarathushtrian character, as it appears in its present form, calls a subtle political fiction. He goes much further than Darmesteter in eliminating spurious parts and in reducing the remainder, but he expressly recognizes a historical nucleus.

Ardashir has immortalized his political and religious restoration by his theory of the mutual aid of the two powers, the State and the Church, if Mas'ūdī ('Les prairies d'or, text and tr. by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, ii. 162) has correctly rendered his testament to his son Shah Pāpār: 'Religion and kingship are two sisters that cannot exist one without the other, because religion is the foundation of kingship, and kingship is the protectress of religion.'

LITERATURE.—For the Dinkart passages see Hang, Zend-Pahlavi Glossary, Bombay, 1887, pp. xxxv-xxxvii; West, SBE v. 199, xxxvii. 414, xlviii. 32, 137; Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892-3, iii. pp. xxv-xxx; Geldner, Dinkart Philologie, ii. 33 f. In general, Justi in Grundriss d. ir. Ph. ii. 512 f.; Kār-nāmagti-Artakhshathr, ed. with translations, tr., by J. D. L. Kersselli (Antik. Bombay, 1900; Browne, Literary Hist. of Persia, Lond. 1902-6, i. 138-140; Nādīska, 'Gesch. des Artakhsārs' in J. E. Buechberger's Beiträge, iv. 1874, 22-69.

ARDHAH (lit. 'fit,' 'worthy').—In its Pali form, arahat, it is met with in the earliest Buddhist texts, and is used there in the same sense as it is applied to the Buddhist arahata, or to those belonging to other communities. In the latter sense, which is exceedingly rare (Vinaya, i. 30-32; Sān-hūta, ii. 220), it means a man who has attained to the ideal of that particular community, to what was regarded in it as the fit state for a religious man. This sense is not found in pre-Buddhist literature; but the usage by the early Buddhists makes it almost certain that the term was employed before Buddhism arose in its religious communities then being formed in N.E. India. In the more usual, the Buddhist sense, the technical term arahat is applied to those who have reached the end of the Eightfold Path, and are enjoying the fruits of it, the maggahapalithā. They had perfected themselves in each of the eight stages of the Path—right views, aspirations, speech, conduct, mode of livelihood, effort, mindfulness, and rapture (Sān-hūtta, iv. 81; Puggala, 73). They had conquered the three so-called 'intoxications' (dooses) of sensuality, re-births, and ignorances (Diṣa, i. 84). In a list of punning derivations in Majjhima, i. 280, the arahat is said to be one from whose evil dispositions are far (ākrād). The first five disciples attained arahatship on perceiving that there was no sign of a soul in any one of the five groups of bodily and mental qualities constituting a sentient being (Vinaya, i. 14). Rāhula, the Buddha's son, claims to be an arahat because he has overcome the 'intoxications,' and will henceforth no more re-birth (Thera Gāthā, 296; cf. 295). Every arahat that has the sambodaṅhi, or the ascetic light, divided into seven parts—self-possession, investigation, energy, calm, joy, concentration, and magnanimity. There is extant in the Canon a collection of hymns, 204 of which are by men, and 78 by women, who had become the friends of the Buddha. Fifteen of these claim also to have

* The question of sambodaṅhi has been discussed at length in the present writer's Dialogues of the Buddha, Oxford, 1899, pp. 193-192.
gained the three vijjas, or 'sorts of knowledge': the knowledge of their own and other people's previous births, and of other people's thoughts. Laymen could become arahats. A list of twenty who had done so in the time of the Buddha is given in Anguttara, iii. 451. Every Buddha was an arahat. The word occurs in the standing description applied to each of the seven Buddhas known in the earliest documents (Digha, ii. 2). The Játaka commentator says that the Buddha made arahat-ship the climax of his discourses (Játaka, i. 114, 276, 383, 401).

The climax of the career of either arahat is reached under one or other of its numerous epithets, or the details of the mental and moral qualities and experiences associated with it, forms the climax of the great majority of the Dialogues. Thus the first Dialogues in the Digha deal with the first stage in the Path. The second is started with the question, by a layman, as to what is the use of the religious life. After a lengthy enumeration of various advantages, each nearer than the previous one to arahat-ship, the discussion of the question ends with arahat-ship. The third is on social rank, and ends with the conclusion that arahat-ship is the best. In the fourth the climax is that the arahat is the true Brahman. The fifth discusses the sacrifice of the sambodhi, or the result that arahat-ship is the best sacrifice. The sixth is on the aim of the members of the Buddhist Order, and ends with arahat-ship; and so on through the remaining seven Dialogues in that volume. Ten out of the chapters in the Digha treat of these three stages of development.

But in the later stages of the Buddha's life, the knowledge gained was applied in a higher sphere, and forms the climax of the Path. The second is started with the question, by a layman, as to what is the use of the religious life. After a lengthy enumeration of various advantages, each nearer than the previous one to arahat-ship, the discussion of the question ends with arahat-ship. The third is on social rank, and ends with the conclusion that arahat-ship is the best. In the fourth the climax is that the arahat is the true Brahman. The fifth discusses the sacrifice of the sambodhi, or the result that arahat-ship is the best sacrifice. The sixth is on the aim of the members of the Buddhist Order, and ends with arahat-ship; and so on through the remaining seven Dialogues in that volume. Ten out of the chapters in the Digha treat of these three stages of development.

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ARIANISM

20. The Lombards and Arianism.
21. Revival of the Trinitarian controversy at the Reformation.
22. ... the language of two theologian!
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it is quite different.

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ARIANISM

2. The years A.D. 318 and 319 found the Church of Alexandria in great confusion, distracted by the obscure Mælian schism and by a controversy between the bishop Alexander and the presbyter Arius (A′řiūs) of the district of Bæcaulis. Alexander, in a charge to his clergy, impressed upon them the unity in the Trinity of the Godhead. According to the historian Socrates (l. 5), Alexander in this discourse somewhat exceeded the limits of discretion (φιλοσοφοῖρος... ἑρατῶνη) in insisting on what is, after all, a single aspect of the truth; that the mystery of the Trinity. Arius forthwith accused his bishop of teaching Sabellianism, and proceeded to formulate his own scheme of doctrine.

Alexander’s doctrine is summed up in the following words in the letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia: ‘Δεῖ θεόν, δεῖ υἱόν, δεῖ πατρὶ διὰ υἱόν, συνεντέχνει τὸ υἱός ἀγανακτός τῷ θεῷ, ἀγανακτός, ἀγανακτόγεννος, οὐκ ἐπεταιχὶ οὐτοῦ ἄτοπος προέχει οὐδὲ θεὸν τοῦ υἱοῦ, δεί θεόν, δεί υἱόν, οὐ κάτω τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ υἱός (Arius’ letter to Eusebius, vol. iii. 14). Arius, considering that this definition detracted from the unique majesty of the Father and introduced confusion, maintained the complete distinction between the Father and the Son, and the subordination of the latter. His own letter (op. cit. vol. iv. p. 15) enumerates eight points of the view advanced by Arius—

(1) The characteristic of the One and Only God is solitude and eternity. He can put nothing forth from His own being. He is not always Father, but only after He begat (i.e. created) the Son.

(2) Wisdom and the Word (λόγος) dwell within this God, but they are powers, not persons.

(3) To create the universe, God brought into being a Word (ὁ λόγος), as the instrument by which all things were created. This Being is termed, in Scripture, Wisdom, Son, Image, Word, etc.

(4) As regards His substance, the Son is a separate being from the Father, different from Him in substance and nature. Like all rational creatures, the Son is endowed with free will, and consequently capable of change.

(5) The Son is not truly God, but is only the second Word and Wisdom. He has no absolute, but only a relative, knowledge of the Father.

(6) The Son is not, however, a creature like other creatures. He is the perfect creature (στέρεος ῥήματος), and has become God, so that we may consequently be ‘the only-begotten God,’ etc.

(7) Christ took a real body, but it was a σῶμα ἄφυσος, the Logos taking the place of the soul. From the Gospel record we see that this Logos is not an absolutely perfect being, but is capable of suffering.

(8) Amongst other created beings the Holy Ghost is to be placed beside the Son as a second, independent substance. According to Arius, apparently, the Spirit is the creation of the Son.

Arius was Arianism—a theory of the mutual relations of the Persons in the Trinity based nominally on the words of Scripture, but arrived at really by the methods of the heathen philosophers. It led either to polytheism by allowing the existence of the Logos as a secondary God, or to Juvinic Unitarianism by denying His proper Divinity. Clement of Alexandria had paved the way for Arianism by his doctrine of God: ‘Stripping from concrete existence all physical attributes, taking away from it in the next place the three dimensions of space, we arrive at the conception of a point having no substance, and a further step,’ says Bigg, ‘for perfect simplicity has not yet been gained. Reject the idea of position, and we have reached the most stable and unalterable, the most lasting. The subject appears to be one of those points from which a gap is gone astray from the first by his mode of approaching the subject. He has propounded as his question, not What is the Spirit? or What is God? but What is that incorporeal, incapable of being conceived? This he assumes to be the cause of all that exists. Nothing that is part of the effect can belong to the cause. . . . The result is a chaos, the pure Mephistophelian. This, but if unprofitable in its conclusions, and leading to the ultimate substitution of Christianity, Ariusism was most difficult to refuse, owing to the confusion of thought prevalent at the time of its appearance.

In the controversy which ensued, Alexander seems to have acted with some moderation, and even to have allowed his hesitant and evasive methods to such extremes as to be made an excuse for a schism. Arius had no scruples in forming a party of his own. He enlisted the support of two bishops, Secundus of Ptolemais in the Pentapolis, and Theonas of Marmaria, and also that of several presbyters and virgins. To secure popular favour, he put his opinions in doggerel verse, adopting the metre of the licentious poet Sotades, in order that the sailors and dock-labourers of Alexandria might sing at their work of ‘How the Father is not always Father,’ etc. His Thalia, as this strange collection of songs was called, popularized his system among the formidable proletariat of the capital of Egypt. But Arius’ strongest support was his ‘fellow-Lucianist.’ Eusebius of Nicomedia, the most influential prelate in the East. In A.D. 321, Alexander held a Council at Alexandria; Arius was excommunicated and left the city (see De potestate dominii, 20). Hosius, bishop of Cordova, in Spain, to Alexandria with a very remarkable letter to Alexander and Arius, begging them to lay aside their logomachies and cooperate with him in restoring peace to the distracted world. But an Imperial letter, ‘though marvellously and full of wisdom,’ as Socrates describes it, could not allay so embittered a strife, and Constantine decided to submit all matters in dispute to a Council of the whole Church, to assemble in the year A.D. 325 at Nicæa, on Lake Issus, in Asia Minor. The first act of the Council as regards Arius was with practical unanimity to pronounce his doctrine heretical. That the Son had been created out of things that were not (ἐκ οὐδεμα), that He was of the Like Father, that, even before time was, the Father was without the Logos, were on all sides regarded as blasphemous assertions. It was not till the question arose as to how the error should be refuted that there
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was any serious difference of opinion. The Fathers had meant to affirm the ancient faith of the Church against novelty; but when they wished to express what they meant in words, they found that none to which they had been hitherto accustomed were capable of escaping the evasions of such masters as the Arians in the art of making Scripture phrases assume meanings contrary to the teaching of Scripture. In consequence of this, the Council, probably at the suggestion of Hosius, was induced to adopt the expression ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῶν Ἡρῴδων and the word ἁρωνία, neither of which is to be found in

ὁρωνίας (syneudem substantiae) was a word which presented no difficulty to the Latins who followed the teaching of Tertullian, ad. Polycarp, and Nicator. Dionysius of Alexandria in his correspondence with his namesake of Alexandria had protested against any undue separation (ὑπερευθητῷ υποστάσει) of the Father and the Son, thus virtually the ὑσευιας. Tertullian had also, in Hbis de Anima (c. 52), carefully distinguished substantia (seceia) from nature. The Latins and the anti-Origenists at the Council desired to press the unity rather than the equality of the Son with the Father; and to them the word was conveniently adapted. But the majority of the Greek-speaking bishops had a strong objection to both expressions, ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὁρωνίας, on the following grounds: (1) They regarded them as the Council alleged were {284} of a Samosata (A.D. 361) had condemned the use of ὤσευιαν. (2) The idea of an alius common to the Trinity might countenance words which might imply an oneness prior to the Father and the Son, or countenance materialism (e.g. Didymus conceived an alius equivalent to ἱδρία or ἀνθρώπινον). (3) The Creed differs from our Nicene Creed in its definition of the doctrine of the Son in several important points (see Hort, Two Dissertations, p. 61; Bethune-Baker, Chr. Doct., p. 185). After a bare profession of belief in the Holy Spirit, the creed concludes with anathema of all the distinctive teaching of Arius, (1) that there was a time when the Son was not, (2) that His He was not before He was begotten, (3) that He was not by the word of God, (4) that He is of a different essence (ὑποστάσεις) or being (ὑποστάσεις), or (5) that He is created or capable of change or alteration. It is generally agreed that at Nicene there was some apprehension that after certain words were carefully distinguished, were practically synonymous.

4. Into the intrigues whichculminated with the banishment of Athanasius, who became bishop of Alexandria on 5th June, 328, it is needless to enter, it being sufficient for us to inquire into the causes which prevented the Creed of Nicea from being the immediate conclusion of the controversy. Few of the bishops, whilst abhorring the heresy of Arius, understood the exact merits of the question. They were afraid of the error of Sabellius, and to this the Homoeism seemed to have committed them. Moreover, with the natural conservatism of men pledged to hold fast to the faith 'once delivered to the saints,' they distrusted words unsanctioned by Scripture. The tradition, Emperor himself, who to the end of his life believed himself faithful to the Creed of Nicea, when he saw that its promulgation had failed to give peace to the Church, was less enthusiastic in its defence. So much readiness to welcome back its opponents that he received Eusebius of Nicomedia not long after the Council; and, for the sudden death of the heresiarch, Athius would, at his command, have been reconciled to the Church.

New the phrases introduced into the Creed were as formula of belief is shown by Athanasius' defence of them in his De Synag. c. 32. He reformulates, Dionysius of Rome, and Dionysius of Alexandria. 'This anxious appeal to theological writers,' says Hort (Two Dissertations, p. 65), 'was in strong relief the absence of authority derived from public creeds.' Eusebius' objections and his reasons for ultimately accepting the word ἁρωνίας are set forth in his letter to his Church at Caesarea. In this letter he discusses the expressions in the Creed, ἀρωνιας ἡτος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Αρωνίας ἐστιν, ἢ ἁρωνίας, and ὁρωνίας. He accepted the first on being assured that it meant that the Son is not a part of Him. 'Begotten, not made,' panded, because 'made' was an appellative common to the other creatures which were to be through the Son, this term might well be assimilated. As for ὁρωνίας, Eusebius received it as implying that the Son bears no resemblance to the created creatures, but that He was begotten to His Father alone who begot Him in every way assimilated.' It is easy enough to see that Eusebius did not come to the definitions of the Creed with an open mind; and he is still more ready to explain away the sentiment of the Creed as hav served in Athanasius, de Deo, sect. 9, 10, being mutilated by Socrates, H. III.

5. On the death of Constantine (A.D. 337), his Eastern dominions passed to his son Constans, who encouraged his bishops to draw up a creed to supersede that of Nicea, to which all the Asiatic and Syrian Churches seemed opposed. The result of their labours is apparent in the five creeds of Antioch, which exhibit the tendencies of the different factions, those one point of union seems to have been antagonism to Athanasius and the Nicene formula. These confessions of faith, together with the Athanasian creed, therefore, served elsewhere, served only to show that there was no possible compromise between avowed Arianism and the Homoeonian doctrine. The orthodox opponents of the language of the Creed of Nicea, whom Professor Gwatkin terms 'the Conservative,' were such as Eusebius of Cesarea, whom Creeds of Sabellianism and hatred of innovation drove into opposition to Athanasius—were being made use of by those who were at heart Arians to force an Arianizing creed upon the unwilling Church. The weak and unstable Constantine was always in the hands of those whom he believed capable of pacifying the Church by a new creed. He was in reality aiming at a comprehensive State-religion acceptable to all parties, and thought that a sort of modified Arianism would supply this want in the provinces over which he at this time bore rule. In A.D. 339, Athanasius was driven out of Alexandria, and in A.D. 341 the formal reaction against the Nicene doctrine began; the church assembled for the dedication of the Golden Church at Antioch. Athanasianus and Marcellus of Ancyra went to Rome to lay their cause before Julius, to whom the bishops assembled at Antioch wrote in A.D. 336, over which Professor Gwatkin (Arianism, p. 117) as 'one of the abiding monuments of the entire controversy' (Athanasius, Apol. cont. Ar. ec. 21-26; Socr. H. III. 17; Socr. H. III. 19).

In all probability, Darius, bishop of Cesarea in Cappadocia, presided at this synod, and there were also present Eusebius of Nicomedia, now bishop of Constantinople, who gave the name by which the opponents of Athanasius were at this time known, and Acacius, the successor of Eusebius Pamphilus in the see of Cesarea.

The opponents of Athanasius were called εὐσεβείς ἑπισκόποι, or the Εὐσεβιας, as the words have been somewhat inexact rendered. The term is used in two senses: (1) literally denoting the personal entourage of Eusebius, i.e. the court party, crypto-Arians all of them; (2) more generally the majority of the Asiatic bishops who were discontented with the Nicene Council. These latter are generally called by the term Εὐσεβοι.

Four creeds were put forward by this Council—all attempts to dispense with the objectionable word ἁρωνίας. The most celebrated was the so-called second Creed of Antioch, to which the name of Lucian the martyr was attached. In this the Persons of the Trinity were said to be One by reason of the harmony existing between them—τῷ μὲν υποστάτῃ τῷ ἁγιῷ, τῷ δὲ συμφώνῳ τῷ.
Arius: "We have never become followers of Arius, for how shall we who are bishops follow a presbyter?" This creed was suspiciously like the confession which Arius himself had made before he was expelled, and there is every reason to regard the second creed, which became the watchword of the anti-Athanasian party. It declared the Son to be the unchangeable image (ἀμφότερος καθολικός τιμίας) of the Godhead, essence (essentia), consubstantial power, and glory of the Father. It laid special stress on the rejection of the Creed of Caesarea, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit—of the same sort as the other creeds of this nature, all the distinctive dates of the creed have been restored in such a way that an Arius could easily subscribe to them. (3) A parallel was supplied to the Caesarean Creed by that of Tyana at the conclusion of the controversy between the doctrines of Marcellus of Ancyra, as representing the Sabellianizing tendency of the Nicene, and those of Sabellius. (4) The Nicene church was soon aghast at so contentuous a document. (5) The tendency of the West inclined to Sabellianism, and those of the East to Ariantism. The Nicene doctrine of the Son is such that we can well understand how the Western bishops refused to condemn Marcellus (Harnack, op. cit. 163). The tendentiousness of the creed was increased by the orthodoxy of Marcellus by St. Epiphanius, who would only subscribe, showing that he had an equally poor opinion of his friend as of Arius. Theology and politics were worked upon together, and each had to be checked. The infamous plot of Stephen of Antioch against the two Western delegates Vincentius of Capua and Epiphanius of Cologne is related by Athanasius (Hist. Arian. c. 29).

7. During the next ten years (A.D. 346-356) the two parties were outwardly at peace, but yet bitterly arming for the conflict. At Alexandria, Athanasius, who had been welcomed back with surprising enthusiasm, maintained his influence undiminished, and set a seal upon the loyalty of his church to the Creed of Nicæa. The monastic movement was in all the vigour of its first enthusiasm, and the ascetics, recognizing the earnestness of the bishop, became his firmest supporters. At Antioch, Leonius, whose early indiscretion was similar to that of Origen (Hist. Arian. 28), though an Arian at heart, had managed to maintain the peace by his cautious policy. This wise man knew well that the tranquility his discretion had secured was only temporary, and in allusion to his death he would pathetically touch his grey hairs and say: 'When this snow melts, there will be much mud.' At Rome, Photinus of Sirmium, whose indiscretion outran even that of Marcellus, had been sacrificed for his Sabellian teaching; but the death of the wise and politic pope Julius in A.D. 352 was a serious loss to the cause of orthodoxy. His successor Liberius lacked both his firmness and his tact. Political events were also precipitating the crisis. Athanasius' faithful friend, the Emperor Constans, was killed by the usurper Magnentius. From the end of A.D. 350, when he was at or near Sardica in Dec. 25, to the close of A.D. 359, Constans spent his time in his Western dominions, being most frequently to be found at Sirmium or Milan (Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism 2, App. ii. 'Movements of the Eastern Emperors'). Sirmium, not Antioch, was destined henceforward to be the scene of creed-making.

8. Many of the original disputants in the controversy had already passed away, and a new generation had arisen. Parties were becoming more and more clearly defined. The Oriental bishops were developing, stern force led the Arians to become more Arian than their father. Some of the old conservatives were drifting towards Ariantism, whilst others shrank back in dismay at its encroachments. The general tendency favoured the obliteration of the old party landmarks and the rise of new factions. The place of Eusebius of Nicomedia as Imperial adviser had been taken by Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, the province bordering on Illyricum, to which Arius had been exiled after the Council of Nicæa. Valens, with his friend Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum, was a most uncompromising Arian, and his policy was not, like the old Eusebius, to fight Athanasius by means of conservative prejudice, but to force an Arian creed on the Council of Nicæa (Robertson, Athanasius, p. liv). Valens had won great influence over Constans, who believed that the bishop had received from an angel the news of the victory of Mursa (A.D. 351), and from this time an organized campaign was conducted against Athanasius, which culminated in the coup d'etat at Alexandria, when the bishop was expelled by military violence (A.D. 356). Valens' ablest assistants in the East were Acacius,
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the successor of Eusebius Pamphilus in the see of Cesarea, and Eudoxius, bishop of Antichio and Constantinople successively. In A.D. 357 there appeared from Sirmium the first really Arian creed, called by Hilary of Poitiers 'the blasphemy of Sirmium.' Other formule of belief were promulgated from the same place by the 'direct creed' in which the consuls of the year are mentioned, a fact of which Athanasius is not slow to take advantage in his de Synodic.

The Arians, supported by the Emperor, did not hesitate to push their claims; and finally, at the great Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, their creeds were accepted as the orthodox doctrine of the empire. Thus in A.D. 359 it seemed as though the Nicene profession of faith was repealed and Arianism was triumphant.

The creeds of Sirmium are as follows. The 1st was drawn up against Photinus in A.D. 347. The 2nd (A.D. 350)—but commonly known as the 3rd—is identical with the fourth creed of Antichio (βλασφημία τῆς πρώτης). The 3rd (A.D. 357), called the 'Synodonic' (of) distinctly denies the true Divinity of the Son; (2) it also declares the terms υἱοθεσία and τρινοθεσία un-Scriptural, maintaining that it is impossible to declare the Natur of the Son, because it is written generationem sui ontus ex Patria. In opposition to the creed proposed but not accepted at Sardica (see above), makes the literal sense of the person in the Father to be impossible (see Bethune-Baker, Introd. p. 181 n.). This extreme teaching startled the bishops of Asia Minor, and under the presidency of Anacius a synod was held at that place in A.D. 358. At this synod the extreme Ariant, Eudoxius, Acetius, and others, were excommunicated with anathemas condemning all who acknowledged the formal equality (υἱοθεσία) of the Son to the Father, as well as the terms υἱοθεσία and τρινοθεσία (Anastasius six, [Ibn. p. 201]). The result of the stand made by Basel and his friends was an attempt to compromise, i.e. to allow that the Son was like the Father. But the 4th, or 'dated creed,' (A.D. 360), composed by Maris, bishop of Antichio and declared the Son to be υἱοθεσία γεννηθησίας ἁγίου ψεριτον with the addition 'according to the Scriptures,' which allowed the Arians to have their way. It was this fourth creed which was Arianism that was accepted under imperial pressure at Sirmium, S. 111.

9. Already, however, a reaction had begun. In the first place, the Arians were divided among themselves. Logical and consistent Ariants, like Aetius and his disciple Eunomius of Cyrizus, were prepared to push the teaching of Arians to its ultimate conclusion; but the Son was not God in the same sense as the Father. He could not be like Him, for there can be nothing like God. Their argument, different as was the inference drawn from it, was the same as that used by Athanasius himself. 'It is the same in essence, but not in person, and qualities; for in the case of essences we speak not of likeness, but of identity' (de Synodic, 53).

From their denial of the likeness of the Son to the Father this class of Arians were called Anomceans. But the majority of Ariants were men of compromise and evasion, having no other idea than to insinuate their opinions under the guise of apparently innoxious phraseology. These, led by the dexterous Acacius of Cesarea, allowed that the Son might be acknowledged to be like the Father, and were consequently called Homoeans. Lastly, there was the party headed by Basil of Anacysa, the successors of those conservatives who had opposed Athanasius. These men, who constituted the strength of the episcopate of Asia Minor, were as hostile to Arianism as Athanasius himself, and were ready to accept the term οὐσία in their definition of the Godhead. Fearing that Sabellianism underlay the use of υἱοθεσία, they rejected the Nicene test word, but were ready to admit that our Lord was a Logos (υἱοθεσία) to the Father. This formidable combination was known as the party of the Semi-Arians (q.v.). At heart most of them were orthodox, and this the two great champions of the Nicene faith, Athanasius and Hilary of Poitiers (son of Photinus, who had been exiled by Constantiua to Asia Minor), had the wisdom to perceive. After their triumph at Sclacicia and Ariminum, the Arians and Homoeans had the folly to attempt to crush these Semi-Arians at the Synod of Constantinople (A.D. 360), and thereby drove them in self-defence into the arms of the Nicenes. It needed only the help of the great Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Neo-Cesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa, to complete the triumph of the Nicene Christology.

The Semi-Arians and the Cappadocin Fathers are subjects of separate treatment in this work; and it is unnecessary to do more here than allude to the important dispute as to the final settlement of the Arian controversy. The question at issue was whether the Homoeans or the Semi-Arians were correct in their use of οὐσία, the ambiguity was removed. This was the work of Prof. Gwatkin's most instructive survey of the importance of the Arian controversy: 'The Cambridge History of Christendom,' p. 64). Attention should be paid to Prof. Gwatkin's most instructive survey of the importance of the Arian controversy: 'The Cambridge History of Christendom,' p. 64). Nevertheless, the Arian party in A.D. 398, and their doctrine, was too plainly artificial and too unscriptural to have a place among the creeds of the church. Perhaps it is translated by the LXX, and on this the Arians based their doctrine that the Son was a μικρομοι. To the delight of the people, always at this time more orthodox than the Bishop, no Church would ever accept a doctrine which could be made use of. This paved the way for a reconciliation between the conservatives, with their dread of Sabellianism, and the Athanasiyan and Western Christians, who clung to the importance of the Unity of the Divine essence. As Bethune-Baker says, 'the 4th Council showed that the only solution of the problem was to be found in a distinction within the divine unity . . . it was necessary to revise the idea of divine personality and to acknowledge not three persons but three essential parts of the Divine' (Ch. Doct. p. 157 n.). This was done when the distinction in meaning between οὐσία and ἐνσάρξ was agreed upon, and the ambiguity of the Latin and Greek terminology removed.

In the early days of the controversy the terms οὐσία and ἐνσάρξ were used interchangeably with the great misunderstanding, because, while one part of Christendom spoke of υἱοθεσία in the sense of Sabellianism, there was only one. By distinguishing between οὐσία and ἐνσάρξ, and explaining the mystery of the Trinity as δύο οὐσία ἐν ἕνῃ ἔνσαρξ, the ambiguity was removed. This was the work of
of the Cappadocian Fathers, but it really began with the Council of Alexandria. In Latin legal language substantia means property, and persona a being with legal rights, a 'party' in an action a.,. Law. Thus a person has certain proper, 16, and a substance, and a substantia might belong to more than one person or use. Substance, therefore, of which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost partake; or he seems to have used substance in a sense, or 'substance, of which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost partake; in the Synod of Constantinople (a.d. 381), the denial of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, which subsequently became characteristic of Semi-Arianism.

11. But though Arianism may justly be described as having been the death of Constantinianism, it remained, in its Homoean form, the official religion of the Eastern half of the Roman Empire down to a.d. 378. On the death of Jovian (a.d. 364), Valentinian was chosen as emperor by the army on Feb. 26, and associated his brother Valens with him on the 29th of March, taking upon himself the government of the Western provinces, and assigning the Eastern to Valens. The stern but just Valentinian pursued a rigidly impartial policy in matters of religion, and as the Tribune, the government of the capital of Italy, remained under an Arian bishop, orthodoxy generally prevailed in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Valens, on the other hand, supported the Homoeans, thereby forcing the Semi-Arian party to open negotiations with. Libirus, bishop of Rome, and his successor Damasus. The Homoean supremacy lasted down to the defeat and death of Valens at Adrianople (Aug. 7, 378). Valentinian had died three years earlier, and his son Gratian had the magnanimity to appoint Theodosius, son of a distinguished official who had been put to death under Valentinian and Valens, as his colleague in the Eastern provinces. Theodosius, an orthodox Spaniard, cleared the Roman territory of victorious Goths, and, being afflicted with sickness in the year following his accession (a.d. 380), accepted baptism at the hands of Ascleius, bishop of Thessalonica. Theodosius took the faith of Rome and Alexander of Alexandria as the norm of Christian belief in a public act, commanding all to follow the faith 'commended by the Apostle Peter to the Romans, and now professed by Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria' (Cod. Theod. xvi. 1, 2). He allowed Gregory of Nazianzus to establish himself at Constantinople and to preach the doctrine upheld so strenuously by his friend Basil, bishop of Neo-Caesarea (d. 379), in the evil days of Valens. The course in which Gregory delivered his discourses against the Arians became the Church of the Anastasia, the Resurrection of the Faith. In 381 the comparatively insignificant assembly, afterwards known as the Second General Council, met at Constantinople to confirm the faith of Nicæa. Further councils were made to the Arians in the ensuing years; but in a.d. 383, Arianism was finally proscribed, and ceased to be legal for Roman citizens to profess.

Of the interval between the councils of Alexandria (a.d. 362) and Constantinople (a.d. 381), though extremely important, the history of dogma is not necessary to treat at length in an account of Arianism, whose very triumph in the last days of Constantine made its ultimate overthrow only a matter of time. In the present article it is only requisite to mention a few landmarks, referring the reader to the articles CAPPADOCIAN THEOCRACY; ARIANISM. The Semi-Arians were at first disfavoured by Valens and allowed to assemble at Lampsacus, where they were 'honoured with the Te Deum' by the Father, and cast out the Homoean Eudoxus and Asclepius. Eudoxus, however, gained the Emperor's ear, and Valens expelled from their see for refusing to communicate with the Homoeans. One of their most distinguished leaders, Eusebius of Cyzicus, compiled with the imperial demands and abjured Homoeodoxy, but he repented bitterly of his action. Then came the negotiations with Rome, culminating in the Synod of Tyana (a.d. 387). The Semi-Arians were not really disposed to accept the Nicene faith in its entirety; and under the name of Macedonians many refused to acknowledge the proper Divinity of the Holy Spirit (Isthmic, Bact. of Councils, a.d. 388). The work was done by the unfortunate schism at Antioch, directed to a real recantation of the doctrine by implicit acknowledgment of Homoeousian doctrine. For the question as to which creed was accepted by the Council of Constantinople in a.d. 381 see Oecumenical Councils, B. 7. Introduction to the Creeds; and, above all, Hort, Two Dissertations.

12. Arianism may be defined as an attempt to determine the relations of the Persons of the Trinity on a basis of distinction and subordination. Despite all the efforts of Arius to popularize his opinions, they never found favour with the people. The movement was clerical rather than lay; the difficulties it sought to overcome were those of Origenist theologians perplexed by philosophical doubts and seeking an explanation where none was possible. Nor did Arianism pure and simple ever fail to arouse a strong feeling of indignation: the creed of Arius at Nicæa, the Sirian blasphemy, the opinions of Aëtius and Eunomius, all caused a storm. It was only by immunising it in the plausible guise of Scriptural philosophy that Arianism ever obtained a hearing. Nor could it be otherwise. An Arian Christ, a created Logos unable to reveal an unknown God, could never be the Christ of the orthodoxians as the Incarnate Word, the sole Mediator between God and man, the supreme Sacrifice for the sin of the world. All who acknowledged this adored at heart to the Nicene doctrine, however they might object to the language in which it was expressed. The great merit of Athanasius was his ability to recognize this truth; and he and Hilary were ready to make any concessions to those who shared the spirit, though they might not adopt the orthodoxy of Nicæa. That the homoeousian, hardly appears in the works of Athanasius.

Arianism does not seem to have sprung from any strong ethical impulse. Its philosophy was pagan, and the object of its leaders was political rather than religious. 'Arius tried to interpret the Christian revelation in such a way as to render it acceptable to men whose whole conception of God and of life was heathen' (Bethune-Baker, op. cit. p. 156). His heresy was, in short, a symptom of the disease of the Church in the 4th century, increasing in ingratitude with the civil power. What the Roman government required when it invited the Christian Church to enter into alliance with it was that the Faith should cause as little disturbance as possible to the empire. Arianism promised to provide this, in the form of a creed offering an easy and almost imperceptible transition from paganism to Christianity. By the edict of Milan, Christianity, the religion of the minority, had been virtually accepted by the Roman government, which thereby had committed itself to the policy of making it the religion of the majority. Arianism, by surrendering the chief characteristic of Christianity, the proper Divinity of Christ, made the new faith less hard to accept; and for this reason the Emperors, though from time to time encouraging the Nicene theology, were naturally disposed, especially in the Eastern provinces, towards Arianism. But, as the long controversy showed, the Arian doctrine led not merely to an accommodation to pagan theology, but also to an approach to pagan morality. For though some, especially of the extreme Arians, were faithful to their opinions, the majority of the party were dexterous politicians ready to serve the interests of the corrupt court of Constantius. Bishop Robertson sums up the character of no few of the Arian intriguers when he says of Aëtius of Cesarea: 'The real opinions of a man with such a record are naturally not easy to determine, but we may be sure that he was in thorough sympathy.
with the policy of Constantius, namely, the union of all parties in the Church on the basis of sub-serviency to the State (Athanasius, p. iv). The men most opposed to the rapid secularization of the Church which characterized the 4th cent. were almost uniformly opposed to Arian teaching.

13. None the less, the Arian controversy was not without its opposite; indeed, it was inevitable outcome of the tendencies of the age. A Sabellian Christology would have been as fatal to Christianity as that of Arius, since it would have robbed the Incarnation of its reality, making it little more than an abstract conception of God, interpreted by the eloquence of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the philosophy of Gregory of Nyssa were alike instrumental in inducing the bishops of Asia and Syria to accept the Homoousion as the one and only safeguard of the Divinity of the Son against the seditious teaching of the Arians.

14. But though the Arian controversy virtually ended with the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381, it was fruitful in new disputes destined to distract and divide Christendom. As early as the time of his banishment to Phyrgia (A.D. 366), Hilarion of Poitiers was able to foretell the approach of a heresy concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit (de Trin. lib. ii. and vatii.; Swete, Hist. of the Doct. of the Procession of the Holy Spirit, p. 112). In 381 the rise of the Tropici caused St. Athanasius to enter, in the Letters to Serapion, upon the subject of the Divinity and Procession of the Spirit (Swete, op. cit. p. 91; see also pp. 47-49). The subject was also considered at the Council of Alexandria (A.D. 362) and about the same time Macedonius, the Semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople, deposed by the Homoean Synod in A.D. 360, was elaborating the theory (which was afterwards known by his name) that the Son was like, and the Holy Spirit unlikable to the Father. Though the controversy caused by this question never ceased the world like those on the Divinity of the Son, the consequences were even more serious, the question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost being the pretext of the schism between Eastern and Western Christendom. Even more fruitful in divisions was the problem raised by Athanasius of Laodicea, one of the chief opponents of Arianism, concerning the relations of the Manhood to the Godhead of Christ.

AMILLARISM.

The first phase for which Athanasius contended so nobly, and which he asserted in early youth before the appearance of Arianism, was the union between God and man brought about by the Incarnation (de Incarnatione). But the zeal with which the Divinity of the Son was contended, as Har- nack truly says, to obscure the historical Jesus (op. cit. iv.); and theology occupied itself with the dogmatic aspect of the Divine rather than with the practical example of the human Christ.

At all parts in the history of the Church the fact that one of the results of the great dogmatic controversies in the early Church was that the defeated party displayed conspicuous zeal in missionary effort; and, without sparing condemnation of the self-seeking and unscrupulous spirit of the political Arians, we have also to remember that some later Arians, like the heresiarch himself, were ready to condescend to instuct the simple. Possibly Arius believed that by re-stating the theology of the Church in terms suited to his age he was doing good service in rendering the faith acceptable to the heathen; and his followers found ready converts among the Teutoon invaders of the empire. The exile of Arius and Eusebius of Nicomedia was only not in the inevitable outcome of the tendencies of the age. It truly of

op.

Incarnatione).
was then that the belief of Rome, and the Churches in communion with her, won its most signal triumph in the conversion of Clovis (A.D. 496). The strength of the organization of the Church of the fallen Empire stands in remarkable contrast to the weakness of the less disciplined national churches of its Arian invaders. As Dr. Hodgkin remarks, 'The Arian bishops took their fill of court favour and influence while it lasted, but made no provision for the future. They stood apart from one another in stupid and ignominious isolation. Unhappily by the great Augustinian thought of the world - encompassing city of God, they tended more and more to form local tribal churches, one for the Visigoths, another for the Vandals, another for the Burgundians. And thus in the end the fable of the loosened faggot and the broken sticks proved true of all the Arian monarchies' (Italy and Her Invaders, vol. iii. p. 345; see also Gwatkin, op. cit. p. 72).

The events which followed the conversion of Clovis showed the immense political power of the Catholic-Nicene Church of the West. The important Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse, which lasted for a hundred years, and reached the apex of its power under Euric (a.d. 466-484), fell before the Frankish army in 496. The Visigoths, led by Totila, was driven to a crushing defeat by the Vandals, led by Giseric, at Tolbiac (a.d. 530). The Visigoths, led by Arians, in defence of which Ecdicius and the bishop Sidonius Apollinaris played so vital a part, was opposed by the orthodox party of Clovis, and the triumph of the former was followed by severe measures of repression, which have been lamented by later admirers. For a discussion of these measures see C. A. Scott, Ulfils, p. 185; and DCB, art. 'Euric,' by Mrs. Humphry Ward, who quotes the letter of Sidonius (Ep. vii. 6). It was not until the death of the Arian Arianizing of the Visigoths, and their clergy tended to misinterpret and misapply Sidonius' allusion to the natural death of bishops, to whose vacant see Euric refused to permit a successor to be chosen, and imagined that they were slain by Ecdicius. After the conversion of Clovis the Catholics had their revenge; that some priests realized the value of their assistance, and made the battle of Alarc, the son of Ecdicius, a holy war. 'Valde moleste fero nisi quid mihi partem tenuisse Galliae non teneatur, et superstites redignamus terram in diametrum nostram' (Greg. Tours, i. 37).

In the case of the Burgundian Gundobald, the Catholic spokes- man Axtus, bishop of Vienne, held out as an inducement to him to embrace orthodoxy, that he would be protected against Clovis (Avitus, Op. xvi. 17; quoted by Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders, vol. iii. p. 347). The fall of the Visigothic kingdom in Italy is an even stronger proof of the political strength of orthodoxy. The admirable rule of Theodoric, his fairness and tolerance, were of no avail to save his dynasty; directly an orthodox Emperor was on the throne at Constantinople, the Church intrigued against him and his family. 'Tuttis,' says Professor Gwatkin, 'was a model of barbarian justice; yet even that illustrious man would have sanctioned his unius esse virtutibus.' 'In that case,' answered Gregory, 'why will you not receive the communion with us?' Qui quisquirit, quia non receptae sunt sanctorum apostolorum nos dicimus Gloria deo patri per filium; vos autem Gregori, Gloria patri, et sanguine (Greg. Hist. ii. 18). Avitus, Epist. iv. 15, 16. Avitus, Epist. ii. 7. The ninety-one letters of Avitus, bp. of Vienne, should be consulted; see also Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xxvii.; Bevillot, Arianisme chez les peuples germains; Maimbourg, Hist. of Arianism, bk. x.; Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders.

16. Every barbarian kingdom ultimately abandoned Arianism, or else, as in the case of the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa, Arianism proved one of the causes of national ruin. The principal Arian nations were the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Lombards; and each in turn suffered from the brutal suppression of Christianity in which they had been instructed for the Niceno-Roman faith. As the chief reasons for their conversion were political, the reader is referred to the history of the period; all that is possible in this article is to give the main features of the struggle with the orthodox prelates, in which each of the three nations mentioned eventually succumbed. The Burgundians do not seem to have been originally Arians; indeed, if we are to believe Socrates, who wrote in the reign of Theodosius II. (c. A.D. 430), they were originally Catholics (HE vii. 30); see also DCC, art. 'Gundicarius,' and 'Orosius.' It would seem that the Burgundians were never entirely Arian, though the majority of the nation at the time of Clovis were
of that persuasion. It is an open question whether Gundobald, the contemporary of Clovis, was Arian or orthodox (Greg. Tours, Hist. Franc. ii. 34, iii. prologue; Avitus, Ep.). His son, the unfortunate Sigibaud, was certainly orthodox, whilst the next king Godomar (also a son of Gundobald) was an Arian. In A.D. 534 the Franks subdued Burgundy; but Arianism seems to have continued to drag out an obscure existence till the end of the century (Revellout, op. cit. p. 218).

19. After their defeat by Clovis, the Visigoths were gradually driven out of all Gaul except Septimania, but they continued to live in the south of France, being otherwise confined to the Spanish peninsula. In their dominions as elsewhere the Roman provincials remained orthodox, and in the seaport towns the influence of Constantinople was still considerable. Spain, however, was the great stronghold of Arianism, which made a long and obstinate struggle before it gave way to the orthodox belief of the Empire. In A.D. 569 the able Leovigild became king of the Visigoths; and, after a series of successful campaigns, reduced his people to almost complete submission to that faith. His son, Hermenegild was married to Ingunthia, daughter of Sigibaud and Brunichildis of Austrasia. The bride (she was only thirteen years of age) was expected to become an easy convert from Frankish orthodoxy to Visigothic Arianism. She professed the faith very firm in her heart, and absolutely refused to be re-baptized by the Arians, though her grandmother Goiswintha, the wife of Leovigild, treated her with great brutality. To prevent further trouble in his family, Leovigild made his son king, and gave him a separate establishment at Seville. There, it is said, by the influence of his uncle, the famous bishop Leander, and that of his wife, Hermenegild became a Catholic. The young prince soon rebelled against his father, and with the assistance of the Catholic provincials and the Byzantines his party became very formidable. To conciliate his subjects, Leovigild visited the churches, and professed that his belief was Catholic save for his denial of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; for which he was able to find no Scriptural warrant. He also made a remarkable concession to the prejudices of his subjects, by allowing them to go from the Roman to the Catholic Church, for so the Arians denominated the Roman creed simply by the name of catholicam fidei, without any repetition of the baptismal rite, but merely by imposition of hands and saying the Gloria in the Arian form, 'Pater et Filium in Spiritu Sancto.' The rebellion of Hermenegild was suppressed, and Leovigild is said to have persecuted the orthodox faith with severity. The unfortunate Hermenegild was put to death, and received, on somewhat doubtful authority, the honours of canonization at the hands of Pope Urban VIII. (1622-1644). Leovigild died in A.D. 596, and was succeeded by his son, Recared. One of the first acts of Recared was to declare himself in favour of the Catholics, and, according to Gregory of Tours (ix. 15), he arranged a disputation in A.D. 597 between the adherents of the two creeds, after which he embraced the Nicene faith; but this Synod is passed over in all collections of Councils save Manni's ('Hefele, Councils, sec. 286). Two years later, Recared held the famous third Council of Toledo, at which 67 bishops and 200 monks were more present. The leading bishops were St. Leanderv of Seville, uncle to the king, and Massona of Emerita. Twenty-three anathemas were pronounced against Arianism, the most interesting of which are the third, which declared 'Christus et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, quae pater et filius; et filius et Spiritus; et pater et Spiritus; et pater et filius et Spiritus.' The ninth, against declaring that the Son in His Godhead was ever visible; the fourteenth, prescribing the correct form of the Gloria; the sixteenth, condemning the 'abominable treatise which we composed' to seduce the provincials into the Arian heresy, i.e. at the Arian Synod of Toledo (581); and the seventeenth condemned the Synod of Ariminum (A.D. 359). 'The holy creed' (the Niceno-Constantinopolitan) was ordered to be recited before communion after the manner of the Greek Fathers; and, as is well known, the creed to which Recared and his queen, Athanasia, submitted, besides the Arians, subscribed, contained the fateful addition of the Filioque. Arianism, however, was not suppressed by Recared without force, as many of the Gothic nobles held out for some years. For fuller particulars consult the Council see Gams, Kirchengesch. von Spanien, vol. ii. p. 1. secs. 6-16; also Dahn, Uebergeschichte der german. und roman. Väter, p. 515. The native chronicler is Johannes Biciarensis (Migne, Patrol. lat. vol. xxiii.). It is noteworthy that from Spain proceeded the one of the most important Western heretics concerning the Christian doctrine, the Adoptionist or Arianism that of the Filiusque, promulgated by Eclipandus, the metropolitan of Toledo, and condemned at the Council of Frankfort (A.D. 794).

20. The Lombard conquerors of Italy were Arians down to the close of the 6th cent., and, even in the days of St. Gregory the Great, Autharhis, their king, forbade any of his Lombards to give their children Catholic baptism. But shortly before his death Autharhis married a Bavarian princess Theodelinda, who had been brought up in the Catholic faith. So great an impression did her wisdom and beauty make on her people, that, when she became a widow, the Lombards begged her to adopt her own husband and continue to reign over them. She chose Agilulf, and by her persuasions the new king was gradually reconciled to the Catholic faith. It was to Theodelinda that Gregory addressed that most interesting revelation of the credulity of his age, the Dialogues. Traces of Arianism remained among the Lombards down to the middle of the next century, and it is not at all certain by what means the whole nation was induced to abandon the Arianism. The Roman pontiffs regarded them always with the greatest abhorrence. For the correspondence between Gregory and Theodelinda see Hodgkin, Italy and Her Invaders (1889), vols. vi., and Homes Dudden, Gregory the Great (1908).

The whole subject of the transmission of the Teutonic from Arianism to Catholicism is one of great obscurity, and deserves careful investigation. Of the Churches nothing seems to have survived, and, except Udal's translation, there is no literature which has come down to us. The three important factors in the destruction of Arianism were the power of the Franks, listed on the side of orthodoxy, the weight of influence which the subject Roman provincials were able to throw on the side they favoured in any struggle between rival barbarians, and the part taken by the wives of the kings and chieftains in bringing their people over to the religion of the Romans. Teutonic Arianism was at best a somewhat barbarous Christianity, and it is interesting to observe that a form of Christianity, which began with the highly educated and highly placed epoch of East as a speculative creed, ended in the West as the national religion of ignorant and barbarous warriors. But the struggle between Catholicism and Arianism in Western Europe was not so critical and far more protracted than in the eastern provinces.

21. During the Middle Ages there seems to have been little if any revival of Arian opinions properly so called, the tendency being perhaps in the direction of Sabellianism rather than otherwise, though the drift of Christian thought led men to speculate more on the nature of the Church, and eventually on the position of the Virgin Mary in the hierarchy of heaven, than on Christ (Dorner, Doct. of the Person of Christ, Div. ii. vol. 1. [Third Section]).
of the three ages of the world. But they touched Christology merely at a few points. It was not till the Reformation, the term 'Arian' was frequently misapplied to those who held Unitarian views; and before discussing the later developments of those opinions which derogated from the supreme Godhead of the Son, it may be well to explain the difference between the position assumed by the Arians of the 4th cent., and to give some idea of their more modern followers. 

Arian controversy proper concerned the Nature of the Divine Logos rather than the historic Christ of the Gospels. Arius and all his disciples acknowledged the pre-existence of our Lord, and concerned themselves but little with His Humanity. Indeed, Arius practically denied the manhood of our Lord, by teaching that His human body was animated by the Logos. But this Logos, though the creative principle by which all things were made, was according to his teaching, not really God, but a demi-god called into being to create the world, and, in the Incarnate Christ, to save mankind. No serious attempt was made to renew this heresy at the time of the Reformation, started, on the other hand, with the denial of the pre-existence of Christ, who was declared to be no more than man, though miraculously born of the Virgin Mary and actually raised from the dead. The first Unitarians were Petavius in France, and H. More in England, and the majority took refuge in Poland, where the laxity of the laws and the independence of the nobility secured for them a toleration which would have been denied to their views in other countries. They were divided into two main parties: those who declared that worship ought to be paid to Christ, and those who held that to adore Him, a creature, was idolatry. The leader of the former party was Faustus Socinus (Sozini), and those who followed him are often termed Arians to distinguish them from genuine Unitarians like Blandrata and Francis Davi. These opinions, however, must be considered apart from Arianism proper, which is the subject of the present article. 

See Toulmin's Memoirs of Faustus Socinus. In his introduction this author says that some of the Unitarians adopted Arian notions, and he distinguishes those from the followers of Socinus (Socinians, xvii.). In the meantime Legate, the unfortunate heretic who was burned at Smithfield, 1555, announced that his name was Eusebius. The same claim was assumed by the followers, and when Socinus published his 

Acute enough to see that the drift of his thesis, that the Anti-Nicene Fathers did not hold the doctrine of the Council, was completely different, and that he had the cause of the Papacy rather than that of Arius in his mind ('pontificis potius quam Arianiae causa consultum voluisse,' Def. Fidei, p. 36). Bull’s famous treatise in reply to the arguments of the faith of Nicea appeared in 1684; and ten years later he wrote his Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae in answer to views similar to those of Petavius advanced by the Remonstrant Episcopii, an amiable and learned man, who made so much to attack the Trinitarian position as to maintain its comparative insignificance as an essential of Christianity ('frigidum nimirum tante veritatis vindicem se ostendit,' Introd.: see also Nelson, Life of Bull, ch, xi. v.ii. The Judicium, as is well known, was highly commended by the great Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, and the clergy of the Gallican Church (Life, ch. lix). 

The opponents of Bishop Bull were not, as a rule, Englishmen, anti-Trinitarian opinions in Britain having as yet no prominent advocates, but rather, as Bp. Van Mildert styles them in his Life of Waterland (p. 37), 'importers of foreign novelties.' Perhaps the best known English work advocating Arianism in the 17th cent. was the Adversus Arianism of Dr. Bury, rector of Exeter College (Oxford, 1890). In the same year, Dr. Sherlock, dean of St. Paul's, published his Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity, in which, following some suggestions made by Cudworth, he held that there are three distinct infinite minds or spirits.' 

(Appendix to Dorner, by Patrick Fairbairn.) 23. Professor Gwatkin in his Gifford Lectures ('Knowledge of God,' ch. xvii.) says incisively: Arianism is one of the most modern of the old heresies strangely English in its impatient common sense.' And it was in the England of the 18th cent. that the controversy revived. 

' A variety of circumstances combined to give this turn to religious thought in England. The reaction from Puritanism, which was in part due to thei (p. v.) able to place itself in an era when science and art, and scope no longer existed for mental energy in that direction, had been marred by the Nickan Works of Milton, the theological views of the poet are put forward. He opposes the teaching of the Calvinists on Free Will, and works out from the Bible a Christology of a Semi-Arian character. He does not appear to have read the 

"The two English divines properly deserving of the name of Arians were William Whiston, who succeeded Sir Isaac Newton in the chair of Mathematics at Cambridge, and his friend Dr. Samuel Clarke. Whiston was a man of high learning, his name, he is well known, being marred by many eccentricities. His study of Christian documents led him to place the Apostolical Constitutions on a par with the Gospels, and to choose Eusebius of Nicomedia as the exponent of the true tradition of Christian doctrine. He repudiated the name of Arian, but his unspoken utterances caused him to be deprived of his professorship. His more cautious friends, among them Benjamin Hoadly, rose to the highest and
most lucrative positions in the Church of England (Avery and Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i. p. 490 ff.). Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, in 1712 published his Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, in which no fewer than 1257 texts were adduced to prove that the Son was made out to be Gods, the Father declared to be alone Supreme, the Son Divine only so far as Divinity is communicable by the Supreme God, and the Holy Spirit inferior to the Father and the Son, not in order only, but also in distinction and authority. This avowed Arianism (for it was) was pointed out by Dr. Clarke, and Jackson in his Vindication of Christ's Divinity. In the long war of pamphlets which followed, Waterland was conspicuous alike for basing his doctrine on Scripture alone and for the respect he showed for the Fathers. The Ariean dispute in England marks a period when the Fathers were confidently appealed to in theological disputes. Nor was the Church of England alone disturbed by the question, since from the time of Emlyn's condemnation in Dublin (1702) and his expulsion from his church, the Nonconformists were disturbed by the presence of Arianism, which culminated in the Salters Hall Conference in 1718 between Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists. The Arieanism of the early 18th cent. was succeeded by anti-Trinitarianism, and the subordinationist theories of the first decades gave way to more distinctly Unitarian doctrines, the discussion of which is scarcely within the scope of the present article.

For English Arianism see Nelson, Life of Bull, 1713; Van Mildert, Life of Waterland; Whiston, Memoirs, 1744-50; the Appendix to Dörner's Person of Christ (Eng. tr. 1865-69); And The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, 1878, ch. viii.; Sykes, Anti-Trinitarian Biographies; Dale, History of Eng. Congregationalists, 1897.

As a philosophy of religion, Arianism struck a blow not only at the Creed, but at the whole principle of Scriptural revelation. 'Is,' asks Harnack at the beginning of his chapter on the subject (op. cit. vol. iv. Eng. tr.), 'the Divine, which appeared on the earth and has made its presence actively felt, identical with the supremely Divine that rules heaven and earth? Did the Divine which appeared on earth enter into a close and permanent union with human nature, so that it has actually transfigured it and raised it to the plane of the eternal? The OT teaches that the One True God revealed Himself, in part at any rate, to Israel; and the NT supplements this by showing that humanity is made one in the Christ (Greek), and by this is brought into complete harmony with the God and Father of All. Arianism declared God to be unknowable, and the Son completely detached from Him. Humanity can therefore never be brought by Christ to the truly Divine, but only to a sort of pseudo-divinity created by the Father by the Son. Such an evacuation of the purpose of the Christian revolution has always been repudiated whenever the doctrine is presented in its crude form. But we must carefully distinguish between the logical result of such systems as Arius propounded and the opinions of those who unhesitatingly held it. Aristotle himself, in his creed of Sabellianism, may have advanced a theory of the Trinity without considera-

tion of all that it involved. As a matter of fact, he was ready in later life to subscribe to a creed approximating to that of Nicene. Of his opinions the famous Unitarian Dr. Priestley rightly says in his Church History (vol. ii. p. 189) : 'Nay, the proper opinions of Arius, viz., that the Son was made out of eternity, and that at a time when He did not exist, were really adopted by very few. So that what we call Arianism arose much later and spread much less rapidly than has generally imagined.' The Ariean Controversy resulted, however, in bringing forward two conclusions of which the Unitarians maintain a perfect merit of condemnation. If Jesus Christ existed from eternity, and is Head of a Kingdom which shall have no end, if He is indeed to be worshipped and received as God, then the Nicene doctrine is true, and He is of one substance with the Father. Otherwise, Christians have been mistaken from the first in their conception of Him, and He is not Divine, but a creature; not eternal, but belonging to time: either, as Arius suggested, a Second, God, using the term 'God' in its looser polytheistic sense, or, as the Unitarians maintain, a creature competent for goodness, but subject to human limitations, and unable to bring those who trust in Him to peace and communion with the Father. It is without significance that Socinus expressly denied the doctrine of atonement which the Father. F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON.

ARISTOTLE, ARISTOTELIANISM. — i. Life.—Aristotle—son of Nicocamus, friend and physician of Amyntas, king of Macedonia—was born B.C. 384 at Stagira or Stagirus, a city of Chalcidice. In his eighteenth year (367) he came to Athens and joined the Academy, of which he continued to be a member, learning and teaching, during twenty years. Tradition relates that he taught rhetoric in opposition to Isocrates, that is to say, whereas at this time the school of the politico-rhetorical sophist Isocrates and the Academy, the school of Plato, were rival colleges, Isocrates was professor of rhetoric in the one, Aristotle in the other. In 347, when Plato died and his nephew Speusippus succeeded him as scholarch, Aristotle and Xenocrates, on the invitation of Hermias, lord of Atarneus and Assos, who was himself an Academic, betook themselves to his court. After a three years' residence there, Aristotle removed to Mysia, and, at a time, after the death of Hermias, he married Pythias, a near relative of his friend. In 343 Aristotle received and accepted a call to the Macedonian court to undertake the education of Alexander, then thirteen years old. This task occupied him during three years (343-340), when he removed to Stagira followed; and it was not till Alexander had ascended the throne, and was about to start on his Asiatic expedition, that Aristotle finally left Macedonia. Meanwhile, in 339, Speusippus had died, and Xenocrates, and Heraclides Ponticus and Menedemus, had succeeded him as head of the Academy.

In 335 Aristotle returned to Athens and founded a school of his own in the gymnasion known as the Lyceum. There he spent twelve busy years, teaching in the morning a select class of advanced students, and in the afternoon a larger audience. From his habit of walking to and fro as he discussed, the members of the school were called Peripatetics (I.: 335; 334). For this period of twelve years he lost the favour of Alexander, whose jealousy of Antipater and suspicion of Callisthenes prejudiced him against their friend and correspondent. Nevertheless, when Alexander died in 323, the anti-Macedonian party at Athens vented their spleen against Aristotle in a charge of 'impiety.' The accusation, based upon a
hymn to virtue, in which he was alleged to have represented Hermias as a god, was plainly frivolous; but Aristotle prudently left Athens and retired to his house near Chalcis in Euboea. There he died in the summer of the following year (322). The story that he committed suicide by drinking hemlock is forgeries; in any case, it appears to have no foundation. Dr. Waldstein in 1881 opened a tomb near Eretria which he supposed to be that of the great philosopher.

2. Writings.— Cicero extols the golden stream of Aristotle's Dialogues, which seems to have kept its grace and fertility; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, its force, clearness, and grace. These praises must needs refer to Aristotle's published writings, and, in particular, to his Dialogues, of which only fragments have come down to us. The philosophical writings, upon which his fame rests, are wholly deficient in literary quality. The style is curt, abrupt, jejune. The language is careless and conversational. The exposition is sometimes incomplete, sometimes redundant, sometimes inconsistent. There are reminders, recapitulations, revisions. Arguments are sometimes indicated without being worked out; inquiries which are promised are sometimes tacitly dropped. In a word, these, which have so profoundly impressed the thought of many centuries, would seem to be neither completed and published works nor text-books for use in the school, but informal records of oral teaching addressed to a few advanced students. In this way, and perhaps in the way only, are explicable the rough and ready terminology, the diagrams and examples, the references to the furniture and the decorations of the lecture-room and to members of the class, the episodical sentences which begin and end, and, in one instance, the peroration addressed to an audience. But if these are records of oral teaching, some of them more completely finished than others, by whom were they prepared? Are they Aristotle's notes made with a view to his lectures? Are they notes of his teaching made by his hearers? Are they compilations made by an editor who had before him both Aristotle's notes for lectures and his hearers' notes of them? In this instance, the present form in which have come down to us are in the main the notes of Aristotle himself. If they were the notes of pupils, and, a fortiori, if they were compilations, much of the roughness and the obscurity would have been avoided.

For example, in Metaphysics, A iii. 1009b 35 and 1070a 5 the words μετὰ ταύτα ἐγραμμένα would not have survived; and in A ix. 990b 11-16 we should not find indications of three Platonic arguments and Aristotle's objections to them packed into four lines. It would seem that Aristotle's notes, made for his own use and supplemented and corrected by himself, but never revised for publication, were treasured in the school; so that we possess, not indeed always his last thoughts, but at any rate his thoughts; and the inconsistencies which trouble us prove only that his thinking was progressive.

The chief of the so-called 'Aristocratic' treatises and ethics to Aristotle may be classified under its medieval titles as follows:—

i. LOGIC: the Organon, including Categories, de Interpretatione, Analytica Priora, Priora, Topica, de Sophisticis Elenchis.
ii. PHYSICS: Physica or Physical Examinations, de Caelo, de Generatione et Corruptione, Meteorologica.
iii. BIOLOGY: Historia Animalium, de Partibus Animalium, de Insectis Animalium, de Generatione Animalium, Animae Animalium, Anima Naturata.
iv. PHILOSOPHY: Metaphysica.

vi. LITERATURE: Historia, Poetica.

It is not possible to specify with any certainty about the ontology of these writings; for there can be no assurance that references from one to another are Aristotle's and not the additions of editors. But we know that the collection of treatises from which we gather Aristotle's ontology was early placed after the treatises on Natural History: for this, and no more, is implied in the title τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά, whence we derive our convenient misnomer 'metaphysics.'

Besides the 'published works' (ἐκδοθέντα λόγον), and the 'lectures' (ἀκομαρατία), there were also 'memoranda' (χαρακτήρα). Under this last head may perhaps be placed certain summaries of the teaching of philosophers, the προλόγια, and the προλογία, i.e. notices of the constitutions of 158 political communities. The recently discovered Ἀθηναῖον πολεμικόν of the School of Athens contains (1) a brief constitutional history of Athens and (2) a citizen's handbook, but the want of proportion obvious in the former of these two sections suggests that it was a compilation, made by some member of the school, from extracts and documents which Aristotle had casually collected.

Strabo and Plutarch relate that Aristotle's library, including his own writings, became the possession of Theophrastus, and after his death passed into the hands of Nicias of Scopis in the Troad; that his heirs, for fear of the lords of Pergamum, had burned them in a celebration about B.C. 150. Apollodorus lists them and brought them to Athens; and that in 88 they came into the hands of Sulla, and so became known to the grammarian Syntiphon. The copies were prepared about 70 by Andronicus of Rhodos, the eleventh of the three Platonists. This curious story is not to be taken for granted either that the school had no philosophical library or that its library did not contain copies of Aristotle's principal writings.

3. Philosophical system.—We have seen that Aristotle entered the Academy and continued to be an active member of it during twenty years. In later life he stil led himself as an Academic; for even when he is criticizing certain of Plato's tenets, he speaks of them as doctrines which we hold. Indeed, it would appear that, had he been at Athens in 339, he might have succeeded Speusippus as head of the school; but the word of the scholars, it is expressly noted that when Xenocrates was elected, 'Aristotle was in foreign parts.' But though an Academic, Aristotle cannot be regarded as a Platonist. The master and the pupil differed fundamentally in their attitude towards inquiry, Plato taking his departure from that which is eternal, Aristotle from that which is actual in time and space. Yet, in spite of this disagreement, they were at one in restating their conceptions of science the theory of forms that there are in Nature determinate kinds of species, which may be studied in their resemblances and their differences. After all, Aristotle had more sympathy with Plato than Speusippus, a biologist who assumed the natural kinds without attempting a metaphysical explanation of them; and more appreciation of Plato than Xenocrates, a moralist, who, when he ventured into Platonic metaphysics, was soon out of his depth; and whereas Speusippus dropped the theory of Ideas, and Xenocrates blended it with Pythagorean fancies, Aristotle was, at any rate, careful to formulate his dissent. In a word, Plato propounded an idealist ontology and rested upon it a theory of natural kinds, which should be the basis for the study of cosmic evolution; but, rejecting the idealist ontology, proceeded to restate the theory of natural kinds, resting it upon an ontology of his own. The criticism of his master's idealism is indeed Aristotle's starting-point, and for this reason it will be convenient, in the present account of Aristotle's system of philosophy, to give precedence to 'First Philosophy' (ἀρχαί φιλοσοφία) or 'Theology' (θεολογία).

(1) FIRST PHILOSOPHY.—There are, thought Aristotle, four principal lines of inquiry, having for their ends the discovery of four 'principles' or 'causes':—

(a) First causes or principles are the material cause (οὐσία), the essential cause (ονομα), the moving cause (ἀρχὴ τῆς κίνησεως), and the final cause (τὰ σοῦ ένόον, τέλος). Apart from
accidents or attributes which are not common to all the members of a natural kind, each of its members is, in thought though not in fact, resolvable into a specific soul or life, which is its form, and an appropriate body, which is its proximate matter. But again, the body is resolvable, in thought though not in fact, into organs and constituencies. Furthermore, the constituents of the four elements—fire, air, water, and earth. Finally, fire, air, water, and earth have for their ultimate matter a purely indeterminate potentiality which is the recipient of four primary qualities: Aristotle seems to regard cold, fire, the combination of hot and dry; air, that of hot and wet; water, that of cold and wet; earth, that of cold and dry. The ultimate matter of the member of a natural kind is then a potentiality, in virtue of which that member exists in time and space; its form is the sum of its specific characteristics, in virtue of which it is what it is. What we can know of the member of a natural kind is its specific characteristics. Anything which is peculiar to an individual member or to individuals is not resolvable.

Such is Aristotle's analysis of the particular member of the natural kind. It may serve as a statement of the aims which he has in view in his classificatory researches; but it leaves the adaptability of the soul, the complex of body, and the differentiation of species wholly unexplained; and when he tells us vaguely that 'Nature works always to an end and does nothing at random' (οὑδὲν ἀτελεῖ ἢ μὴν τὰ καὶ ἐφίλοι), it is plain that 'Nature' is no more than a deus ex machina.

For the proximate moving cause, by which the particular member of a natural kind is brought into existence, Aristotle looks, not to any transcendental cause eternally operant, but to a previous member of the species which in its maturity transmits the specific characteristics to its offspring. This principle is expressed in the formula 'man generates man' (ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπον γεννά). The final cause, the end sought, is the maintenance of the species. For though, under the influence of the sun as it approaches and recedes in its apparent progress through the signs, the life of the particular animal or vegetable wanes and wanes and ultimately ceases, Nature is 'careful of the type.'

If necessary, however, to account not only for the existence of the animal and vegetable kinds, but also for that of the earth and the heavenly bodies, and for their motions, especially if, as the use made of the sun suggests, animal and vegetable life is to be dependent upon them. For this purpose Aristotle postulates (a) a prime unmoved move...
teristics of the species to which the particular belongs. Such is the doctrine of Metaphysics Z. Nevertheless, in the Categories, primary existence is ascribed to the particular or composite of form and matter. The inconsistency is one of terminology and not of thought. For the specific form which is the primary essential of the Metaphysics, exists only in the members of the species; and the primarily existent particular of the Categories is known only in so far as it represents the species to which it belongs. Aristotle coined many technical terms; but he allowed himself to be carried away by the use of them, and he was not always careful to harmonize the terminology of one treatise with that of another. In this case, the terminological discrepancy is unfortunate; but, in the opinion of the present writer, it is a mistake to infer from it either confusion or vacillation.

(2) Psychology.—The conception of mind, except from matter, reappears in the Psychology (πραγμ. ψυχής). In this treatise Aristotle begins with a review of previous and existing views. There it appears that some had regarded soul exclusively as the organ of motion, others exclusively as that of sensation and cognition. For himself, he proposes to include under this name all activity, which, whether manifesting itself in living body, and distinguishes living body from which it is lifeless. (Perhaps this is all that Aristotle meant in the first instance by defining soul as 'the first actuality of a natural organized body') just as ψυχή (spirit) but when he adds that, while soul is activity of body, body is not actuality of soul, the definition becomes a declaration of soul's supremacy.) Having thus widened the scope of psychology, Aristotle proceeds to enumerate its various faculties. Nutrition (together with generation), sensation, appetite, locomotion, intellect, and other faculties are included in this order; and the possession of a higher faculty implies that of all the faculties below it. The soul of plants is nutritive only. The soul of animals is not only nutritive, but also sensitive, appetitive, motive. The soul of man has all the faculties of animals, and is intellectual also. In sensation the form of the sensible, without its matter, reaches the sense through an intervening medium; and when the sensitive resides in the sensible virtue of the change which the advent of the sensible brings about in it. Hence, when subject and object are in the like condition, there is no sensation; and when the sensible is in excess, the organ may be damaged by the excess. Thus Aristotle recognizes a common or central sense, which (a) is conscious of sensation, and (b) distinguishes and co-ordinates the impressions received by the special senses. Its organ is the heart. So far we have been dealing with faculties which man shares with the animals.

Passing next to reason—the faculty which belongs distinctively to man—Aristotle distinguishes a passive reason (πραγμ. ψυχής ψων), which receives from the sensible; an active, constitutive reason (πραγμ. ψυχής χων), which provides forms of thought for the interpretation of the impressions received from the senses. Such is the function of the active reason in the individual; but it and its instrument, the God of the Metaphysics, in so far as man possesses this reason, it comes to him from without. Plainly the passive reason is interposed in order to bring the recepta of sense into relation with the divine faculty.

(3) Logic.—Of all Aristotle's achievements the greatest was perhaps the invention of logic. The group of treatises known as the Organon includes a formal logic, a theory of scientific research, a treatise on disputation, and a classification of fallacies. The formal logic comprises an enumeration of categories or heads of proposition; a study of the quality, quantity, and conversion of propositions; a detailed investigation of the syllogism and its figures; and a careful discrimination between adsection (ἐκκλεισμον), or generalization from the known particulars to a large licence, and example (ἐμπειρία), or inference from known particulars in regard to unknown particulars, effected by ascent to an imperfectly certified general and subsequent descent from it. Within the limits of the Organon, Aristotle takes account at once of dialectical debate, by which the premises of demonstration are provisionally justified, of demonstration, by which the consequences of given premises are ascertained, and of sophistry or eristic, the pursued illusion of truth with a view to argumentative success.

(4) Science.—While the formal logic still holds its ground, Aristotle's scientific writings were no more than stepping-stones. His physical speculations occupied an important place in ancient science, but they were never more than stop-gaps; and the time came when, by reason of his great name, they were positive hindrances to progress. His biological works are still praised for the observation, the insight, and the knowledge, of which they afford conclusive evidence.

(5) Ethics and Politics.—In the Nicomachean Ethics and the Politics, Aristotle raises and discusses the old question, What is man's chief good (τὸ ἀρσενικὸν ἔνδομα) or paradigm? regarding it as one, as the end sought by the individual, and in the other, as much as man is a social animal and cannot realize himself except as a citizen, as the end sought by the city-State (πόλις). Thus the two treatises are contributions to the architectonic science of Politics (πολιτική); but the one (δικαίως), is concerned with the 'character' of the individual, the other (πολιτική) with the 'constitution' of the State. All are agreed that man's good or end is well-being (καθάρσις, μέτωκος) or well-being (ἐν αὐτῇ), or well-being (πολιτική); and man's well-being— the term 'happiness' should be avoided—is the satisfactory performance of those functions which are distinctively human. In a word, a man's chief good or end is a psychical activity characteristic of man in excellence (ἀριστεία), or, if there are more excellences than one, characteristic of the best and most complete of them, such activity being continued during a complete period of existence. Setting aside nutrition and growth which man shares with plants, and sensation which he shares with animals, we find that man's distinctive functions are reason, reasoning, and the rational control of appetite, under which head are included desires and passions. What, then, are the excellences of these functions? What is (dis) excellence? Then, the nature of the one complete? There are two sorts of excellence—moral excellence, the excellence which the appetitive part of soul displays when it is duly obedient to the rational part, and intellectual excellence, the excellence of the rational part. Moral excellence (or virtue) is 'a deliberate habit which enables the individual, with the help of his reasoning faculty—subject to an appeal to the man of practical wisdom—to attain what is for him the mean between two vices or vices' The principal moral virtues are courage, temperance, liberality, munificence, magnanimity or self-respect, gentleness, justice. The intellectual excellences are practical wisdom or prudence (διακρίσις), the excellence of that subdivision of the rational part of soul which controls
the appetitive part, and speculative wisdom (epistêma) the excellence of that purely intellectual part which is called reason (nous). Practical wisdom and the moral virtues must be developed paries (paris). Now, reason is obviously the best part of the soul, and therefore its excellence, speculative wisdom, is the best of excellences. This best of excellences and for its activity (térpyesi) study (térpeia). Consequently, the completest well-being of the individual is to be found in the life of the student (térpyeiô̂n ßôlos), who, however, must loyally do his duty as a member of the city and the family. This completest well-being is the highest of all excellences. Next to the life of the student ranks the practical life of moral virtue. For the production of excellence, three things are requisite: first, natural aptitude; secondly, instruction, for its guidance; thirdly, habituation, to establish the habit. Inasmuch as well-being implies not merely the possession of a habit, but also its exercise, we require for the realization of well-being those external goods upon which the exercise of the habit depends. The doctrine that well-being is the result of a virtue and not merely the possession of it, and the corollary that external goods are indispensable conditions, distinguish Peripatetic from Academic ethics.

As in the Ethics Aristotle is concerned with the whole being of the individual, in the Politics he is concerned with the well-being of the community. The city (polis) is a complex organism, developed out of the village (êkôma), which again has its origin in the patriarchal family (oikia). Right politics (êðêtai politeia) are those in which the sovereign (êkôros)—whether one, few, or many—rules for the benefit of the community; perversions (êpexêgê̂s) are those in which the sovereign—whether one, few, or many—uses power for personal advantage. The right politics are aristocracy, monarchy, polity proper; the perversions are democracy, oligarchy, and tyranny. The best of cities would be one in which absolute power was exercised for the benefit of all the citizens by one person, or more persons than one, superior to the rest in mind and body. But we cannot hope to find rulers thus exceptionally qualified, and accordingly monarchy and aristocracy must be regarded as unattainable ideals. Thus of the three right politics one alone remains, namely, polity proper, in which all free men are admitted to a share in the administration and at the same time submit themselves to the passionless intelligence of law. All of politics this is, in Aristotle’s estimation, the most stable; for inasmuch as all in turn rule and are ruled, the middle class has a preponderant influence. For the maintenance of polity proper, Aristotle would rely, as Athens did and as the United States do, upon supreme or constitutional laws (êtopos), alterable only by special formalities, to which supreme or constitutional laws, upheld by courts of justice, in an ordinary manner, must conform. Of the three perversions—democracy, oligarchy, tyranny—democracy, which has the smallest power for evil, is the least bad; tyranny, in which such power is greatest, is the worst. Tradition places at the end of the treatise a fragmentary scheme for a perfect State; but, unlike Plato, Aristotle had no hope of its realization. In the intervening books, on the strength of a careful study of known constitutions, Aristotle inquires into what sorts of constitution are suitable to given sorts of people; how a constitution may be established and maintained in accordance with given assumptions or conditions; what is the best constitution for the generality of States; what constitutions tend to change, to overthrow, and to maintain the several constitutions. The reader of the Politics must not forget that, on the one part, the citizen population of a Greek State was very small, so that Aristotle knew nothing of representative government; and that, on the other part, the number of slaves was, in comparison with the number of free men, very great, so that what he calls a democracy was in some sort an aristocracy.

In these two treatises, the Nicomachean Ethics and the Politics, Aristotle is an acute and judicious student of human nature. They have a Shak-spearean quality which makes them perennially interesting. But it must be clearly understood that they do not contain the highest of ethics and morality. Aristotle says nothing about the Good, about Duty, about the distinction between Right and Wrong; and very little about the faculty which discriminates them. Moreover, inasmuch as he concentrates his attention in the Ethics upon the well-being of the individual, and in the Politics upon the well-being of the State, the relations of man to man and of citizen to citizen are insufficiently handled. Indeed, they find a place, and that a subordinate place, only in so far as they have a particular virtue, not merely a virtue, and are concerned with them. In a word, Aristotle works upon the lines of Plato’s Republic.

In the Eudemian Ethics, which is now generally regarded as a summary prepared, mutatis mutandis, for the first time by Eudemus, the third disciple of Aristotle, the treatment of the functions of the soul is similar to that of the Nicomacheans. But (a) Eudemus shaves under the limitations of the inquiry, and would fain seek an explanation of moral differences; (b) regarding pleasure, not as the concomitant of an energy, but as identical with it, he sees in ethêmas the best of pleasures; and (c) abandoning the distinction drawn in the Nicomacheans between the activity of the student and the activity of the man of the world, he finds man’s well-being in a life of culture (sômacapiea) which combines both. It would appear that Aristotle himself, when he was writing the Politics (see iv. [vii.] iii. 1325b-14), had learnt to regard statesmanship as a proper subject for scientific study. In the opinion of the present writer, Books v. vi. vii. of the Nicomachean Ethics contain those which Eudemus could and should have borrowed from him, when writing the Eudemian Ethics, from Books v. vi. of the Eudemians, belong to the Eudemians, which they resemble both in their doctrine and in their style.

6. RHETORIC, ETC.—In the Rhetoric—a treatise on oratory and style, apparently framed on lines marked out by Plato in the Phaedrus, and in the fragmentary Poetics, Aristotle shows himself a literary critic of a high order. In particular, his appreciations of the tragedians have a permanent value. Perhaps no literary judgment has given rise to more controversy than the remark that tragedy, ‘by raising pity and fear, purges the mind of those passions’. This theory of the ‘homeopathic purification’ effected by tragedy (see Milton’s Preface to Samson Agonistes) is Aristotle’s answer to Plato, who condemned it as a low mode, an incentive and stimulus to mischievous emotions.

The greatness of Aristotle was not fully understood until the Middle Ages, when the Church borrowed from him the framework of its theology, when the whole of civilized Europe saw in his encyclopedic writings the summation of the sciences, and when Dante hailed him ‘as the master of those who know.’ In the present article no more has been attempted than to describe in outline the philosophy upon which the schoolmen built, and to indicate the scope of Aristotle’s labours. See, further, SCHOLASTICISM.

Literature.—The following editions of Aristotle’s writings deserve special mention: Bekker, Opera Omnia, 6 vols., Berlin, 1831-70; Pauly, Realencyklopädie, Frankfort, 1869; Rainey, Aristotelis, Cambridge, 1897; Bonitz, Metaphysik, Bonn, 1849-53; Eyewalter.
ARK

ARK.—In an inquiry into the nature and use of sacred arks, our interest centre chiefly in that which was already enough, an Ark, not from the OT, the so-called Ark of the Covenant.

This name, which occurs in the Deuteronomistic literature, is certainly, the earliest, one designations being apparently ‘Ark of Jehovah,’ ‘Ark of God,’ and ‘Ark of our God.’ But the word ‘God’ (Greek θεός, when used in the genitive, may have the sense of ‘the Deity,’ may be either possessive or adjectival: in the latter case denoting connexion not so much with the one true God as with the class or order of supernatural beings. The word is used in passages such as 2 K. 19:17; Zech. 4:6, where the Specification of ‘Ark of God’ may mean either ‘God’s ark’ or ‘ark connected with God.’ In cases where it is used to denote the Ark, the two renderings, while there may be a God, ‘Ark of God’ may mean ‘Ark of the Deity.’ If, however, he habitually uses the same word, as ‘Ark of God,’ the only possible translation of the phrase is ‘the sacred ark.’: for a Hebrews, unlike an English writer, does not attempt to vary his style by the use of synonyms. But in the case of the Ark of Jehovah, the mere mention of the name Jehovah would be sufficient to show the sacred character of the ark, and the phrase ‘Ark of Jehovah,’ i.e., ‘Ark of Jehovah’s ark,’ would naturally be used.

To explain the objection may be made that in two passages (2 S 8 and 1 K 11:19) the term ‘Ark of God’ seems to be used as a synonymous genitive, for an indefinite expression is not to be thought of in the case of the Ark in the earlier part of the OT. But the expression of 2 S 8 and 1 K 11:19, as synonymous names of the Deity is so un-Hebraic that it is scarcely possible to imagine that the text has in these instances come down to us as it left the hands of the original writer. It is noteworthy that the messenger who in 2 S 11 tells Eli the event which occurred in 2 S 11, says ‘Ark of Jehovah;’ it is therefore not impossible that 2 S 11 a late addition by a writer to whom 1 K 11:19 and 1 K 11:19 were in interchangeable synonyms. II. 3:1 has undergone considerable editorial modification, for neither the diction of 1 K 11:19 nor the fact that the lamp had not yet gone out has anything to do with the theology of the Samuel code. In any case we are certainly not justified in setting aside a well-marked rule on the strength of these two passages.

What purpose would such an Ark or chest serve? Surely there is no implicit statement or the subject in any early passage of the OT, the assertion that the Ark was the receptacle of the Tables of Stone being first found inD 10. On the one hand, the oldest documents of the Pentateuch, J and E, in describing the Tables of Stone, make no mention of any receptacle for them; and, on the other, the oldest passages outside the Pentateuch which mention the Ark give no hint that it was regarded as a receptacle for a sacred Law, but imply rather that it was regarded as containing the ark of Jehovah Himself. Thus, to quote Cheyne, ‘the Ark was not a symbol of the revealed Law, but the focus of Divine powers.’ The formula given in Nu 10:24-27, and similarly the account of the capture of Jericho, implies that the Ark was regarded as the visible symbol of Jehovah’s presence. Still more striking is the narrative of the capture of the Ark by the Philistines. On hearing of its arrival in the camp of Israel, the Philistines exclaim (1 S 44), ‘Who shall deliver us out of the hand of this power?” and the Ark was regarded as the visible symbol of Jehovah’s presence.

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In 1 S 6 it implies the virtual identification of the ark with Jehovah (cf. 64). Similarly, the language of 2 S 27, where David’s dwelling in a house of timber is contrasted with the dwelling of the Ark within curtains, appears more natural if the Ark was regarded as localizing the Deity than if it merely contained the tables of His Law. It is noteworthy also that David’s dance before the Ark is described as performed ‘before Jehovah’ (2 S 6). Professor Cheyne (EBI i. 302) considers it probable that in the earlier form of the story of the Tabernacle and the Ark, the whole shrine, not merely the Ark, was in the temple. It is very probable that the earlier form of the story stated that the Ark was in the temple, not merely the Ark, was in the temple. It is very probable that the earlier form of the story stated that the Ark was in the temple; perhaps in the earlier form of the story the Ark was in a temple. In any case, since the Ark was regarded as the focus of Divine power, the presence of the contents of the Ark was necessary for its efficacy.

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that the early references to the Ark imply that it contained some symbol of Jehovah, and it is now

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The writer of the present article has occasionally used it in connection with the photographs in his book The development of the text of the Greek philosophy down to Aristotle, which he contributed to the Cambridge Companion to Greek Studies.

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The Deuteronomic writer, who supposed, reasonably enough, that what was on the first table, less the sacredness of the Ark must have been due to the sacred character of its contents. In this connexion, since his religion forbade him to think of any idol, the objects which would naturally occur to his mind would be the sacred Stone Tables. It has been suggested that the Tables of Stone were originally holy, possibly meteoric stones, or, according to Professor G. F. H. Moerbeke, 5s. 6. The supposed physical basis of the Ark of God, by taking which with them the Israelites were assured of the protection of God, has been sought away from His holy mountain. But of such portable stones we have no other example in Israel. Moreover, the difference between the two tables in shape and in the order of the Ten Commandments and fastish stones is so great that it is difficult to suppose that the latter could be the only basis for the story of the former. A discussion of the origin of this form of the Ten Words would be out of place in the present article; but it is by no means improbable that in time, with the words of the Ark, the mention of the name of Jehovah would be sufficient to show the sacred character of the ark, and the phrase ‘the Deity’s ark, i.e., the Ark of Jehovah’s ark,’ would naturally be used.

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freely admitted that idol images of Jahweh were formerly common in Israel. It is natural, therefore, to regard the Ark as the portable shrine or receptacle of some such image, which upon this supposition must have been deposited by Solomon in the Temple of Jerusalem.* Have we any indication of the existence of such an image? This point is difficult to be thought of, for there is no evidence that Jahweh was ever worshipped under this form among the Leveh tribes; since it must be remembered that the original image at Dan, if it really was in the form of a calf—which is generally admitted—was made not by Jonathan the Levite, but by Michah the Ephraimitic.

But at Jerusalem there was an image of Jahweh to which sacrifice was offered, viz., the bronze serpent, or, to call it by the name by which it is generally known, the brazen serpent, which, in the age of Hezekiah was believed to have been made by Moses (2 K ~; cf. Nu 21:9), and may therefore be supposed to have been as old as the Ark. It is therefore a not unlikely inference that it was for this image that the Ark was made. It is noteworthy that the only two objects, traditionally connected with the worship of Israel in the wilderness, of the existence of which there is any evidence in the period of the Kings.† The traditions which assigned the making of the first golden calf by Aaron; and the brazen serpent given to Aaron and Moses respectively are of the utmost importance; for the fact that the essential part of these traditions—viz., that images were made—survived even the iconoclastic commandments shows how deeply rooted must have been the traditions themselves. And if, as will generally be admitted now, the narrative of Nu 21:9 is the attempt of a later age to explain the origin of an object which seemed inconsistent with its iconoclastic law, and if the brazen serpent really was an image coming down from the time of Moses, or at least from the days of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, it is reasonable to suppose that the history of the brazen serpent was identical with the history of the Ark. But if the brazen serpent really existed in such an early period of Israelitic history and both the Ark and Kings. And if the iconoclastic zeal of the reforming party in the days of Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent, the Ark, if this was the shrine of the serpent, would have shared the same fate.

Objection may perhaps be made to this theory, on the ground, first, that the narrative of Nu 21 implies an image which could not have been contained in the Ark; and, secondly, that it is always spoken of as of sacred, no reference being made to its contents.

In answer to the first objection, it is sufficient to say that the conventional representation of the serpent was in the form of a pole with two serpents twined about it, pole is not necessitated by the language of Nu 21:9, which merely states that, in order that the serpent might be spared, it was placed upon a standard (either it is not necessarily a 'pole' in Ex 17:1: it is used of an altar). The second objection may perhaps be made, but when we remember the awe with which serpents in general, and the brazen serpent in particular, were regarded, it is by no means unlikely that men spoke of the Ark, because they shrank from mentioning the sacred object within it.

But the question may still be asked, Why should a box have been necessary at all, since there existed a tent in which to keep the idol? In the case of a large image (and the writer of 1 Sm 18:21 speaks of the thought of the teraphim as being the size of a man), a box would perhaps not have been necessary, though it might have been convenient for carrying the image about in time of war; moreover, the size of the Ark, of which the later tradition was, dimensions as 2 x 1 x 1 cubits, would have been unsuitable to such an image. A comparatively small object, however, such as we must suppose the brazen serpent to have been, would certainly have needed some sort of case to preserve it: the more so when being carried about in war. It is perhaps probable that the origin of the Ark may be due to another cause. The worship of a brazen serpent doubtless had its origin in the worship of a living serpent, for which some sort of receptacle would, of course, have been necessary. Religious ritual would preserve this, even after the substitution of a metal serpent for a live one.

It is not necessary to suppose that a live serpent was reverenced in the time of Moses. The substitution of the metal image for a god may have taken place long before the age of Moses. There are, however, parallels which seem to point in this direction. Thus, among the Ptolemies at the British Museum (B. M. Cat. E 419) there is a representation of the story of Erichthonios, which is reproduced by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, p. 133): 'The sacred chest stands on rude piled stones that represent the rock of the Acropolis, the child rises up with outstretched hand, Athens looks on in dismay and anger, and the bad sisters hurry away. Erichthonios is here a human child with two great snakes for guardians, but what the sisters really found, what the godlike really carried, was a snake and symbols like a snake.' Additional evidence for the same practice of carrying sacred images (and perhaps also the class of coins known as cistophoroi, of which a representation is given by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena, p. 402).

For the existence of snake-worship in Palestine, there was, until recently, no evidence apart from the OT. But in 1908 Mr. A. Stewart Macalister, in the course of his excavations at Gezer, discovered a 'Place of the Serpent.' It was an enclosed structure 13 feet 8 inches in diameter at the floor level . . . surrounded by a rude wall now standing to a height of 6 feet.* Within this structure, among a number of broken pieces of pottery, there was 'found a small bronze model of a cobra, midly but unmistakably portrayed' (see J. E. Harrison, on the Excavation of Gezer, PEFQS, July 1903, p. 222). Although the discovery at Gezer did not include anything of the nature of an ark, it is not impossible that it may throw light on the ræon d'etre of the prototype of the Ark. Mr. Macalister's discussion of the place of the discovery is so suggestive that it may be quoted in extenso. 'The structure in which the serpent was found completely puzzled me, but an ingenious suggestion was made by Mr. J. B. Black, when a visit to the excavations—namely, that it was possibly a pit for keeping live serpents. The building is as suitable for such a purpose as the one in which bears and other animals are kept in a modern zoological garden. In such a case the fine broken pottery and the bronze model might be in the nature of votive offerings. We are reminded of the practice of keeping sacred serpents at Greek shrines, notably at the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, where they were in some way involved in the miracles of healing there wrought (see House, Greek Votive Offerings, pp. 193-203; see also p. 209). It is not inconceivable that among the orgies or rites with which high places of Palestine some form of snake-churning was included, and that the snakes required for the purpose were kept in this enclosure—perhaps specially prepared poisonous serpents, with the fangs extracted. The tricks of modern holy men with serpents, which, if it be not misstated, was noticed by Baldensperger in the Quarterly Statement some years ago, may be a survival of such rites' (PEFQS, July 1903, p. 223).

It is possible, however, that this objection may perhaps be made to the idea that the Ark may have contained the bronze serpent, on the ground that the method of carrying the Ark is at variance

* On the other hand, it is urged by Schwyzer (Samt. Krönze. Allteister, p. 10) that it is not necessary to suppose that the Ark contained the bronze serpent.† The mention of the holy vessels and the tables of stone in 1 K ~ is due to the Deuteronomist editor.

** The alternative is to regard the brazen serpent as a distinctively Judæan idol, which existed in Judæa long before David gained possession of the Ark. It is, however, to be noted that the majority of the brazen serpents are assigned to the Epzamitic writer E (see Carpenter and Bottariy, Hezechiah, 11. p. 222), while the reference to the Ark in 1 Nu 14:4 appears in its original form to belong to J.
with any such supposition. It is a safe inference from 1 B 67, 2 68a-2, 793 that the recognized method of carrying the Ark in early times was in a sacred cart (i.e. a cart that had been used for no other purpose) drawn by cows or bulls. The use of horses, however, possibly denote that the Ark was in some way connected with lunar worship; in any case, however, they probably imply that the god contained in the Ark was regarded as the god of fertility (see Frazer, Adonis, Atis, Osiris, pp. 46, 80). At first sight it is difficult to suppose that a serpent could be elevated as a god of fertility, but whatever the origin of serpent-worship may be—and we need not assume that it has been everywhere identical—there can be little doubt that in some cases, at all events, it is celebrated with a view of ensuring fertility thereby. On this point the statement of the scholiast on the History of Lucian, quoted by J. E. Harrison (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 121, 122), is very suggestive: ἄνωφρων δὲ πάνταθρα ἡρπετόν ἐτος ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ, μμομομα δράκων καὶ δράκων σεμνών.

But whether the view here advocated that the Ark of Israel originally contained the brazen serpent be correct or not, it is at any rate certain that the texture of the Ark, as mentioned by Herodotus was originally in the form of a box, or cart, and contained relics, or relics as the sacred object which symbolized Jehovah to His worshippers. On this point the evidence which we possess concerning similar arks among other peoples is conclusive (cf. Schwally, Semit. Kriegsaltertumer, i. 147). The name Arminiya (Old Pers. Arminia, New Sus. Arminiya) is first met with in the Bab. and Pers. cuneiform inscriptions of the Achemenian age, and may be connected with the Vannie armani, written tal. The country had been previously known to its southern neighbours as Aruratu (Heb. Ararat), which the Babylonian scribes explained as a compound of Ur-Uru or 'Highlands.' Uru is the name of the district near Lake Erivan in a Vannie inscription of Sarduri II. (Sus-yan, ixxi. 5), though in the bilingual inscription of Topazawa Urartu is the Assyrian representative of the Vannie Lulus. The usual title assumed by the Vannie princes was 'king of Bia'nas' or 'Bianas,' the district in which their capital Šūpās (Tasp), the modern Van, was situated. Bia' nas is the Buana of Ptolemy (v. 13), now Van.

The Vannie inscriptions, which extend from about B.C. 840 to 640, are written in the cuneiform characters of Nineveh, but in a language which is neither Indo-European nor Semitic, and is believed to have been spoken by some school of the Armenians of the close of the 7th cent. B.C. Kretschmer (Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache, pp. 209-11) brings them from Ormien in Thessaly by way of Armenien, near Sinope (cf. Hirt, Die Indogermanen, 130.; Prasse, Gesch. der Meder und Perser, i. 147). The idea that the Ark could be carried only by hand may have arisen from the fact that it was so carried into Zion (2 8 39). There is no mention on that occasion of any priest other than the king himself. The adjective Lulus of the Ark in the Book of Joshua belongs to a later development of the religion of Israel.

The god of fertility is not, however, incompatible conceptions (see Frazer, Adonis, Atis, Osiris, p. 297 ff. and cf. De 33 19).
Vannic divine hierarchy, and the conception of which may have been borrowed from Babylonia. Below the triad came the multitudinous deities of inferior rank, including even the 'Khaldis-gods,' or local forms of Khaldis. A long list of these, with the offerings to be made to them, is engraved on a rock called Meher Kapussi, two miles east of Van (Sayce, v. 13). Among them is Seladis the Moon-god, as well as the gods of various cities and countries incorporated into the Vannic kingdom by conquest or otherwise. Most of these deities were merely deified States, and consequently had no individual names of their own; it was only when they were within the limits of the district originally inhabited by the tribe whose supreme god was Khaldis that they properly became forms of the national god, and could be called 'Khaldis.' As the Vannic kingdom extended, however, and the area of a common nationality grew stronger, the deified State, even if originally outside 'the land of Khaldis,' tended to pass into a Khaldis; thus the deity called at Meher Kapussi 'the god of the city of Ardis,' (the Muzair of the Assyrians), became the god of Saris himself a 'Khaldis.' Only one goddess is mentioned in the inscriptions, and since her name, Saris, seems to have been borrowed from the Assyrian Istar, it is possible that she was of foreign instead of Vannic origin. The inscriptions, which bring Semiramis into the plain of Van are possibly an echo of the fact.

How far Vannic religion, as it comes before us in the inscriptions, may have been influenced by Assyro-Babylonian, it is impossible to say. Teisbas, however, who was afterwards united into a triad with Khaldis and the Sun-god, appears originally to have been the god of a tribe or nationality which was distinct from that of the Vannic 'Khaldis,' while among the neighbouring Hittites each city had its Sun-god, who was identified with the deified State. The conception of gods in the Assyro-Babylonian sense may have been due primarily to contact with the cultivated lands of the south, like the titles 'lord of multitudes' and 'faithful shepherd,' mankind' given to Khaldis. At all events, underneath the divine hierarchy of the official cult we find clear traces of an earlier phase of belief, in which the material fetish takes the place of the god. Sacrifices were made to Khaldis, but incidental to Khaldis, and not to the gods of the temple, as to the gate of Khaldis, 'the gate of Teisbas in the city of Eridias,' 'the gate of the Sun-god in the city of Usias'—all of which are carefully distinguished from 'the Khaldis-gods of the door' or 'the Khaldis-gods of the temple,' as well as to 'the shields of the land of Khaldis,' and even to 'the foot-soldiers of the land of Khaldis' and 'the foot-soldiers of Teisbas' (Sayce, v. 13). These foot-soldiers were the temple-guards, armed priests, and attendants, who were called Seluans, Urbikans, etc. A prominent object of veneration was the vine, the sacred tree of the Vannic people, which was sometimes planted by the side of the temple of Khaldis (ib. v. 30, 31, lxxvii. 10), sometimes in a sacred enclosure of its own. Sar-duris the great deity of the Vannic kingdom (ib. l.,) describes his endowment of one of these vines, which he had consecrated and named after himself on the north shore of the lake of Van. The vine was often planted in the middle of a garden which was sacred to the temple, and the temple-buildings of which from Toprak Kaleh are now in the British Museum, were hung up on either side of the entrance to the temple, large basins of bronze or terra-cotta, on stands, being placed in front of the temple and used for ablution.

The endowments made to the temples usually took the form of provision for the sacrifices and offerings, which were numerous and plentiful. The great inscription of Meher Kapussi gives a long list of the sacrifices to be offered to each deity and sacred object recognized in the vicinity, on every day of the month. Thus 6 lambs were to be offered to the Vannic triad, 17 oxen and 24 sheep to Khaldis, 5 to Teisbas, 3 to the moon-god, and 8 sheep to the Sun-god, 1 ox and 2 sheep to the gate of the land of Khaldis, 2 oxen and 4 sheep to the foot-soldiers of the land of Khaldis. Libations of wine were also to be poured out, the wine being made, it would seem, from the fruit of the vine. Considerably few, however, of the vast herds of oxen and sheep presented to the gods could actually have been offered in sacrifice; according to the inscription of Kelishin (Sayce, livi.), 'when the gate of the land of Khaldis was dedicated to Khaldis, 112 oxen, 9020 sucklings and lambs, and 12,490 sheep were presented to the god. Most of these must have been intended to serve as a source of income. Similarly the prisoners who were devoted to Khaldis would have been given as temple slaves. In the case of the 'Sun-god,' the god, we are told, 'laid sixtieth of the spoil' (ib. xiii. 16). The temples, of which there were several varieties, probably possessed festival halls, in which we hear of sacred feasts in honour of the gods.


A. H. SAYCE.

ARMENIA (Zoroastrian).—The sources of our information for the earlier epoch of Armenia's religious history are the Urartie or Vannic inscriptions (see preceding art.). For the Indo-Germanic period down to Christian times the most important native sources are Agathangelos (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1862), Moses of Chorene's History and Geography of Armenia (6th cent., ed. Venice, 1865), Faustus of Byzantium (5th cent., ed. Venice, 1889), Eznik (6th cent., ed. Venice, 1826), Anania Shirazag, (7th cent., ed. Patkanaq, St. Petersburg, 1877), and the numerous anonymous works of the 6th and 7th centuries in the Persian version of the OT. We also gather short but valuable notices from Xenophon's Anabasis, Strabo's Geography, and the works of Dio Cassius, Pliny, and Tacitus. Considerable as the material is, it is not uniform. Many of the authors, and is, therefore, very fragmentary. We may, however, hope for important additions to our knowledge of Zoroastrianism in early Armenia from the critical study of Armenian folk-lore and popular superstitions, when enough shall have been collected for the purpose.

Originally there was nothing in common between the Iranian races and the ancient inhabitants of Armenia, who were probably connected with the Hittites in the West and the Caspian races in the North (Jensen, Hittiter und Arm enhier, Strassburg, 1898; Messerschmidt, Die Hittiter, Leipzig, 1902, p. 10; Winckler, 'Westasien' in Helmolt's Weltgeschichte, Leipzig, 1901, ii. 125 ff.; Hommel, Grundriss der Geog. und Gesch. des alten Orients, Munich, 1904, pp. 37 ff.; Prâsek, Gesch. der Meder und Perser, Gottho, 1906, i. 57, 65). But Armenia, owing to its geographical position, was destined to come into contact with Iranian politics and civilization when the Medes began their political activity, and the period of anarchy the Armenians seem also to have entered the epoch of abolution for their name (Hirt, Die Indogermanen, Strassburg, 1905-07, p. 138). Meanwhile the Medes had begun
their national career not long before 935 B.C. (Justi, 'Gesch. Irans' in Geiger-Kuhn's Grundriss der Iran. Philologie, Strassburg, 1904, ii. 404-408), and the Median empire had been founded, probably in 678-677 B.C. (Präsch, op. cit. i. 108). From that time Iranian influence was strongly felt in the Palatine, and the successors of Armenia, and the Iranian religion, with its terminology, names of divinities, and many folk-beliefs, permeated Armenian paganism. How far the resultant religion may be treated as Zoroastrian will become clear from the study of the material available, which may most conveniently be arranged under the main rubrics of Zoroastrian theology.

1. CELESTIAL HOSTS.—1. Ahura Mazda.—The chief deity of ancient Armenia was Aramazd, the Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda (seeORMAZD). In Agathangélus, the historian of the conversion of Armenia, King Tiridates calls him 'the maker of heaven and earth; father of all the gods, especially of Anahit, Mihr, and Nab; giver of abundance and fatness' (Agathangélus, pp. 58, 61, 108, 690, 691, 593); while Moses of Chorene incidentally remarks: 'There is no such thing as Aramazd; but among those who would be Aramazd, there are four who bear the name and who claim to be the true Aramazd' (cf. Moses of Armenia, p. 31). It is uncertain whether this refers to the Greek Zeus or to the Iranian Ahura Mazda.

In the first case it might mean the 'bald (phalakrus) Zeus'; in the second, mardt might be translated 'brave.' 'Strong' (Strassburg, 1887, p. 131). The name Aramazd appears in Armenian Old Persian inscriptions, rather than of the Avesta or Pahlavi forms Ahura Mazda or Ahrūmazd, Ormazd (cf. Armenian. ORMOS). There is another important passage in Agathangélus (p. 629) about Aramazd, which may be tentatively translated thus: 'In the season of the god of the New Year, (who is) the bringer of new fruits, of the festivities of the hospitable god.'

The later Greek translation reads: εις τα μυθηματα της θεος δωδεκα επερετων τους ανθρωπος θεος τους, της αινωνιας της τον ανθρωπος θεόν ουκ εγνωμονεσται παντων, της αινωνιας τους ανθρωπος θεος δωδεκα επερετων τους. (LX and X). This translation shows that the Gr. supposes a different, but none the less obscure, Armen. recension. The text must have become corrupt in early times, and yet St. Clair-Tisdall (Conversion of Armenia to the Christian Faith, London, 1896, p. 50) sees in it a new deity Amenazd, who had for a title Amanor ('New Year'). Others recognized Vanatur, 'hospital,' as a separate deity, and Amanor hospitalia (Gelnz, Zürich, Armen. Gotteterlehre, pp. 135, 146) or 'Lord of Van' (Hommel, op. cit. p. 39). Moses of Chorene, however, in his allusion to this festival (ii. 60), treats Amanor simply as a common noun; nor does a title or a title to mention Agathangélus as it stands, either here or elsewhere, make it necessary to take either Amanor or Amenazd as the name of a deity.

As for Vanatur, it would no longer we find it mentioned (Armen. tr. of 2 Mac 6° LXX, Διώσ Ζεώλ, Vulg. Iovis hospitalia), it is used as an adjective qualifying Aramazd. We can, therefore, infer that it is simply the Greek Zeus Zeéros (see also Alishan, Ancient Faith of the Armenians, Venice, 1895, p. 256), whose functions were transferred to Aramazd under the Hellenizing influence of the Seljuks, or of Tirgines the Great Prince, celebrated probably on festival of Amanor or Navasard, which is poetically described as a fête champêtre (Grigor Magistros), was celebrated in honour of Amanor, who was the lord of the New Year, quite as the sixth day's celebration of the Zoroastrian New Year began on the 9th of Ahuramazd of the month Fravarti in honour of the creation of the world in six days by Ahura Mazda (Mar. 15; cf. al-Biruni, op. cit. pp. 199-204).

Navasard fell, according to the later calendar of pagan Armenia, in August, when the new fruits began to be gathered; and the Armenians still perpetuate the memory of this early autumn celebration by distributing and eating fruits on New Year's day.

The most prominent sanctuaries of Aramazd were in the ancient city of Ani in Daronali, the burial-place of the Armenian kings (Agathangélus, p. 590), as well as in the village of Bagavan in Bagravan (ib. p. 612), and on Mount Palat or Pahavân Rîm, the 'Mount Tirgz' (The 'mount Tirgz' in Alishan's Hapagatan, Venice, 1901-02, p. 79).

It is not to easy to determine what the Armenians understood by the fatherhood of Aramazd, as no godless is mentioned as his consort, not even 'his hospitable,' or 'Ormazdak to, from ignorance that a late martyrlogy (quoted by Alishan, Ancient Faith, p. 260) calls Anahit the wife of Aramazd, she being rather his daughter (see below). The fatherhood of Aramazd, however, is not altogether foreign to the Avesta, which presents him as both the father and the husband of Spenta Armaits (Yašna xiv. 4, xxxix. 10; Yasht xix. 16), as well as the husband of other female divinities (according to the Pahlavi commentary on Vendidad xi. 5, of the Fravashis; cf. also Yašna xxxvii. 1; Ysperad iii. 4), and the parent of Asha Vahishta (Yašna xvii. 2), Sraosha, Rashnu, Mithra Asht (Yasht xvii. 16), Atarash (Yašna xxxvi. 3, etc.), Haoma (Yašna xi. 2), and, indeed, of all the Amesha Spenta (Yasht xvii. 2).

On the whole, therefore, the fatherhood of Aramazd agrees quite well, in the little that we know about him, with the Avesta Ahura Mazda. The father of the Armenian of the 5th cent. Ormazd, the variant form of Arzamazd, generally refers to the Great Name, the 'Creator,' being the term somewhat used to the adjective Ormazdakon, 'Ormazdian,' may also have been in use in reference to the Armenian Aramazd and the Greek Zeus.

2. Amesha Spenta.—Of these Zoroastrian archangels (see art. AMEBA SPENTAR), only Spenta Armaits is unmistakably present in the Armenian pantheon. Her name appears in two forms, Spandaramat and Sundaramat, with a difference of meaning, the former denoting 'abys,' 'Hades,' and the latter 'heaven,' 'heavenly.' Hübgeschmarr, Armen. Psychol. Strassburg, 1897, i. 73-74; but Spandaramat new occurrences in the abstract theological meaning that the Avesta attached to the Indo-Iranian spirit of the earth and the keeper of vineyards (cf. the Pahlavi Shdyasat-lâ- Shdyasat, xv. 5; cf. Gray, ARW vili. 364-371). It is owing to this fact that we find a Spenta Armaits, however, that the Armenian Christian writers of the 5th cent. used her name to translate Διώσ Ζεώλ in 2 Mac 6°, although, by a strange inconsistency, they translated the same name by Omrazdak en gad, 'Ormesian, Byzantine' (Yasht 15, 14° and 3 Mac 29°). Spandaramat in the form of Sundaramat, as already noted, came to be a synonym of Hades, and was very frequently referred to in theological books and in the Church.
hymnary. This sense is not altogether foreign to
the Avesta itself, where, from being the genius of the earth, Spenta Armaiti gradually becomes the earth itself, with the dark, woeful under world.

'The darkness of Spenta Armaiti' (Vendidad iii. 35) is a well-known expression of the Avesta, which has this in common with the Bab, theology, though it is not identical with it contains, and that the powers of Hades have something to do with the fertility of the ground and with agriculture (Jeremias, Hölle und Paradies bei den Babylonier, Leipzig, 1900, p. 19; for references to the Avesta see Lagarde’s Purim, Göttingen, 1887, p. 42).

Besides Spandaramet, we probably see the traces of the Annesla Spenta Haurvatat and Ameretat (‘health’ and ‘immortality’) in the Armenian haurosmaurot, the name of a flower (haya, racemozus Dodonaei), first mentioned by Agathangelos, p. 480 (cf. Abeghian, Armen. Volkslaube, pp. 62–63).

In the Qur’an, ii. 96, Harut and Marût are mentioned as the names of two Syrian masters, according to Muslim tradition, having shown themselves impotent with human siftness, were sent down to earth by God to assume human flesh and to live with mortals. They could not, however, withstand the temptations of lust, and were condemned to stay on earth, mixed with the demons. In the Arabic story of Bulūqīya, with the story of the Hahm bin-ad-Din in the Arabic Nights (tr. Payne, v. 75–76; cf. Horovitz in ZDMG xxx. 1887, p. 134), and in Tbilis, Ameretdt, and Timlit, are mentioned as the first inhabitants of hell. Burton and Ed. Nestle (ZDMG iii. 629) identify these with Harut and Marût, which have long been recognized as the Pahavai Horvadac (or Khûrdâ) and Amerodâ (or Amûrds), or the Ameretat and Harut. The Muhammadan legend respecting these fallen angels has many parallels in Rabbinical literature, and the whole is, ultimately, a Rabbinical elaboration of the marriage of the absent god and the daughter of men (Gen 6:4; cf.iger, Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen? Bonn, 1834, pp. 105–106; Hirsch in B. v. Strack, i. 283). How the Zoroastrian archangels were drawn into the Rabbinical legend of the Qur’an, and by what curious accident, instead of the later Pahavai forms, we have Harût and Marût, which find their parallel only in the Armenian name of a flower, is very problematical. Either Harût and Marût are Parthian, or even Syrian, corruptions of the archangels’ names, and found their way both to Armenia and Arabia, or they are purely Armenian forms, and reached Muhammad from the north.

At all events, Harût and Marût were not remembered in Armenia as angels. We know, on the other hand, that the two Zoroastrian archangels in question were associated at the vegetable world (Darnesteter, Haurvatat und Ameretat, Paris, 1875, passim), and two flowers were respectively consecrated to them—the Lily and the Lotus (ii. 54; cf. the Miditaq Ghahviharsh, pass., and Champsli); so that Haurvatat and Ameratat may once have been known in Armenia as tutelary deities of plants.

According to Strack (p. 512), Omanos (Vohn Mshasht Ameratat), with Anaita (Anâhîta) as a chief deity, formed a triad in Zela—a cult which has not yet entirely disappeared (Geler, Za, 1875, 14 ff.). This peculiar cult, however, had probably spread northward from Cappadocia, where there was a purer type of Mazdaism than in Armenia (Cumont, Les mystères de Mithra, Brussels, 1902, ch. i.).

3. Vayandas.—The Zoroastrian vayandas, or angels, are better represented in the Armenian religion than the Zoroastrian, and Sost, al. Aspar, are in the order adopted by Jackson in Grundriss der Iran. Philologie, ii. 640–645.

(1) Altar, or fire.—We cannot tell whether fireworship was a part of the ancient cult of the Unbâd, or was first introduced in Iranian times. Moses of Chorene (ii. 77) mentions a fire-altar in Bagavan, upon which Ardashir, after the conquest of Armenia, commanded that the fire of Ormazd be kept unquenched. Anania Shiragaci, in his discourse on the Cross, speaks of a hurbak in Pahlavi, and in Haurvatat (Haurvatat Festival) (from Armen. Gravavany, i. 181) rightly interpreted as a loan-word from the Pahlavi frōbag (Avesta haurvī-bavā, ‘fire of divine glory’), a fire established, according to Iranian tradition, in Chorassania, and later removed to Kabul (Bundāshhā, xvii. 5–8). In the hagiography called the ‘Coming of the Rhipsimean Virgin’ (Alishan, Hayapatam, p. 79), wrongly ascribed to Moses of Chorene, we read that on the top of Mount Pašat (?) there was a house of Aramazi and Astålek (Venus), and on a lower peak, to the south-east, there was ‘a house of fire, of inflammable fire, the god of incessant combustion.’ At the foot of the mount, moreover, there was a mighty spring. The place was called Buth. ‘They burnt the Sister Fire and the Brother Spring.’ In the caves of the mountain dwelt two dragons, devilish and black, to which young men and young virgins were sacrificed. And the devils, gladdened by this bloodshed, produced, by means of the altars of the fire and the spring (‘), terrible sights, lights, and rolling thunder; and the deep valley was full of snakes and scorpions.’ Elsewhere we read: ‘Because they called the fire sister, and the spring brother, they did not throw the ashes away, but they wipped them with the tears of the brother’ (‘Story of the Picture of the Holy Virgin’ in Moses of Chorene, i. 135, ed. Pashvian). This form of fire-worship in a volcanic region has hardly anything in common with Zoroastrianism, though we have a true remnant of fireworship, even in modern times, in the annual bonfire kindled everywhere by Armenians on the festival of Saint Stephen, the 26th of December, and the day of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Feb. 13–25), when the fire is kindled from a candle on the altar. It is an occasion of rejoicing and good augury. The festival is called in popular language Turnts, and in the Church calendar the commemoration is called the Zoroastrian Festival, ‘Presentation of the Lord’ (Abeghian, op. cit. p. 78).

It seems that the ashes of the sacred fire were also honoured, and the Christian writers love to remind their readers of the times when their ancestors were ash-worshippers (Agathangelos, p. 77; Anania Shiragaci, Praise of the Cross, quoted by Alishan, op. cit. p. 45 ff.); while Thomas Arsuruni applies this name to the Zoroastrians (Hist. i. 9–10). Nevertheless, vestiges of ancient fire-worship are still to be found among the Armenians of the interior (Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 66–74).

It is quite possible that two types of fire-worship existed among the Armenians—one, older and more primitive, in which fire was a feminine principle, and stood in close association with water, as a masculine principle; the other type similar to the Zoroastrian.

(2) Water.—Water was honoured in Armenia as a masculine principle. Many rivers and springs were sacred, and endowed with beneficient virtues. According to Tanits (Araxes, vii. 31), the Armenians offered horses as sacrifices to the Euphrates, and divined by its waves and foam. Sacred cities were built around the river Araxes and its tributaries. Even now there are many sacred springs which play a part in the public life of the people; and these are said to have a certain veneration towards water in motion.

Transfiguration Sunday in the Armenian Church was amalgamated with an unmistakably pagan water-festival, during which the people amused themselves, as they still do, with throwing water at each other. A similar custom connected with New Year’s Day is reported of the Persians (Alishan, op. cit. p. 305; al-Birunî, Chronology, pp. 199, 203). The Armenian water-day, or feast of the Transfiguration, is called vardavar or ‘rose of the water’ (from the ancient Persian name vardavar, ‘day of the rose’). The festival is celebrated during the last days of the year, according to the ancient Armenian calendar (Alishan, op. cit. pp. 283, 305).

On water and fire as brother and sister see Abeghian, op. cit. p. 67. Lazar of Pharse says (ed. Veniamin) that they are called the (sacred) brother and dashed it into the water, as into the bosom of its brother, according to the saying of the false teachers of the Persians.”
The great Zoroastrian water-god Anahit, however, do not seem to be connected with water-worship in Armenia, even when they have a place in the Armenian pantheon. Of these yazatas we perhaps recognize Apam Napat in the name of Npat, the Mount of Strabo, a sacred mountain of Bagravand, Npat being also the designation for the 20th day of the Armenian month, which was consecrated to the mountain.

(3) Anahit. This goddess, doubtless an importation from Persia, was the most popular deity of Armenia. In Agathangeles she is called 'the priestess' (p. 52) 'through whom the country of the Armenians exists and has life' (p. 61), and she is 'the mother of sorcery, the benefactress of all mankind, and a daughter of Amazan' (p. 52). She is invoked, in an edict of Tiridates, to protect and watch over the country (p. 106). She was also called the golden mother (p. 607), and statues of massive gold were consecrated to her (pp. 591, 607), one of which (at Erez) was captured by the soldiers of Antony (Pliny, HN xxx. 24).

With this may be compared the description of Ardv Sura Anahita in the Avesta (especially Yasht v. 84, 78, 101-102, 123, 126-129), 'who purifieth the sanctuaries': who parts of the wombs of all females for birth; who maketh all females bear with ease; who giveth all females meet (and timely) milk' (Yasna lxxv. 2 = Yasht v. 2), besides multiplying herds and lands (Yasht v. 1). Although the Iranian texts nowhere mention the daughter of Ahura Mazda, she is 'in his only water' (Yasht v. 5); and the epithet 'golden' of Agathangeles is paralleled by her Avesta attributes, 'laced with gold' (Yasht v. 64), 'wearing a golden kerchief' (Yasht v. 85), 'golden earrings' (ib. 97), and 'with a golden diadem' (ib. 128); for further details, cf. Windschmann, Die Perser. Andhita oder Anaitis, Munich, 1856. While the sacrifices offered to Anahita as described in the Avesta (e.g. Yasht v. 15, 21) are quite conventional, the Armenians offered her green branches and white heifers (Agathangelos, p. 49). Lucullus (Plutarch, Lives) saw in Yazdiant (3) herds of these heifers, which were used only for sacrifices, at all other times being kept up and driven, as the mark of the goddess, a torch, branded on them. Anahit was sought also in cases of great sickness (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60).

Three elements are to be distinguished in the Armenian worship of Anahit. 'She is a planet (Venus), a goddess of the fertilizing water, and a presiding over the birth and nursing of children, and the increase and maintenance of all things. The Armenian Anahit is pre-eminently a goddess, with no reference to a planet or water. The fact that in Erez this goddess admitted of obscene forms of worship, such as are generally associated with the orgiastic nature-cults of Asia Minor, must be explained by the proximity of Akolisse to Asia Minor, as well as by the part which the Avesta plays in human conception. Strabo says of this special cult (p. 532):' * Both the Medes and the Armenians honour all the sacred mountains, but above everything the Armenian honour Anahit, to whom they erect temples in other places, and specially in Akolisse [Ekales]. There they consecrate to her servants, male and female,' and this is not surprising; but the most illustrious men of the nation give to her their virgin daughters, who, according to custom, give themselves up to fornication near the goddess, after which they are given in marriage, and none thinks it unworthy to live with them. *

We have absolutely no proof, however, that this sacred prostitution was characteristic of the Armenian Anahit throughout the country, especially as native Christian writers do not mention it, although they might have used it to great advantage in their attacks upon the old religion.

Besides the great sanctuary in Akolisse, which was also called the Anahitian district (Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 88), Anahit had temples in Artashat (Aratxata) (Agathangelos, p. 584) and in Yash- tisht (p. 606), which, a mountain, was difficult to identify, was called the throne of Nahat (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 25), probably owing to the presence of a great sanctuary of the goddess there.

An image of Anahit is said to have existed in the district of the Avakas near the 'Stone of the Blacksmiths,' where, as in Buth, there was a mixed worship of fire and water, along with magical practices (Alisian, Hayagpatum, p. 50).

The great festival of Anahit was celebrated, according to Alisian (Ancient Faith, p. 299), on the 15th of Navasard with processions and rejoicings. The 19th day of every month was also consecrated to her (Tcherpet, 1820, quoted by Alisian, Ancient Faith, p. 143).

(4) Sun and moon—Moons of Chorene makes repeated allusions to the worship of the sun and moon in Armenia. In oaths the name of the sun was almost invariably invoked (ii. 19), and there were also altars and images of the sun and moon (pp. 124-125). But the oldest witness is Xenophon, who notes that the Armenians sacrificed horses to the sun (Anabasis, iv. 5. 35; Weber in his Die kathol. Kirche in Armenien, Freiburg, 1903, p. 28, understands this ονοι as 'worship at Mithras'). The golden earrings (p. 507), and the twelfth festival of the Armenian year and, what is more significant, the first day of every month, were consecrated to the sun and bore its name, while the first day of the Persian month was assigned to Anahamzad, the eleventh day being given to the sun in the Zoroastrian calendar. The twenty-fourth day of the Armenian month was consecrated to the moon, as was the twelfth in the Avesta system. The Armenians, like the Persians and most of the sun-worshipping peoples of the East, prayed to the rising sun, a custom which the early Church unconsciously adopted. To this day the Armenian churches are built and the Armenian dead are buried toward the east, the west being the abode of the devil (see below). As to the moon, Anania Shiragatci says in his Demokratia- zon (ed. Patke, a fac-simile) that 'through her the nurse of the plants,' an idea which has its parallel, and probably its source, in the short Māh-yasht of the Avesta, particularly in that vegetation grows best in the time of the waxing moon (Yasht vii. 4; al-Birūnī, Chronology, p. 219). Ohan Mantaguni (5th cent.) combats the general belief that the moon presides over the plants (Discourses, Venice, 1860, pp. 198-199). The Armenians also shared the superstitions about the eclipse of the sun and moon current among the Persians, who held that these phenomena are caused by two dark bodies, 'offspring of the primeval ox, revolving below the sun and moon, and occasionally passing between them and the earth' (Dāstān-e-Zanjan, bix. 2; Shīkmān gomānī Vījār, iv. 46). It was, moreover, a popular belief that a sorcerer could bring the sun or moon down from heaven by witchcraft (Eznik, Refutation of Sects, p. 217), though this does not find a parallel in the extant Zoroastrian writings.

No doubt the Persian worship of the sun and moon found a similar worship of long standing in Armenia, that of the Urartians (see preceding...
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art.), and could do little more than influence it to a certain extent.
It has been suggested, with some plausibility, that the famous hymn to Yahagyn, quoted by Moses of Chorene (i. 31), sounds like a sun-hymn:

'The heavens travelled; the earth travelled;
Also the purple sea travelled;
And in the sea
The red reed grew;
From the stem of the reed there arose a smoke;
From the stem of the reed there arose a flame;
From the flame ran forth a young man.
He had heavy hair;
He had a beard of flame;
And these were suns.

Both sun- and moon-worship have left deep traces in the popular beliefs of the present Armenians (see Abelian, op. cit. pp. 41-49; Tcheraz, 'Notes sur la mythologie Arménienne,' in Teutsche, of 9th Internat. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892, iii. 628 ff.).

In the Armen. writers from the 11th to the 14th cent. we may find allusion to the god Tishtrya, the name of which is given to the sun-worshippers of the 8th cent. by Stackelberg in his Annals of Armenia. They are the so-called Parsi, and are documented by records as having been forced to accept Christianity. In the 8th cent. the ambition of the Sassanian emperors made them abandon the worship of the fire-god and place their hopes in the Christian faith. The Persians in the 8th cent. were compelled to worship the Sun of the Sun (see the evidence of the Bundahishn of the 9th cent.).

The name of Tishtrya, the sun-god, is not quite certain. In Egypt this god had his parallel in Thot, the moon-god of Chemun (de la Saussaye, i. 207). In the Parsi this is identified with the god of the planet Mercury, and to this day certain Armenians (see the evidence of the Bundahishn, (v). 1) Tishtrya was opposed.

In Armenian mythology also we find a Tir or Tior, who has often been wrongly identified with Tishtrya, but who is, in reality, another divinity altogether. The Armen. Tir (which Jensen, Hiiltier und Armenier, pp. 186-187, endeavours to derive from Armenian, apiir, 'writer,' scriber,' which would be a title of the Bab.-Assy. Nabu, who was both the scribe of the gods and the planet Mercury (cf. presentation of Tir, among the Thangarians, p. 325 ff.), and who was widely known and honoured as an independent deity, being probably identified with the planet Mercury, although Tir is not found in this meaning with this.

Both in Cappadocia and in Armenia the four months was consecrated to this Tir; and this was also true of the Parsi calendar, although, for theological reasons, the Parsi later made Tir the equivalent of Sisht (cf. Bundahishn xxiv. 3, with Apringas iii. 8). The Armenian Tir was famous as the 'interpreter of arts and learning,' as the tutelary deity of arts and learning, and as the scribe of Ormizd (Agathangelos, p. 584). Among the Armenians of modern times 'the writer' (very probably Tir) has much to do with human fate and death. The writer also is known as 'the author of human happiness.'

Tir is, therefore, the god of the Armen. Nabu, and there can be little doubt that the description given of him by Agathangelos whose Greek translator equates Tir with Apollo (Lagarde, Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig, 1866, p. 284), agrees, in the main, with that given by the Nestorian and other Oriental nations about Tir. In fact, the planet Mercury also is known among the Persian poets as 'the writer' (Steckelberg). The expression 'Scribe of Ormizd' applied to Tir in Agathangelos has a Persian tinge, for the Armenian very seldom used the name Ormizd for their own Aramazid.

(6) Mithra. — Last, but by no means least, among the Zoroastrian yazatas is Mithra, the genius of the light of the heavens, and the god of light. The Zoroastrian calendar is reckoned by the thirtieth day of each month to Tishtrya (Avesta) or Tir (Pahlav. opp. cit., i. 13, ii. 13; Yasna xv. 4, with Bundahishn xxvii. 24). That Tir or Tishtrya refers primarily to the planet Mercury (Sirius), is confirmed by al-Biruni's statement, in his account of the Tishtrya, celebrated on the day of Tir the month of Tir (Chronology, p. 200-200), 'The name of this day is Tir or Mercury, who is the star of the scribes.' The difficult problem of the replacing of Tir by his opponent Tishtrya (cf. Spiegel, Avesta Erzeroum, Leipzig, 1893, 128); Noldeke, loc. cit.) is perhaps best explained by Justi, op. cit. p. 296: 'Da wir den Planeten spater als bezeichnet... war der Mithras oder Schutgenius des 4. Monats und des 13. Monats- tages durch den Tishtrya (seinen Gegner ersetzt; in Alltemuth als Tir als gutes Genius, wie die Tischtrisikos des Neften- Thell seine Name bildet, beweisen.' 'The derivation of Tir, or Mercury,' is uncertain.—Louise H. Gray.

1 Cf. also Abelian, loc. cit. and the 'writers,' as spirites of disease (op. cit. pp. 122-123). The words Tir and Tishtrya were also used as exclamations: 'Tir!' and 'Tishtrya!' in their relation to the deity's name, however, is not quite certain.

2 In Egypt this god had his part in Thoth, the moon-god of Chemes (De la Saussaye, i. 207).
of truth and faithfulness, whose praises are especially celebrated in the tenth yasht. Derzna was the centre of Armenian Mithra-worship, and he also had a famous temple in the sacred village of Bagayarin (Agathangelos, p. 515), although we have no proof whatever that Mithraism had obtained any foothold in Armenia proper. Mithra, the Armenian Mithra, was specially called the son of Aramaz (Agathangelos, p. 593; cf. Yastith xvii. 16); but, owing to the strong worship of the sun and Vahagn among the Armenians, he does not seem to have become as prominent as in Persia, his place seeming, indeed, to be usurped by Vahagn (see below). Nevertheless, his name occurs frequently as a component part of many proper names of persons, such as Mihram, Mihrmat (Mithridates), and Mehrum (Hübschmann, Armen. Grammatik, i. 52-54), while the Armenian mehecan, ‘pagan temple, idol, altar,’ has also been traced to the same source (cf. Hübschmann, op. cit. i. 194). The seventh month of the year and the eighth day of each month were his; and in the Zoroastrian calendar the seventh month and the sixteenth day were consecrated to him. We know nothing, however, of the functions or other duties of the Armenian Mithra.

Chief god of the Zoroastrian fravashis (lower angels), is Verərghəshah, the genius of victory, to whom the Avesta consecrates the fourteenth yasht. Like Mithra, he is of Indo-Iranian origin. In Pahlavi times his name was that of Varərghəshah, of Persian kings, and in Armenian to Vəhrəm and Vəram. It is also very possible that Vərənəs, the name of the second son of Gregory the Illuminator, reflects the Parthian form for Verərghəshah. Since he has been called as Vəhrəm, the Armenian Vahagn, probably the god of war and victory (Agathangelos, p. 106), with Verərghəshah. According to Armenian phonetic laws, this is quite possible, although the termination -ərm and the complete disappearance of both r's constitute a difficulty. There was, moreover, a noble family called the Vəhrənunis (Eliseus, pp. 70, 127, 160, 172); while the list of the Armenian nobles in Mesrop's Life of St. Nerses gives (p. 39), his father below it adds the Vahuni (p. 34) as a different family. Moses of Chorene (i. 31, ii. 8, 12, 88) knows a priestly family of the name of Vahuni, whom he makes descendants of Vahagn. Probably in all these cases the tutelary god, and the first syllable of his name was treated as independent.

Although in the ancient Armenian triad of Aramaz, Anahit, and Vahagn (Agathangelos, p. 106), Vahagn has the place of Mithra in the Old Persian triad (Art. Susa, a, 5; Ham. 6), he must be interpreted, despite the minor phonetic difficulties already mentioned, from the Avesta Verərghəshah. Essentially a deity of victory, the latter fittingly declares: ‘I will conquer the malignancies of all the malignant: the malignancies of demons and men, of keraps and witch-doers, of keraps (Yastith, xiv. 4), while the very form of his name recalls its Sanskrit equivalent vy̱ṛta, the Vedic epithet of Indra as the slayer of the cloud-demon Vṛtra. The reflection of his career in the Avesta is seen in the statement that he ‘Verəm the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike’ (Shayat-ła-Šayat, xxii. 20), although the Iranian texts preserve no tradition of his conquests over dragons in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, the Vahagn was compared with Herakles, and called the dragon-killer (Agathangelos, p. 606), while the Greek Agathangelos translates Vahagn as Ἡρακλῆς, and, reversing the process, the Armenian version of 2 Mac 4* renders Ἡρακλῆς by Vahagn. Ancient Armenians told, moreover, of Vahagn's stealing straw from Barsham (the Syrian god Baal-Shemah, 'Lord of Heaven'), which he let drop on the way, thus forming the Milky Way (Anania Shhiragaci, p. 48; cf. Abeghian, Armenischer Volkskunde, pp. 49-50). The Vahagn-song, the parallelism of Vahagn with Herakles, and his relations to Mithra and Barsham, tend to create the presumption that he was also a sun-god. The most famous temple of Vahagn was in Yashtishat in Taraun* (Faustus of Byzantium, i. 14; Agathangelos, pp. 606-607), where he was known as the lover of Aisma, the Syrian Aphrodite (Agathangelos, p. 607; Moses of Chorene, p. 88).

ii. Infernal Hosts.—1. Ahriman.—Ahriman (Armen. Ārman) is never referred to in connexion with ancient Armenian paganism; but the absence of his name may be easily understood when we remember that, while Christian writers had a reason for arguing against the ancient deities, Ahriman (q.v.) and his retinue naturally coincided with Christian demonology. Other Zoroastrian evil spirits were known among the Armenians, however; and Ahriman could hardly fail to be known as their chief. Alishan (Ancient Faith, p. 210) suggests, with some plausibility, that he is -the same as Čeșn, a word which is frequently found in that sense in Armenian theological writings and old popular spells. Besides Ārman, the forms Haprami and Khara- mani were also current in Armenia, Haprami being apparently formed from the younger (Sasanian) form (Hübschmann, op. cit. i. 28-27); so that the pagan Armenians possibly used Haprami to denote the Ahriman of their religion. Haprami is used as an epithet of snakes by Ahrang; tendency to regard the serpent as an emblem of evil is common to both Avestan and Zoroastrian sources.

2. Demons.—Of the six Zoroastian archdemons there is no mention. The Asmodæus of the Book of Tobit (3* etc.) was transfigured by the Armenians as Asmod, which plainly shows that the name supposed nothing familiar to us. The word dev (Avesta điva), ‘demon,’ was current among the Armenians, although they had also native words ozi. The dev preferred rocky places (Moses of Chorene, ii. 55) and ruins (Eznik, p. 98). They appeared as serpents (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 2) and in many other monstrous forms (Eznik, p. 98); some of them were corporeal, others incorporeal (ib. p. 97).

The drusas were lying, perjuring, harmful spirits, probably believed to be feminine, like their Avesta counterparts, the drusas. They were regarded in regard to their third mode of self-propagation—by the semen emitted in the pollutio nocturna (Vendidad xviii. 45-52)—seems to have been a current belief among the Armenians (Eznik, p. 178; Abeghian, Armen. Volkskunde, pp. 35-36). The yātsus, ‘sorcerers’ of the Avesta, who were able even to slay men (Vendidad vii. 3), are well known and much feared among the modern Armenians as jataks. The părăkis (Armen. parik), ‘constructors of demons, kari, and karaapa’ (Yastith, xiv. 4), while the very form of his name recalls its Sanskrit equivalent vy̱ṛtahram, the Vedic epithet of Indra as the slayer of the cloud-demon Vṛtra. The reflexion of his career in the Avesta is seen in the statement that he ‘Vṛtram the victorious is the stimulator of the warlike’ (Shayat-ła-Šayat, xxii. 20), although the Iranian texts preserve no tradition of his conquests over dragons in the strict sense of the term. On the other hand, the Vahagn was compared with Herakles, and called the dragon-killer (Agathangelos, p. 606), while the Greek Agathangelos translates Vahagn as Ἡρακλῆς, and, reversing the process, the Armenian version of 2 Mac 4* renders Ἡρακλῆς by Vahagn. Ancient

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* This temple was called the ‘eighth sanctuary’ (Agathangelos, p. 606), possibly because Vahagn-worship, and especially this temple, rose to importance late after the seven main sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 54) had established themselves.

† It should be noted that the divergences between the Armenian Vārām and the Avesta Ārman, ‘demon of wrath,’ are so great that the usual view that the two are identical is not free from suspicion (cf. Ginsberg in J.B. ii. 219).—(Louis H. Gray).
Adahak is, in Armenian, the same as Visap. The latter word is, it should be noted, a loanword from the Avesta ārāz yāθριον πιθα, 'whose saliva is poison,' used as an epithet of aži, 'serpent,' in Nirangastān 48. The story of the war between Adahak of Media and Tigranes I (A.D. 24–30) probably contains traces of an old dragon-legend. In a later chapter Moses states that Adahak was fettered and imprisoned in Mount Dembavat by Hrudan, escaping only to be recaptured and guarded by his conqueror in a cave of the same mountain; just as, in Zoroastrian legend, Dahakka, after a reign of 100 years, was enchained by Thraetaona (Armenian, Hrudan; Pahlavi, Frētūn) under Dimavand, whence he is to arise at the Last Day and be slain by Sāma Keresaspā (Bandūrshān xxix. 9; Dājīstān-i Dēnīg xxxvii. 97; Dīn-i Mainōg-i Khrat xxii. 38–39; Dīnket vii. 1, 26). Moses likewise records that Adahak was kissed on the shoulders, and that from this kiss sprang serpents, which were fed on human flesh. Tho' the extant Avesta does not note this, Aži Dahakē there being hardly anyone uncorrupted (p. xii, x. 8), the Dājīstān-i Dēnīg (loc. cit.) alludes to it in describing Dahak, 'on whom most powerful demons and fiends in the shape of serpents are winged.' The legend is further elaborated by Fir-dost, in which, at a later date, Aži Dahakē, said to have lived 57,000 years, was enchainèd by Thraetaona, 'on whom most powerful demons were winged' (loc. cit. 25, 28, 99–30, 144; 35, 12–14), according to whom the kiss was bestowed by Iblis. The legend of Aži Dahakē was also treated at length in the twentieth section of the lost Sāhār Nask of the Avesta (Dīnket xix. 21).

The višaps (Eznik, pp. 102–107) were corporeal beings which could appear both as men and as serpents, and could soar in the air by the help of oxen (7). They were fond of carrying the grain away from the threshing-floor, either by assuming the shape of mules and camels, or by real mules and camels of their own. In such cases, the Armenians called 'Kal! Kal!' 'Stop! stop!' Eznik, p. 103). They also sucked the milk from cows (Valarmatartab 13th cent., quoted by Alisian, Armanin lih, p. 172). The višaps, according to Darnesteter's note, ad loc., on the palace of Aži Dahakē. They kept royal princes and heroes captive (Eznik, p. 100). Among whom were Alexander the Great and Artavazd, king of Armenia (p. 105). They sometimes appeared enormous, and compelled men to worship them (p. 105). They entered into human beings; their breath was poisonous (p. 107). There was a whole colony of them at the foot of Masis (Moses of Chorene, i. 30), with whom Vahlang fought (ib. i. 31; Agathangelos, p. 607), and who later stole the child Artavazd and left a dev in his stead (Moses of Chorene, i. 61; cf., further, on the višap, Abégjian, op. cit. pp. 78–83).

Closely connected with the višaps were the nhangs (Eznik, pp. 102–107)—a term borrowed from the Pers. nhang 'alligator, crocodile.' They lived chiefly in the rivers (Eznik, p. 108). According to Eznik, both višaps and nhangs appeared in deceptive forms, but the former were 'personal' (spirit-like), whilst the latter were not so (p. 102), so that he specifically declares: 'There is no personal nhang' (pp. 103, 107). Although they could assume different forms, they had no body. Preferably they appeared as women (mermaids?) in the water (p. 106); but at other times they became seals, and, catching the swimmer by the feet, dragged him to the bottom (ib.). An unpublished manuscript of the Geography added to Moses of Chorene in like manner reports the general belief that there were nhangs in the Aračani, a tributary of the Euphrates, as well as in the Euphrates itself. They used their victims for their lust, and then sucked their blood and left them dead. The Armenian translators use the word nhang for 'hippopotamus' and 'crocodile.'

The šakapes, or 'protectors' (cf. Avesta vandarapaiti, 'protector of the homestead,' Skr. katra-pali, 'lord of a field'), are mentioned in Agathangelos as the protecting genii of graves (p. 56). They appeared in the shape of men or serpents, like the višaps (Eznik, p. 106), and kept the vines trim and the grains plentiful. The ancient Armen. tr. of St. John Chrysostom on Isaiah.

Another class of fabulous monsters which seem to have a Persian origin is that of the hambarus. According to von Stackelberg, hambarusa in Persian means 'genius of houses,' but we know little as to how the hambarus were imagined. In the Armenian tr. of the LXX Is 34' the word is used to render epopèw (Vulg. draconum). They were female beings, had a body, and were probably thought to live on land. They were born and died (Eznik, p. 99), and were sometimes engaged along with yukšaparikēs and parikēs. The yukskapan, or 'as-parikes' (cf. Pers. wūšk, 'asā'), used to render δεινόσαύρα in LXX Is 139' 34-11', lived chiefly in ruined places (Eznik, pp. 97–98), while the parikes, to whom the parikes, to whom the yukskapan and the yukskapan were seductive female demons, living not only in the water, but also in forests and meadows, as well as on the banks of streams. They are, primarily, water-deities, and correspond closely to the European mermaids, whom they also resemble in their frequent intrigues with mortal lovers. This erotic trait is an evident reminiscence in Armenia of the seductive parikēs of Zoroastrism (see above); cf. also Abégjian, op. cit. pp. 103–104). Eznik (p. 99) likewise mentions the corcusa, or 'sea-bulls,' which lived in lakes, propagating through kine, they themselves being born of cows. He also alludes to pāys, which were born of men (pp. 98–99), and must doubtless be distinguished from the parikes. All these beings, as we have seen, were held to be generally invisible, though occasionally they were seen of men (Eznik, p. 99). There are, moreover, other classes of demons in Armenian faith, such as the yavvarshorsūns, kajēs (husbands of the parikes), mardvajāis ('werewolves'), als (corresponding roughly to Littlef) or disease-demons of various sorts (cf. Abégjian, op. cit. pp. 102–110, 118–127). Another clear survival of Zoroastrism is the horror felt towards snakes, frogs, and ants (Abégjian, op. cit. pp. 30–31; cf. Vandelid, xiv. 5), and the cat's note, ad loc.; Herodotus, i. 140), while the cat is an uncanny object, as in Parsi belief (Darnesteter, loc. cit.; SBE xviii. 419, where a demoniac father is attributed to it.)

III. DEATH AND THE FUTURE LIFE. — The abode of evil spirits and of the wicked dead was called Dūkkhā ('Pers. Dūnkāh,' and perhaps also Sandaramet (see above). We have absolutely no description of the Armenian Hades or Paradise; and the Avesta garvā-mānā, 'house of song, paradise,' appears in Armenian in the loan-word garmakān, 'grave.' After death, the soul lingered around the body until the corpse was buried, after which it remained in the vicinity of the grave or of its former dwelling for a year, though in later Armenian belief it passed to the future world within a day after burial (Abégjian, op. cit. p. 18). Its way, as in Iranian eschatology, the soul had to...
cross a hair-bridge; if righteous, it reached the opposite shore in safety; if sinful, it dropped down into the stream of hell-fire. There was a middle place for those that were neither good nor bad (Abeghian, p. 20).*

We find absolutely no trace, however, of dakhmeh, nor is there any mention of sacrifices or the burnt offerings of exposing bodies. On the contrary, there were great masoleums for kings in the ancient city of Ani, and graveyards outside the cities. We also know that the Achemenian kings did not obey the Avesta injunction concerning the exposure of dead bodies; while, according to Herodotus (i. 140), the Persians covered the corpse with wax and then buried it.

The Armenian ritual customs seem to have been more akin to the ancient Babylonian (Jeremias, Hölle und Paradies bei den Babylonern, p. 104 f.). The friends and relatives of the deceased, the priests (Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 7-16), and at the funerals of the rich, professional mourners were employed (Moses of Chorene, ii. 88), led by the 'divine' women, who in the mythology of the life and death of the deceased, while the nearest relatives tore their garments, plucked their hair and screamed (Faustus of Byzantium, op. cit.). They cut their arms (? and?) faces (ib. v. 31). During the funeral they had music, produced by horns, violins, and harps. Men and women danced facing one another, and clapped their hands (ib.). Johannes Garneq (quoted by Abeghian, op. cit. p. 415) says: 'Forbid wailing (over the dead). . . cutting of the hair and other evil things.' When this was increased was a sign of the identity of the deceased, or a great personage, servants and slaves committed suicide over the corpse (Moses of Chorene, ii. 93). Ancient grave-sites are found in the shapes of horses and lambs, perhaps symbolic of sacrifices for the dead. The modern custom of distributing bread and raisins and strong drink after the burial, moreover, is probably a survival of an ancient sacrificial meal (cf. Abeghian, op. cit. pp. 99-100). To this day it is quite customary to make two holes on the graves.

Death was a decree of fate (Eznik, p. 153), inevitable (p. 161), and foreordained (p. 182). In fact, the whole life of man was thought to be led by God (Manig, quoted by Abeghian, op. cit. p. 411). Later Armenians also spoke of Hogar, the ‘soul-taking’ angel, who is frequently identified with Gabriel (Abeghian, op. cit. p. 17).

There is little to be said about the eschatology of the Armenians, although they certainly believed in resurrection and immortality.

There is an ancient Armenian legend about the end of the world. Artavazd, son of king Artashes, seeing that people committed suicide over his father’s grave, said, ‘Though I did depart, and随时随事 the whole country. Shall I rule over such a death? Therefore put his father cursed him, saying:

'When thou goest a-hunting up the venerable Mana, may the k'aj's seize thee and take thee up the venerable Mana! Then goest thou will have no light.'

Artavazd is said to have perished, while on a hunting party, by falling with his horse from a high precipice. One Armenian legend is also chained in a cave of Mana, and when drug was gnawing at his chains, he tried to set him free in order that he may bring the world to an end. The chain becomes very thin about the season of Navaran (New Year's festivities in August). Therefore, on those days the blacksmiths used to strike a few blows with their hammers on their anvils in order to strengthen Artavazd's chains and save the world, a custom which was continued even into Christian times (Moses of Chorene, ii. 61; Eznik, p. 103). This legend seems to be a sort of affinity with that of Biarasp Ablashak, which Moses of Chorene gives at the end of the first book of his History of Armenia (see above).

IV. WORSHIP AND CEREMONIAL. — There were probably temple-books which Christianity systematically destroyed. The temples were numerous, both in the country and in the cities; and there were also special temple-towns, such as Bagavan and Yashtishat, containing several important sanctuaries. Christian churches and monasteries were often built on and joined with those belonging to the ancient sacred sites. Of ancient open-air worship we hear nothing, but there were sacred places on mountain tops, like the throne of Nahata (Faustus of Byzantium, v. 25). Besides the ordinary temples, the Armenians boasted, like other neighbouring and distant nations, seven main sanctuaries (Agathangelos, p. 34), which were often the scenes of great concourses of people gathered there for worship and religious festivities.

*He commanded to seek the seven great altars of Armenia, and he honoured the sanctuaries of his ancestors, the Arcasids, with white bullocks, white rams, white hogs and fourteen gold and silver ornaments and gold embroidered and fringed silk coverings, with golden wafers, silver sacrificial basins, desirable vases set with precious stones, splendid garments, and beautiful ornaments. Also he gave a fifth of his booty and great presents to the priests.'

In Bayazid (the ancient Bagavand) an old Armenian relief was found with an altar upon which a strange animal stands, and on each side a man clothed in a long tunic. One is beardless, and carries a heavy club. The other has a beard. Their head-gears, Phrygian in character, differ in details. Both of them raise their hands in the attitude of worship (Abeghian, op. cit. p. 161).

The prevalent word for a pagan priest in Armenian, K'arm, is a loan word from the Syriac verb *kārmār,* 'priest,' although many gigantic Phrygian characteristic, have also been used. The place of sacrifice was perhaps called spandaran (connected with Avesta spenta, 'holy'), a word which is now current only in the sense of 'slaughter-house.' This makes it possible that originally slaughter-houses were of a local character. Christianised away with all impure rites and human sacrifices which were of a local character, but animal sacrifices survived the fall of paganism (Conybeare in A.J.T.A., vii. 1903, p. 63).

In many of the sanctuaries, which, like the modern monasteries, were also places of religious hospitality, particularly in the country, sacrifices were distributed to strangers (Moses of Chorene, ii. 60). Besides animals, flower-wreaths and green twigs (the barson of the Avesta) were offered (Agathangelos, p. 49), and probably also fruit and money.

The priesthood must have been hereditary in a well-organized caste. There was a high priest, sometimes of royal blood (Moses of Chorene, ii. 55), and the Yahunu are mentioned as a priestly family by Moses of Chorene (ii. 8), while another priestly family was perhaps that of the Spandun. The priests were probably very numerous in temple-towns, and they certainly possessed great wealth and extensive property. Many of them were later confiscates for the benefit of the Christian Church (Agathangelos, pp. 586 ff., 599, 600, 610). Of native Armenian magi a caste

* Sacrifices were occasions of great rejoicing, and it would seem that not only the flesh of the animals, but also their blood, was consumed (Agathangelos, pp. 73-74; Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 4).

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we have no record, although we read of magians (Moses of Chorene, ii. 48). The existence of priestesses in ancient Armenia is not absolutely certain, although we have the old compound armenanish meaning 'priestess.'

A critical study of the Armenian Church calendar and chronology probably can be referred to the pre-Christian ritual. During Lent, for example, the morning service is opened with an abjuration of the devil and all evil—an elaborate formula, which is recited while the whole congregation turns their backs to the altar and look toward the west, with arms hanging rigidly at the sides. Although the abjuration is usual in the baptism of all ritualistic churches, this particular form may have been derived from some of the countries.
in particular, it is said to have been preached by Apostles or disciples of Apostles, such as St. Bartholomew and St. Thaddeus. But it has been proved that these legends did not appear till late in the literature of Armenia, and that they were borrowed largely from the literature of Greece. Christianity was probably introduced to Armenia by the disciples of the Apostles, such as St. Thaddeus himself. The church festivals are many, and among the chief are the Assumption, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the celebration of the Sabbath in memory of the Descent of the Holy Ghost. In the 6th century, the Nicene Creed was adopted as the basis of the Armenian Church. It was a compilation of formulas borrowed from various creeds, and was current until the middle of the 19th century. The religious heads of the Armenian Church several times formulated professions of faith intended to complete, explain, and fix the meaning of the Armenian Creed. We must mention the profession of faith addressed in 1166 by Nerses Shnorhali to Manuel Comnenus; that presented to Pope Innocent IV. by Abgar, the Ambassador of the Catholicos Michael of Etchmiadzin (1652–1653); that of the Catholicos Azarios of Sis (1858); that addressed in 1671 by David, the Armenian archbishop of Ispahan, to Louis XIV.; those addressed to the same king by Stephen and James, the Armenian archbishops at Constantinople (1671), and by Gaspar, the Armenian bishop of Cairo. On the other hand, the Roman Curia imposed on the Armenian Church two professions of faith: (1) the constitution of Eugenius IV., Exultate, n. 1873; (2) the creed of Urban VIII., intended for all the Christians of the East.


**II. EXTENSION OF CHRISTIANITY IN ARMENIA.**

—St. Gregory the Illuminator. —Gregory the Illuminator belonged to the royal race of the Arsacids. When young he escaped the massacre of his family (A.D. 288), and took refuge in Roman territory and lived at Cæsarea, and returned to Armenia when the kingdom was re-established under Tiridates II. (A.D. 261). After being persecuted for his faith, he attained to honour, and baptized the king and a large number of his subjects. He went again to Cæsarea, where he was consecrated bishop by Bishop Leontius, thus forming the link of spiritual connexion between the Cappadocian metropolis and the young Armenian Churches. When he was made bishop, he fixed his residence at Yashbashat, and had a church and an episcopal palace built there. He substituted Armenian for Greek as the language of the liturgy, in order to have easier access to the masses of the people, and created twelve episcopal sees, at the head of which he placed, as titulars, converted pagan priests. He instituted ecclesiastical offices, making them hereditary in the scerotal families, and he created in his own family the supreme office of Catholicos. At first this title designated only the principal bishop of the country; later it came to mean an independent patriarch. The Gregorian and national Armenian Church, founded afterwards, lived its own autonomous life, while recognizing for some years a sort of supremacy in the mother Church of Cæsarea. The Armenians in the 13th cent. took the place of the Nicene Creed. In the 14th cent. another creed was much in use in the Armenian Church. It was a compilation of formulas borrowed from various creeds, and was current until the middle of the 15th century. The religious heads of the Armenian Church several times formulated professions of faith intended to complete, explain, and fix the meaning of the Armenian Creed. We must mention the profession of faith addressed in 1166 by Nerses Shnorhali to Manuel Comnenus; that presented to Pope Innocent IV. by Abgar, the Ambassador of the Catholicos Michael of Etchmiadzin (1652–1653); that of the Catholicos Azarios of Sis (1858); that addressed in 1671 by David, the Armenian archbishop of Ispahan, to Louis XIV.; those addressed to the same king by Stephen and James, the Armenian archbishops at Constantinople (1671), and by Gaspar, the Armenian bishop of Cairo. On the other hand, the Roman Curia imposed on the Armenian Church two professions of faith: (1) the constitution of Eugenius IV., Exultate, n. 1873; (2) the creed of Urban VIII., intended for all the Christians of the East.


**III. THE GREGORIAN ARMENIAN CHURCH.**

1. Doctrine. —The creed of the Armenian Church is identical with the pseudo-Athanasian Creed which was introduced into Armenia by the Syrians, and

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*In this article, the fol. abbrev. are used: —Petit = L. Petit, * loc. cit. viii. col. 1892–1893; F. Macler, Catalogue des manuscrits arménien et géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1898).
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administer it. The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders very carefully organized, including the office of preacher and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved to the Catholicos of Armenians. 'The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders very carefully organized, including the office of preacher and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved to the Catholicos of Armenians. The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders very carefully organized, including the office of preacher and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved to the Catholicos of Armenians. The Gregorians have a hierarchy of orders very carefully organized, including the office of preacher and reader; then the inferior orders of porter, reader, exorcist, and candle-lighter; and the superior orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and priest. The consecration of bishops is reserved to the Catholicos of Armenians.

Women are not excluded from the functions of the deacon. In Anatolia the Catholic Armenian priests are generally married; elsewhere they observe more closely the law of celibacy, which is not obligatory on them. When a priest has to say Mass, he passes the preceding night in the church. When a priest who is already married has to receive ordination, he spends forty days in the churches in penitence, during which the wife of the priest sits on a stool, and keeps her mouth, her eyes, and her ears shut, as a sign of the reserve which she exercises with regard to the functions of her husband.

7. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).—The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) was held in response to a crisis in the Church and in order to define the relationship of the Christian faith to Judaism. The council was called to address the issue of the nature of Jesus, who was believed to be both human and divine. The council adopted the definition that Jesus was both fully human and fully divine, which was later referred to as the Chalcedonian Creed. This decision was significant because it helped to establish the orthodox definition of the Christian faith and to differentiate it from heretical views.

After the council, the Armenian Church adopted and propagated this definition. The Armenian Council of 813, held in A.D. 813, also adopted the Chalcedonian Creed. This decision was significant because it helped to establish the orthodox definition of the Christian faith and to differentiate it from heretical views.

The Armenian Church has had a history of Councils that have been significant in the development of its doctrines and practices. These councils have been held in various locations, including Harput, Gurgush, and Vagharshapat. The council in Harput in 1896, for example, was significant in its decision to adopt the principles of the Chalcedonian Creed. This decision was important because it helped to establish the orthodox definition of the Christian faith and to differentiate it from heretical views.

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Sunday of Pentecost. The day before Ascension the young girls of the village meet together and choose several of their number to organize the festival. The members of this committee take a pitcher made of baked clay, fill it with water drawn from seven springs or seven wells, and close the mouth of the pitcher with flowers gathered from seven fields; then each of the girls throws an object into it (bracelet, ring, button, bead from a rosary, etc.), wishing at the same time some good wish for her father, brother, or sweetheart. They have to shut their eyes while throwing the object into the pitcher and meditate deeply on their wish. On the Wednesday or Thursday night they hide the pitcher in the corner of a garden in the open air, to expose it to the influence of the stars, and they watch that it is not taken by the boys, who prowl about there all night, and try to discover it and carry it off. If the young men succeed in taking it, they give it back to the girls only in exchange for a large quantity of eggs and olive oil, which they have to offer. If, on the other hand, the young men do not succeed in getting possession of the pitcher, the girls sing songs in which they are made fun of (A. Tchobanian, Chants populaires arméniens, pp. 57–58; M. Abeghian, Armenischer Volksliedschatz, Leipzig, 1898).

Marriage, baptism, and burial are family festivals which are the occasion of special ceremonies and customs in Armenia.

(a) Marriage.—Among the Armenians, children and betrothals from their earliest youth, sometimes when only three years old, sometimes as soon as born. When the mothers on both sides have agreed to marry their son and daughter, they propose the union to their husbands, who always sanction the choice of the wives or the mothers of the bride. The boy then goes to the friends of the girl, with two old women and a priest, and presents to the infant maiden a ring from the future bridegroom. The boy is then brought, and the priest reads a portion of the Scripture, and blesses the parties. The parents of the girl make the priest a present, in accordance with their means, refreshments are partaken of by the company, and this constitutes the ceremonies of the betrothals. Should the betrothals take place during the intermediate parties, and even should twenty years elapse before the boy can claim his bride, he must every year, from the day he gives the ring, send his mistress at Easter a new dress, etc. (Jones, Finger-ring Lore, History of the Greek Finger-Ring, p. 516).

It frequently happens that the bridegroom-elect does not see his betrothed during the engagement. On the marriage day a priest and a sub-deacon go to the house of the bride. The bridegroom arrives there with great pomp, and receives for that day the title of king, while the bride is called queen. The latter is then veiled, the priest says some prayers and blesses the young husband and wife, and then they set out for the church, where the ceremony is performed. It should be noted that the ceremony is sometimes held on Thursday and the next day. The priest places on the head of each a crown, which they retain for three days a week. The company sing wedding hymns on the way to and from the church. After a few days the priest goes and receives back the crowns, and then the young people's married life begins. Marriage cannot be celebrated during fasts or the dominical festivals, of which there are about 260 in the year.

(b) Baptism.—A short time after the birth of a child, the parents and the godfather carry him to church. They stop at the entrance, and the priest recites some prayers, after which they go into the church, making as many genuflections as the number of days of the child's life, and the godfather makes confession. Then the infant's clothes are taken off, and he is immersed three times, his head turned towards the west, his feet towards the east, and his face towards the sky. After the baptismal water the priest anoints the child's head several times with holy oil, and clothes him in a linen robe. The child is then made to adore the Cross, and is taken home in state.

(c) Burial.—The day before that on which the body is to be carried to the church, the relatives, neighbours, and friends of the deceased meet in the house, each bringing a lamp with three or seven wicks, which they arrange, all lighted, round the coffin, and then they begin to sing in turn some funeral hymns. On All Souls' days (Christmas, Easter, Assumption, Transfiguration, Invention of the Cross) the families invite a popular poet to sing over the grave at the cemetery the praises of the person who has just died (A. Tchobanian, op. cit. p. 119). For some days after the funeral ceremony the priest goes to visit the relatives of the deceased; then on the Saturday of this week of mourning the relatives and friends meet and take part in a service of repentance, which is the only one distributed among the poor.


4. Saints of the Armenian Church.—A glance at the Armenian Monologo will suffice to show that the Armenian Church has adopted a large number of the saints of the Greek and Latin Churches. It has, besides, its national saints, for whom it has naturally great veneration. The principal of these are St. Hripsime and St. Gayane, who fled from Rome to avoid the carnal desires of the Emperor of the East. They lived in the woods where their blood was shed for the cause of the gospel; the saintly translators, Moses of Chorene, David the Philosopher, Enzik of Kolb, Eliseus the Vartabed, St. Mesrop; and St. Sahak, St. Leo, St. Nerses Shnorhali, St. Nerses of Lambron, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and St. Nerses I. the Great. St. Vardan is the national saint and patriarch par excellence. When Armenia was struggling in the 5th cent. against Persia and the introduction of Mazdeism, Vardan Mamikonian became the moving spirit in a general insurrection and in the struggle of Armenian Christianity against the Zoroastrian religion. He perished at the battle of Avarair; but the agitation for independence started by him (1877. p. 516) was taken up by Sarkis (Sargis or Sergius) is the saint invoked by prisoners, captives, those with difficulties to face, and especially by young girls in order to obtain a handsome sweetheart. If it snows at the festival of St. Jacob or St. James, it is said that the heart of the saint is falling on the earth. St. Karapet (John the Baptist) is regarded in Armenia as the most influential of the saints. His seat is at Mush, where his relics are found in the church named after him, which and Mass are celebrated. The priest places on the head of each a crown, which they retain from three days to a week. The company sing wedding hymns on the way to and from the church. After a few days the priest goes and receives back the crowns, and then the young people's married life begins. Marriage cannot be celebrated during fasts or the dominical festivals, of which there are about 260 in the year.
ishment for her presumption (V. Langlois, Collection des historiens anc. et mod. de l'Arménie, i. 348, 362 f.). St. Karapet is the patron of the barbs (trouvéres), who go on pilgrimage to ask him to heighten their poetic imagination.

5. Sects.—Armenian Christianity, in the course of the centuries, has had to struggle against the assaults of different sects and heresies in order to maintain its orthodoxy. Most Armenians believe that a process of crypto-orthodoxy was introduced into Armenia in the 2nd cent.; Marcionism also crept into the Armenian Church and was refuted by Eznik (Des Wardapat Eznik von Kolb, wider die Secten, tr. by Joh. Michael Schmid, Vienna, 1800, p. 172). About the same time are found traces of the Boroniani and the Messalians, of which sects the Paulicians seem to be a continuation through the Middle Ages. Mention is made also of the existence of Adoptionist churches as early as the 3rd century. The most important sect was the Ages, who, like the Paulicians, became famous for their struggle against the worship of images. It has been established by Conybeare that they were Adoptionists. They believed that Jesus was born a man, and that He became Christ at the moment of His baptism; but they did not regard Him as equal to God the Father. The Paulicians practised adult baptism. The Thondracians, a sect founded about A.D. 830 by Smbat, rejected infant baptism, the worship of the saints, of the Virgin and of images, purgatory and the hierarchy. A few are still the Caucasion or Caucasian, some adherents of this sect. The Areovardians ('Sons of the Sun') are met with in the 12th cent.; their doctrine recalls the old ideas of ArmenianPanism.

6. Superstitions and Peculiarities.—The Armenians, although Christians, have, like other Christian peoples, certain beliefs and superstitions which have passed down through the ages. The peasant women believe that there exist three spirits of childbirth—the spirits of the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The first two are virgins and sisters, and the third is their young brother. If the wives have not spent the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday with their husbands, these spirits aid them in childbirth. The Sunday spirit remains near the door of the birth chamber and fulfils all his sisters' orders; he carries water and eggs, makes the fire, etc. The two sisters take the child, bathe it and prepare the omelet for the mother; and sometimes they present a gift to the newly-born child. But these spirits are also vengeful and when a woman does not respect them, they avenge themselves by tormenting her, and sometimes by killing the baby (Rèume des traditions populaires, x. [1892] 2).

Each child has from its birth a guardian angel who protects him against evil spirits. This angel's duty is to cut the child's nails and amuse himself with the golden apple which he holds in his hand. When the child is old enough, the guardian angel goes back to heaven. The child smiles to him and stretches out his little arms (ib. x. 4). The Armenians also believe that spirits of disease exist. They are small in stature and wear triangular hats; and they hold in their hands a white, a red, and a black branch. If they strike any one with the white branch, he will fall ill, but will soon recover; if it is with the red, he will have to stay in bed for a long time; but if it is with the black, then it is all over with him, and nothing will cure him. The spirits have books in which are written the names of all the women who must die or fast, and the appointed days; and the spirits act according to these books. The people believe also that there is a spirit called the 'Writer' (Grot), who writes men's names and the date of their death in a book called the 'book of the dead'.

The devs are tyrants possessing seven heads. They can throw the largest rocks a great distance. Their wrestling is like the shock of mountains, which causes lava to pour forth. The female dev is about the size of a hill; she throws back her left breast over her right shoulder, and her right breast over her left shoulder. The devs prefer to dwell in very thick forests or deep caverns. They are very rich in gold and silver, and possess horses of fire which enable them to travel over the greatest distances. The two children of the devs covet the company of young women of the human race, to whom they grant everything they ask. The young men are continually at war with the devs in order to get back the women, who show the men how to carry out ruses by which they may become the masters of the devs, who are ignorant, cowardly, boastful, and narrow-minded (RTP x. 193-196; Grikor Chalatian, Märchen und Sagen, Leipzig, 1887, pp. xiv-xx). The witches are old women who have a tail which is not visible during infancy, but which develops with age. They can become invisible when they wish, enter anywhere, and cross the world in a few minutes. They mount on earthen jars, take in their hands a serpent which serves as a whip, and, flying to the seventh heaven, pass over all the universe. They act chiefly in love intrigues. Their ordinary business is to enchant the heart of a young man or woman, carry off a young girl in spite of her parents, and kill the irreconcilable rival or make him fall asleep (RTP x. 190). There are also good sorcerers, who are disposed with the aid of supernatural powers, to render service to human beings (G. Chalatian, Märchen und Sagen, p. xxi f.; F. Macler, Contes arméniens, Paris, 1903). The Armenians believe also in the existence of dragons, and possess an ancient legend which refer to these supernatural beings. The Armenians, especially those of Eastern Armenia, make great use of rolls of prayers containing magical or talismanic formulas, intended to protect them against the evil eye, slander, the anger of enemies, against sorcerers and enchanters, as well as false love, and the bite of serpents, to conciliate lords, kings, generals, and the great, and to exorcize demons and other impure beings. These rolls of prayers are called kripanios, or rather gripanos, because they included the name of the St. Cyprian. They are generally ornamented with vignettes, which belong to somewhat rudimentary art, but are very much used by the people (see Amulette' and 'Cyprianus-Buch' in F. Jacobus Dabian, Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mesehthorstenbibliothek zu Wien, Vienna, 1895; Macler, Nos. 97-102).
only in a sporadic and casual way until the time of the Crusaders, when the Armenians of the kingdom of Cilicia, or Lesser Armenia, were in constant contact with the Crusaders, and consequently with the Roman Curia. Later, in the 14th cent., Dominican missionarites founded influential communities of disciples in Armenia. These were the class of native missionarites known as ‘Uniters’ (unitores), and had as their first superior John of Kerni (or of Khrna). He had a translation made of the works of Bartholomew of Tolomea, who was sent to Armenia by Pope John XXII, in 1318 (Macler, No. 149). Subsequently, especially in the 17th cent., other orders established missions among the Armenians, particularly among the Armenians of Persia: the Augustinians at Isfahan, the Jesuits at Isfahan, Julfa, Erivan, etc. The French Lazarists settled at Tauris and at Isfahan. Soon all the communities extended their ramifications into all the principal Armenian centres of the East—Isfahan, Ormuz, Shiraz, Banderabas, Hamadan, Shamakhs, Erzerum, Tabriz, etc.

Until the middle of the 18th cent., Catholic Armenians did not form an autonomous community; now they have a hierarchy of their own, a recognized religious autonomy, and a patriarchal constitution at Constantinople. At these results is to be ascribed, in part at least, to the missions of the Armenians to the East—Isfahan, Ormuz, Shiraz, Banderobas, Hamadan, Shamakhs, Erzerum, Tabriz, etc.

We may note especially the quarrel of the Hessianists and the publication of the Bull Perturis.

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VI. ARMENIANColonies.—There are Armenian colonies spread over all parts of the world; for example, in Europe: Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Russia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Transylvania, Roumania, Lower Danube, Dalmatia, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, etc.; in Asia: Persia, Afghanistan, India, Japan, Palestine, China, etc.; in Africa: Egypt, Ethiopia; in America: United States; the English and Dutch Indies, Batavia, etc. These colonies generally lose their nationality, and adopt that of the country in which they are living; but they remain faithful to their religion, which is now the bond of the Armenian nation, since they no longer have a political autonomy.

LITTÉRATURE.—L. Alisian, Süssmen (Venice, 1890).

ARMINIANISM.—I. Occasion of Arminianism.—Arminianism was a revolt against certain aspects of Calvinism, of far-reaching importance in the history of the Reformed Theology. It took place in the dawn of the 17th century. Against the Catholic absolutism of the external Church, Calvinism had set the absolutism of the eternal decrees. The situation was rigid with a new dogmatism. A revolt was inevitable. Many symptoms of discontent were manifest before Arminianism arose as a definite reaction. After Calvin’s death, the more rigorous Calvinistic divines, including Beza, asserted that the Divine decree to salvation, being antecedent to the Fall, required for its
accomplishment the decree to sin. Sin was ordained not as an end, but as a means; it is here because there was something that God could not accomplish without it. What is first in the Divine intention is last in the Divine execution.* The primum or desired is the decree to save. But if man is to be saved, he must first be lost. He who first was condemned was not the Fall was decreed as a consequence of a decreed salvation. Those who held this position were Supralapsarians. It is doubtful whether Calvin himself held it. More moderate exponents of Calvinism connected the Fall with the permission of God, and the decree of sin was still connected with His holy way. The Divine decree takes the existence of sin for granted, deals with man as fallen, and elects or rejects him for reasons profoundly indifferent to human judgment. This was the Infralapsarian position.

An unequal rivalry between the exponents of these two schools was the immediate occasion of the rise of Arminianism. In Holland, which, in the 17th cent., owing largely to the immigration from France of Protestant theologians of distinction, had become, more than Switzerland, the centre of thought, the supremacy of Calvinism and the success of the Supralapsarians found much favour. An acute and effective criticism was directed against them by James Arminius (Jacobus Arminius or Jakob Harmensen or Van Herman; also known as Vetus Amstelodami or Oudewater, the name of his birthplace). Arminius, who was born in 1560 and died in 1609, was a scholar of considerable reputation. He had studied at Leyden, resided at Geneva, and travelled in Italy; he was a learned and popular preacher at Amsterdam, with a pastoral career marked by fidelity and benevolence; eventually he became, in 1603, professor of theology at Leyden. Even his enemies testified to his blameless and noble character. He was a consummate controversialist and a lucid expositor, with a remarkable gift of method. Trusted by the Supralapsarian leaders, he was requested in 1589 to answer Theodore Koomerth, of Amsterdam, who had attacked the high Calvinistic doctrine of Beza and the Geneva school, of which Arminius had been a distinguished disciple. Others had already replied to Koomerth, who were disposed to surrender Beza's extreme position in favour of one equivalent to Infralapsarianism. In preparing his reply, a process of doubt culminated in Arminius embracing the tenets he had undertaken to refute. He clearly rejected the doctrine of the absolute decrees involved God as the author of sin; that it unworthily restrained His grace; and, leaving myriads without hope, condemned them for believing that for them there was no salvation either intended or provided in Christ. He saw, moreover, that it gave to those who believed themselves to be the elect a false security based upon no sufficient ethical principle. Arminius' conversion was succeeded by cogent criticism and controversy by which, during which he was led by successive and careful stages to a luminous and impressive constructive exposition of those theological positions antagonistic to Calvinism which have since been associated with his name. Though it is probable that Arminius himself was less Arminian than his followers, yet the most distinguished of these, Episcopius (his successor at Leyden), Uyttenbogaert (his close friend), Limborch and Grotius, who most ably elaborated his positions—all men of great talents—one only carried his conclusions to issues which the early death of Arminius probably prevented him from reaching. Arminianism spread amongst the clergy. Political differences and difficulties confused the purely doctrinal issue. Great statesmen, like Olden Barneveld, advocated Arminianism and Republicanism, as Calvinists preferred Supralapsarianism and Maurice, Prince of Orange. The martyrs for Arminianism probably suffered for political rather than for doctrinal heresy. From the beginning the Arminians were greatly outnumbered by their opponents. Their main strength lay in the genius and eloquence of the leaders; theologically they were victors; ecclesiastically and politically they were vanquished. With their defeat came many disabilities and some temporary persecution.

2. Doctrinal positions.—The creed of the Arminians was set forth in the Five Articles of the Remonstrance addressed in 1610 to the States-General of Holland and West Friesland, from which fact its adherents received the name of Remonstrants. The articles were drawn up by Uyttenbogaert and signed by forty-six ministers. The Remonstrance is first negative, stating the five Calvinistic articles in order to reject them, and then positive, stating the five points of the Arminian position. Briefly summarized, the following are their positions. The first asserts conditional election on divine foreknowledge by God of faith in the elect and of unbelief in those who are left in sin and under condemnation. The second asserts universal atonement in the sense that it is intended, although it is not actually efficient, for all. The third asserts the inability of man to exercise saving faith, or to accomplish anything really good without regeneration by the Holy Spirit. The fourth declares that the grace of God is indispensable in every step of the spiritual life, but that it is not irresistible. The fifth asserts that the grace of the Holy Spirit is sufficient for continual victory over temptation and sin; but the necessity of the final perseverance of all believers is left doubtful. This last article was afterwards so modified by the followers of Arminius as to assert the possibility of failing from grace.

Gomarus, the university colleague of Arminius, but his chief antagonist in personal controversy, now engineered a counter-Remonstrance drawn up in less moderate terms. Negotiations for peace failed. An embittered controversy became involved with political intrigue. The famous Synod of Dort was assembled (1618–9) more to exercise ecclesiastical discipline than to reconcile the disputants. The Arminian theologians were excluded, and refused to submit their brethren to judgment. The Arminian articles were condemned, their preachers deposed, and recalcitrants banished. The Synod promulgated five heads of doctrine of its own, which present Calvinism in its unadulterated but not in its extreme form. Within the Arminian system process of development set in, all moving in the direction of liberalism and comprehension. These will be noted in their place. Our present interest is with the leading principles of Arminianism. These are: (a) the universality of the benefit of the atonement, (b) a restored freedom of the human will as an element in the Divine decrees and in opposition to the assertion of the absolute sovereignty of God. Apart from these and kindred questions involved in the problem of predestination, Arminianism has no definite theological distinctness. It attempts no fresh statement of the doctrines of God and man. These were accepted as they stood in the recognized creeds and confessions of Christendom; as the general theologic system was that of the orthodox Protestant Churches. Its specific contribution was of sufficient importance to rank it amongst the few really outstanding and permanent developments in theological thought. The three fundamental terms of theological definition and discussion—God, Man, and the essential re-
lations between them—are represented in the three great controversies of historical theology by the names of Athanasius, Augustine, and Arminius. Athanasius represents the movement which gave specific definition to the Church’s doctrine of the Divine nature. Augustine stands as the great exponent of the inner moral significance of human nature and of the relation of the individual to the race. Arminius found his place as the interpreter of the ethical relations between God and man. His system recognized and expounded the development in the Divine God of a race, which the Church had long accepted as established positions, but which her theologians had never satisfactorily related. Calvin had revived Augustinianism, and had pushed it to further logical issues. He made much of God, as Pelagius had made too much of man. Both gave isolation and distance to terms that could be completed only in mutual relations. Neither provided a scheme of reconciliation. The aim of Arminius was to express with dialectic vigour the only doctrinal position consistent with the necessary relations between God and man. This relation within the sphere of the provision and administration of redemption provided the points of controversy between his system and that of the Divine nature missionism. Arminianism was to show how God could be what the Church taught He was, and man what the Church declared him to be, at one and the same time. The mode of re-adjustment of the disturbed and abnormal relations between God and man in that adjustment was the central point of Protestant theology generally; the announcement and the ethical interpretation of the significance of the mutual relations between God and man in that adjustment was the concern of Arminianism. Its system is a via media; it strove to avoid sources of inevitable and historical error arising from the tendency to magnify either of the related terms by the virtual or formal suppression of the other. The exaltation of the Divine agency to the complete suppression of the human in that adjustment issued in simple Determinism; the exaltation of the human in complete suppression of the Divine in the same sphere led to the extreme missionism, implied by the system which we have stated, for the first time, with scientific care a balanced judgment on those relations of God and man in which their harmony and mutual recognition could be stated as a working principle, which is justified by experience.£

To appreciate the theological value of Arminianism, it is important to review and interpret the points which differentiate it from Calvinism. To estimate its influence philosophically, it is needful to state and illustrate its two great principles—its ethical recognition of justice, and the emphasis it lays upon the human in the redemptive relations between God and man.

3. Criticism of Calvinism. — Arminianism regarded the Calvinistic position as open to attack on two sides. It was the side of God. Its treatment of these was considered to be disproportionate and ethically unfair. The sphere in which God exercised His will was the soul of man. That will, therefore, concerned man and his acts. If such acts were performed solely because God had so determined, two consequences followed:—the acts would reveal the quality of the will, and man would not be consciously free; he would know himself as an instrument rather than as an agent. Calvin’s system was regarded as man’s own, in the interest of man and of morality as of theology. In fact, Arminianism was at the bottom an attempt to formulate a protest against Calvinism from an ethical standpoint. It used much circum-

ception in the attempt. It carefully rejected, with Calvinism itself, the pagan leaven, which had lingered in the old Church, in the form of reliance placed upon human nature alone. But it renewed the sense of reality to human responsibility, and emphasized the moral conditions of reward and penalty. At the same time it sought to give psychological consistency, especially by its great doctrine of prevenient grace, to the common Protestant principle that man is entirely dependent, in all that concerns his salvation, upon the grace of the Spirit of God. The task undertaken by Arminianism was to re-state what was regarded as the primitive and Scriptural view, held by the Church before Augustine, concerning the relation between God and man in the work of salvation; and in this view the sole responsibility of man for his own damnation was evident. The criticism of Calvinism, therefore, found centres of attack in the following five points:

(1) Predestination.—This the Calvinist held to be absolute and unconditional. The decree of elect was without forethought of faith or of good works. In its operation the Divine will was unmodified from without, moved only from within, either by the grace or by the necessity of the Divine nature to provide for the reappearance of the saved, conditioned by no specific demerit of the reprobate. He was not distinguished in or by his personal sin. His reprobation was simply because of sinfulness of nature or habit, which, being common to all mankind, involved judgment was universal. No ethical difference was discernible between elect and reprobate. The Arminian criticism insisted on the ethical incompleteness of this view. The principle of the election of grace is maintained. But the Divine will, in Arminianism, had supremacy; it was not more bound to punish than to forgive. The Divine decree, whether elective or reprobatory, is conditional throughout. God elected to salvation or to reprobation only those whose faith or final disbelief He foresaw. The Divine foreknowledge logically precedes the Divine volitions; it is not an inference from them; it is intuitive, but not necessitative. What God knows, though its issue is absolutely certain, is not as certain as it is a foreknowledge.

(2) Atonement.—The Calvinist held the Atonement to be strictly limited. Its relation to the non-elect was incidental; its intention was for the elect alone. For them its efficacy was absolute. It satisfied Divine justice on their behalf that they could not fail to be saved. The non-elect, for whom the penalty of sin would be twice inflicted—once upon Christ and again on the sinner for whom He had died. This was a thing impossible to Divine justice. The Arminian held that the Atonement was universal. It was of infinite value, designed for all, accomplished for all. It made the salvation of no man actual, but rendered the salvation of all men possible, the result being in every case conditioned by faith. Christ died for all, but only the side of man.

The character of Arminian theology is illustrated in one of its most important writings, the treatises of Grotius on the Satisfaction of Christ, written in opposition to Sothism. He develops the doctrine towards an issue not strictly in harmony with the position of Arminius, by stating what is known as the Governmental Theory. Both aimed at mediating between the rigorous Anselmian view of a satisfaction which is the substitution of a strict equivalent for the penalty due to sin and the Sothistic rejection of all vicarious substitution. The result was that the atoning reparation satisfied not the rigorous exaction of Divine justice, but chiefly the joy and compassionate will of God, emphasizing the love of God and the love of man. His views are illustrated in the Atonement. The death of Christ is not the payment of a debt to a creditor, but the fruits counted sufficient by God the Father for a judicial penalty. Grotius emphasized the relation of God to man as a Ruler, and carried out the Arminian conception of the goodness regulated by wisdom. He regarded the motive of the Divine government as the desire and provision for the happi-
CALVINISM maintained the grace of God to be irresistible. The calling of God was both effectual and efficacious, and due to the immediate operation of the Spirit of God upon the soul. The Arminian asserted that the Divine action was mediate, through the truth, and thus moral and persuasive, as distinguished from physical and necessitating. Moreover, the grace which is effective to the processes of repentance and renewal may be finally resisted. The firm maintenance of universal redemption by Arminianism naturally affected its theory of justification, according to Episcopius, whilst his position, in common with the Reformed standards generally, that Christ's obedience is the only meritorious cause of justification, and faith its sole instrumental cause, and that good works have no kind of merit, Arminianism did not distinguish between the active and passive obedience of Christ. Gradually also it denied the direct imputation of Christ's righteousness. Faith came to be regarded as justifying, not as an instrument uniting the soul to Christ, but as an imperfect righteousness, which is insufficiently accepted by God; or if it were perfect. Whilst maintaining the view that works merit salvation, the Arminians asserted that the faith which justifies is regarded by God as a faith which includes obedience. This is the position both of Arminius himself and of his followers. It is allied with a tendency distinctly marked, to define faith in terms of intellectual assent rather than as trust. It became a simple reception of the doctrines and laws of revealed religion. The influence of grace was by no means merely of a moral nature: It accompanied the word of God. Its influence therefore, whilst supernatural in its character, was in its mode of operation analogous to the natural power of all truth. This tendency to invest faith with merit as a means of justification was suspected of co-opting ultimately the Roman doctrine of merit by works on the one side, and of favouring the antinomian tendencies which had been condemned as inherent in Calvinism, on the other. A fair criticism of its attitude applied to it the term Neonomiasm, because of the introduction of a new law—the law of grace—according to which the legal righteousness for ever impossible to man finds a human substitute in an evangelical righteousness accepted of God, though imperfect, for Christ's sake. This tendency set the perilous tendency, which the later history of Arminianism did not escape, of the notion that Christ has lowered the demands and standard of the moral law.

Methodist Arminianism met these tendencies in two ways:
1. It declared that, though God requires faith, it is also His gift. He does in Christ pardon the imperfection of the good work wrought by faith, but He does not repute it as perfect so far as concerns our justification. This would be the imputation of righteousness to the believer himself. It is the faith of the ungodly which is reckoned for righteousness, even before it can produce its first act towards good works.
2. There was the admission of a definite insistence not in themselves, as in the case of the antinomians, but in addition to, as well as the possibility of entire sanctification. This teaching formulated and urged the demand that faith must be justified by good works. It protest will be regarded as unable to cooperate of itself with the Divine law. The Arminian of Methodism reverted to the earlier position, holding that the cooperative freedom of the human will—its ability or its choice—is the issue of redemption. No ability remaining in man to return to God. The cooperation of grace is of grace. The Augustinian idea of 'common grace' is rejected in favour of the co-ordinating of the universality of grace with the individual perfection of the people of God. Conscience, which is essentially God's gift of grace, is held by its own judgment to be a faculty of a purified spirit, not by the will to be a voluntary act for or against God. Such virtues are a universal experience of the race. If Adam became regenerate through the fall, he is brought back upon the actual life, not as a mere individual but as an effect of grace. The doctrine of infant baptism is held upon the universal justification and a universal seed of life.

(4) Conversion. Both Calvinist and Arminian regard this as the work of the Holy Spirit. But

Pope, Comp. Christ. Theol. ii. 322.
love, and to evangelical perfection. Arminius writes: 'While I never asserted that a believer could perfectly keep the precepts of Christ in this life, I never denied it; but always left it to be decided!' (Works, i. 386). The vital question of the abolition of sin was never, either by Arminius or his successors, decided upon. His protest against ultra-Calvinism was taken up by the German Pietists, and, in pursuit, by the English Platonists, who prepared the way for the Mennonites, sectarians of all kinds, as spokesmen, which was both mystical and ethical. Its chief contribution was the emphasis laid upon entire sanctification of the believer, as a portion of the grace of God, directly administered by the Holy Spirit, in response to faith—a faith working by love, and retained by constant union through faith with the living Christ (edification was).

(5) Final Perseverance.—The Calvinist held the indefectibility of the saints. Men unconditionally elected, absolutely purchased by the death of Christ, and irresistibly called out of their depraved and lost estate by the direct operation of the Holy Spirit, could not possibly fall from grace. The Arminian criticism hesitated at first to meet this position by a direct negative. But such a position was speedily seen to be inevitable. And, as a result of its other doctrinal positions, the possibility of a true believer falling from grace was declared. This found warrant also and verification in examples and personal experiences that could not easily be mistaken. Moreover, as the Arminianism revealed, grace is not a priori, but the authority of the Symbolical documents, it was easy to assert that the Calvinistic position professed not so much to be based upon direct Scripture support, as to rest upon the necessary principles of the so-called Covenant. It was presumed that the provisions of this imaginary compact between the Father and the Son, before time began, in respect of the certain number to be redeemed and given to the Redeemer, as the reward of His sufferings, was the idea of a fixed and unalterable division of mankind. To this canon every Scripture must be made to conform. It was easily shown that no Scripture evidence of such an unconditional covenant existed. The failure to appreciate this position accounts for the frequent and grave misunderstanding of Arminianism, and for the natural ease with which its delicately balanced judgment has declined, in the last hundred years, from the ground, on the right of theological positions with which it had no true affinity. These have been chiefly Socinianism and Pelagianism—systems due to an over-emphasis upon the human. Much that in certain periods passed for Arminianism was really a modification of one or other of these systems, which a true Arminian justly repudiates. In Holland, Arminianism, gliding by almost imperceptible degrees, ultimately reached a position with little to distinguish it from Socinianism. In England, where there was a presage of Arminian thought long before the time of Arminius and his system, its principles found an interesting development, and their profession an unusual environment. The influence was seen in the ambiguity or comprehensiveness of the Articles of the English Church. Latimer and Hooper, Andrews and Hooker might with propriety have been called Arminians, if Arminianism as a system had been in vogue when they trod it. Arminian teaching by John Prynne of Divinity at Cambridge, we rise to the Lambeth Articles also. But Arminianism became a political question, with the singular result that, through the influence of Laud and Juxon, it became allied with the side of the King, whilst it was the Calvinists, with the distinguished exception of John Goodwin, one of the ablest defenders of Arminianism, who stood by the Parliament. But the Arminianism of Laud was not the Dutch Arminianism. Arminius would have denounced its sacramentarianism as superstition. With the issue of the Civil Wars, Arminianism suffered eclipse, but it returned with prelacy at the Restoration; and for more than half a century its influence was supreme in the Anglican Church. But the later divines of this school depreciated the doctrines of grace, dwelling more upon the example of Christ than upon His atoning work, and the Arminian principle persisted mainly as a negation of Calvinism. Udolph, Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Burnet, Pearson, Whitby, and others, down to Copleston and Whately, were Arminian theologians of eminence in the Church of England. The positive temper of Arminianism, however, suffered under their treatment of the system. Its fine balance between Calvinism and Pelagianism was lost. It was blended with tendencies to Latitudinarianism and Rationalism; and became a negative rather than a constructive or mediating system. It was from this setting, however, of the non-juror and the sanctuary, that the restored Arminianism of Arminius, with its emphasis on the grace of God, emerged into strength in England in the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century. The Wesleys were strong adherents of this type. And probably the ablest expositions in English of the Arminian system are to be found in the writings of John Wesley, John Fletcher, Richard Watson, and William Burt Pope, the Wesleyan system, through which, with the exception of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, who represent the Calvinistic attitude of Whitefield, who withdrew from co-operation with the Wesleys on this ground, are convinced Arminians, who profess to adhere to the original Arminianism of Arminius and his followers of the earlier type before it approximated to the rationalistic temper of Socinians or Latitudinarians, or was merged in the prevailing tendencies of Restoration theology or Arminian Unitarianism. The Scottish type of Arminianism, with its Evangelical note, is at present the most influential. It has spread widely throughout the British Empire and America, and is based upon the conviction that the Calvinistic positions are incompatible with the equilibrium of a sturdy Calvinism, with loyalty to the doctrines of grace is the best vindication of Arminianism from the common charge of Pelagianism and Socinianism. Lacking the doctrinal loyalty and the Evangelical vitality of the Arminianism of Methodism, Dutch Arminianism is a dwindling force. The inclination towards freedom of speculation, the rejection of all creeds and confessions, a preference of moral to doctrinal teaching, Arrian views respecting the Trinity, the freedom that the doctrines of Original Sin and imputed righteousness, and the depreciation of the spiritual value of the Sacraments, have resulted in the gradual reduction of Arminianism in Holland to a negligible theological quantity, and to the dimensions of an insignificant sect, numbering only some twenty congregations.

4. Underlying principles.—The supreme principle of Arminianism is conditionalism. It provides a philosophical via media between Naturalism and Fatalism. As an active criticism of Calvinism it is based upon two positions—the restlessly and dominant demand for equity in the Divine procedure, on the one hand, and such a reference to the constitution of man's
nature as will harmonise with the obvious facts of his history and experience, on the other.

It sought to construct a system which should be dominantly ethical and human throughout. It contended, therefore, that moral principles and laws consistently condition the manward activities of the Divine will, and set human limits to the libertarian. The Calvinistic conception of justice was based altogether on the supremacy or rights of God; Arminianism so construed justice as to place over against these the rights of man. Sin, it declared, had not so transformed human nature as to render it unconditioned. It became the form of reprobation... 

Fairbairn, Christ in Mod. Theol. p. 170.

The Creator owed something to the creature. He had fashioned it in the image of the Son of God; and these obligations did not cease because the first man had sinned. In a perfectly real sense sin had only increased the obligation of God to be just. If original sin was what Augustine had stated it to be, Arminianism had to admit that, and the punishment for the wrong that was committed, then it would be truer to the facts it involved to speak of it as a radical wrong from which man unjustly suffered. The race had not been constituted by the first man; in no true sense was he the representative of the individual members of the race; for they had no voice in his appointment, and no veto upon his acts. By every law of justice, therefore, they were to be regarded as objects of commiseration rather than persons to be blamed for what they had suffered, since they suffered as the consequence of the first man's sin, altogether apart from their own voluntary acts of kindred disobedience. And although Arminianism retained the federal principle, and held that the federal relationship had resulted in a weakened will for the individual, and had afflicted him with a bias towards evil, it urged that it was difficult to conceive anything more nearly approaching infinite injustice than allowing such a relation, of itself, to involve millions of men of every age and in every condition, and in its judgments, and that it had an equal right to be considered in the provision and administration of any redemptive processes that might be operative. The introduction into these relations of the Arminian principle resulted in a criticism that seemed irresistible; for the moment the idea of equity was admitted to a place in the consideration of the relations of man and God, the old absolute unconditionality became untenable. If justice reigned, and its principles were common to God and man, it meant that God must be just to man, even though man was disobedient to God; and justice could not tolerate the condemnation of man for a sin which was committed without his personal knowledge or responsibility, any more than it could approve of a master who had no regard for the personal will or choice of its recipient.

Arminianism was always most successful when its argument proceeded upon principles supplied by the moral consciousness of man. This recognition of the value of the testimony and of the entire contents of human consciousness was the correlate in Arminianism to the idea of equity; its exposition of the idea of man provided the second of its two main principles. It regarded man as free and responsible, and did not destroy either his reason or his freedom. By the one he had the ability to believe, by the other the ability to choose. Even if the racial connexion had weakened or perverted these faculties in the individual, the result was not incapacity to act, because the racial connexion with the second Head was intact and operative in the communication of the energy of prevenient grace. In justice, therefore, God must deal with man as possessed of such co-operation with the Divine activity the results in salvation or reprobation depended. Thus the free will of man was regarded as conditioning the absolute will of God. In the realm of nature His physical attributes ruled; His omniscience was involved in His moral pre-eminence. In the realm of mind and will His love and moral attributes governed, and their rule was conditioned. Man was not a part of physical nature merely, or a mechanism involved in the impersonal or unmotivated motion of non-moral creatures. His destiny could not therefore be deduced by logical processes from the premise that God is the Sovereign Will, which can do as it chooses; for He has chosen to create man free and responsible; and His attitude and conduct towards man will consequently be conditioned. If it had been His good pleasure to create man moral, it will not be His will to deal with him as if he were merely physical. If Creator and creature are alike moral in character, it follows that necessitating action on the one side, and necessitating contemplation on the other, are both excluded. By His own voluntary act God has limited the range and exercise of His physical attributes, and so the terms which express His relations to man must be those of reason and freedom, not duty. Arminianism maintains no disparagement to grace in general, and deepens the emphasis on prevenient grace in particular. But whilst the peculiarity of Calvinism is found in holding fast to the absolute idea of God in opposition of all 'idolatry of the creature,' the centre of gravity of the Arminian system is found in the sphere of anthropology. Its doctrine of man probably differentiates it more definitely from Calvinism than its doctrine of God.*

5. Theological and philosophical influences.—The twofold emphasis of Arminianism on the ethical and human elements in its system declares the sphere and defines the source of the modifying influences it exerted on subsequent theological and philosophical thought. These influences were both direct and indirect. They reached the sphere of philosophical speculation chiefly through theology. But the leading principles of Arminianism were potential in both spheres, in the succeeding periods of intellectual revival. It is well to keep in mind the fact that, in the history of European thought, the 16th cent. was great in theology rather than in philosophy, and that the 17th was great in philosophy rather than in theology. But without the religious thought of the earlier century, the latter would have been without its problems, and therefore without its thinkers. The pre-eminence of the one in religion involved the pre-eminence of the other in philosophy. In this influence of theology upon philosophy, and, later still, upon more distinctly ethical thinking, Arminianism had a considerable share. Although questions directly upon ultimate philosophical principles were, on the whole, not in the spirit and thought of the age of Arminianism, yet Arminianism, as a more general value of the entire contents of human consciousness, was distinctly more open to the access and authority of the modern spirit than Calvinism. By its underlying principles of equity and freedom it was more perfectly fitted than its rival for intellectual transition. It became the form of Re...
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formation theology which most easily allied itself with the advance of knowledge, and with the humanism of the new learning. The Cartesian philosophy, which was bringing about a gradual transformation of theological views, especially in the Netherlands, where already a liberal spirit was showing itself in protest against the yoke of the Symbolical documents, found especial favour with the Arminians. They had also within their ranks many eminent men, who were progressive thinkers and leaders of thought outside a distinctly theological circle, who excited a beneficial reaction upon Protestant theology by their thorough scientific attainments and the mildness and toleration of their views. Arminianism stood generally for the strengthening of the scientific temper and for the principle of moderation, which represented dawning methods of far-reaching importance in the intellectual life of the modern nations. On the other hand, this attitude favoured the growing tendency towards Rationalism and Latitudinarianism into which Arminian theology frequently drifted. But that the rationalist representation of any necessary effect of the Arminian movement is disproved by the fact that it was the Arminian system of thought which lay at the theological sources of the great Methodist revival in the United Kingdom during the 18th cent., whose leaders re-stated Arminianism in modern theology in its purest form, and vitalized it with the warmth of religious emotion and the joyous assurance of the Evangelical spirit. Arminianism in the glow of the spiritual enthusiasm of the early Methodist evangelists has been truly described as 'Arminianism on fire.'

The Arminians were the fathers of toleration. Among its earliest representatives are found stalwart advocates of religious freedom, who were willing to suffer for their views. Within the sphere of opinion Calvinism did not spontaneously incline to toleration; it was inflexibly dogmatic; its instincts and ideals were aristocratic rather than democratic in relation to ethical authority. It is curious to note, however, in spheres more purely political, that an interesting reversal of the natural order of the two systems occurs. As in England the Laucilians were Arminian, and the Parlia-
member of the Latinist, and the Jesuit Arminian. The natural tendencies of Arminianism to toleration may be instructively traced in the Latitudinarian teaching of the Cambrighe Platonists, who were guided by the example of Arminian scholars, particularly those of Epicoicus. They pleaded for liberty of conscience, and studied to assert and examine the principles of religion and morality in a philosophical method; they de-
claimed equally against superstition on the one hand and enthusiasm on the other. Moderation was the first law. They were conspicuous for their advocacy of freedom of inquiry, their tolera-
tion of diversities of opinion in non-essentials, the respect in controversies, and the bringing about a reconciliation between theology and philosophy, their recognition of religion as less a doctrine or a ritual than an inward life, and their strong purpose to establish a rational theol-
yogy, which should avail as a reply to the athe-
istic pantheism. Arminianism, however, made com-
mon cause with all religious parties in resisting the dogmatism of the philosophy of common sense, which was declaring open war against the belief in the positive authority of Revelation. And the arianism got its name not out of a tyrannous spirit, but because of the supposed common fundamental ground in the appeal to reason, may be regarded as an unwarranted exaggeration of the Arminian emphasis on the human. Arminianism could be under no necessity to deny or depreciate the supernatural. By the time the age of speculative criticism and of the antagonism between faith and knowledge was reached, Arminianism as a distinctive doctrinal position had been estab-
lished and its peculiar contribution made to Sys-
tematic Theology. Its influence on such later controversies is only indirect. That the influence was real cannot well be doubted, because of the emphasis on moderation and the more genuine welcome afforded to the products of modern specu-
lation by Arminianism. Whether its influence, through its demand for the recognition of the authority of reason in the theological sphere, affected the philosophical thinking which resulted in the rationalism of Kant, or in its reaction in the subjective theories of Herder, or in the theol-
ogy of Jacobi or Schleiermacher, it is difficult to say. Certainly Kant's doctrine of the Practical Reason, with its claim for the recognition of the ethical constitution of human nature, was developed in obvious harmony with the Arminian emphasis on the authority of the moral faculty as the moving factor in the interpretation of the relation of God to man. Schleiermacher's doctrine of absolute de-
pendence had definite relation to Calvinism. Only in the place he gives to religious feeling is affinity with the Arminian principles likely to show itself. With the distinct problems of modern speculative thought—'creation', 'immanence', 'mind and matter'—Arminianism, like the other Protestant the-
oologies, had comparatively little concern. The theistic position of the creative act, with its impli-
cations, was generally accepted; there was no suf-
cient evidence, from the scientific study of nature, to suggest irreconcilable differences from the tradi-
tional view. In this point, at least, Arminianism was peculiar. It laid special stress on creation being the work of the Father as distinct from the equal creative activity of the three Persons in the Trinity. The movement of Arminian thought was set in a framework of political, social, and eco-
nomic changes which cannot be dissociated from its influences without missing their complete signi-
ficance; but these are obviously beyond the scope of this article. One fact of importance ought, however, to be the dawning of the demand for 'natural rights' and the distinction between jus naturale and jus gentium, which had been raised by the philosophers and jurists of antiquity, passed, as a result of the Renaissance, from the sphere of academic speculation into political politics, the transition was accomplished through an Arminian channel. Grotius was the first to start the question of the distinction be-
tween natural and conventional rights, and was thus the father of the modern exponents of the 'Philosophy of Law.' How profound was the in-
fluence of this transition upon the course and char-
acter of modern systems of Ethics will be obvious. It is here that we come into the presence of one of the less appreciated, but very influential services ren-
dered by the Arminian definition and advocacy of its fundamental principles—equality and human freedom. These principles represent the prevail-
ting tendency of the leading ethical theories of the present. Without them the advance beyond the ethics of Stoicism would have been impossible. Calvinism missed them, and, in doing so, missed the opportunity and the possibility of becoming the basis of an intellectual statement of ethical obligation satisfactory to the modern mind. Although the Calvinists and the Lutherans, as being based upon the individual rather than upon the institutional principle, was essentially different from that of Rome, the Calvinistic ethics is, nevertheless, based upon outward author-


the authority of a truly organized Church and of the Scriptures truly interpreted by such a Church. This position was not accidental; it was of set purpose. Calvin deliberately subordinated ethics to dogmatics. From the Protestant point of view this was fundamentally reactionary; it was Scholasticism under another name. The true ethics, and the only ethics consistent with the essential Protestant principle, must be based upon the inward compulsion of conscience, not upon any external authority. External authority could result only in casuistry. This was the Roman method and principle. The state of the Church, as Ignatius Loyola expounds a closed system given in the teachings of the Church; the ethics of Calvinism expounds a closed system given in the written Word. 'For true ethical development there is no more room in logical Calvinism than in logical Romanism.' 

Ethically, Calvinism and Jesuitism have a common foundation in that they depend upon external standards and sanctions. On this account Calvinism has not, as a matter of history, contributed to the development of ethical theory or to an understanding of the nature of human responsibility and freedom. The influence of Calvinism has been generally as a religious force. It is beyond question that, as an inspiration to high ethical endeavour, Calvinism has produced types of sacrificial devotion to right conduct which have frequently touched a larger and more universal strain of the human heart than has the influence of the teachings of communities in which its doctrinal system has been dominant. Yet it must be acknowledged that the influence of Calvinism, as a system, in the philosophical reconstruction of modern ethics has been reactionary. The expansion, on the other hand, of the fundamental principles of Arminianism has wrought harmoniously with the processes of ethical development, which are based upon the manifold ideals and constraints of the moral consciousness of the individual. It was the Christian emphasis and abstract form of the ethical and spiritual development of the individual which Calvinism found its advantage. This stress on the place and functions of human nature in the interpretation of, and cooperation with, the Divine mind was the distinctive characteristic of Arminianism. 

Arminianism was the medium by which the humanistic spirit of the Renaissance was translated into the theological and exegetical sphere. Its great men—Grotius, Episcopius, Limborch, Brandt, Le Clerc—are all men of literary faculty and humanistic temper. In Calvinism the spirit is more distinctly speculative and scholastic, and the intellect deductive and constructive. Its great men—Calvin, Zanchius, Gomarus, Tixeae, Rutherford—are all men of speculative genius. It thus easily happened that the tendencies of Arminianism were often—and sometimes rightly—suspected of affinity with Pelagian and Socinian views. These affinities were strengthened by the mingling with the Arminians of Socinian scholars returning from exile; and in many cases Arminianism merged its identity in these phases of thought. It is well known that the exaggeration of Subordinationism by the Remonstrant divines, especially by those of the Italian school, was based upon a misunderstanding of the Arminian position. They denied the aseity of the Son, which Calvin had taught. His subordination to the Father, as the Spirit is subordinated both to the Son and the Father, was urged. It was held that, though the Divine nature belongs to the Son and the Spirit, the Father is first in dignity and power. Arminian leaders also favoured the Nestorian conception of the Person of Christ. The agency of the Logos was regarded as a 'special influx' or 'operation' of the Divine nature. It is an assistance of God, involving a communication of Divine presence and power to the Logos. Much more recently the influential Unitarianism of America has succeeded the lingering Arminianism of the New England States, as a one-sided development of prevailing ethical principles respecting the responsibility of man and the enthusiasm for his prerogatives and rights.

Arminianism arose historically in the great age of Protestant Symbolism, which succeeded the period of the earlier expositions of the Reformation theologians, who had based their authority more simply upon the appeal to spiritual experience and its warrant and confirmation in the Scriptures. It was the age of Protestant dogmatics, of which the characteristic was the substitution of creeds and the compulsion of confessions in place of the personal contact of the individual mind with the inspired Word of God. The formal system, the Protestant dogmatics, has succeeded the writings of inspiration. Arminianism strove to emancipate exegesis from the thraldom of dogmatics. It resisted the tendency to erect every where a formulated creed into the position of a Supreme Arbitrator of Truth. The formal system, the authority was denied the first place. Ecclesiastical theology had tended to become dominant over Biblical theology. The Bible was looked upon as an authoritative text-book from which doctrines and proofs of doctrine were to be drawn with little or no discrimination as to the use to be made of the different sacred books. The Word of God and the Bible were identical. No critical distinctions were tolerated. Divines had not to reason their systems, but to unfold them from certain fixed and unquestioned postulates. In the Reformed Church predestination was accepted as the initial principle for the systematic exposition of the Christian religion. Disent upon any point was treated as heresy. There was no antagonism in Arminianism to the formal principle of Protestantism—the immediate relation of the religious consciousness to Christ—or to the ultimate authority of Scripture. What Arminianism suspected and resisted was the prevailing tendency, which was far from the inception of the original authors of the Symbols, to assign to the Symbolical books of the Protestant Churches the same authority over faith which had been ascribed to tradition in the Roman Church. The Arminians sought to preserve a moderate and less dogmatic orthodoxy, and to introduce generally milder features into the prevailing finality of doctrinal systems. At the same time Arminianism, although apparently less intensely antagonistic than Calvinism to Rome, because of the emphasis it laid upon the value of the human in religion, was in every point more truly Protestant in its principle of the authority of tradition in its Protestant guise of authoritative Symbols. For similar reasons Arminianism was a protest against the mystical principle of interpretation which insisted upon the supremacy of the internal word as a sufficient exponent and infallible judge of the external. Constantly discounting dogma and mysticism alike, the Arminian divines appealed to the analogy of faith, to experience, to reason, to the aid of the Holy Spirit, as essential elements in the interpretation of Scripture. Arminianism was a protest against the principle that the Scriptures contain the truth, but are not of themselves the truth—gave considerable impulse to the
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speculative treatment of theology, and, through the writings of Grotius and Episco- pius, issued in methods of theological discussion which gradually extended to the whole Evangelical Church.

The Arminian effort to meet 'the idolatry of Scripture' by the exaltation of the authority of the moral consciousness occasioned the charge against Arminians of laxity in views of inspiration. Their position was confused with the Socinian method of subordinating the authority of Scripture to that of reason, and of making its interpretation depend upon the so-called truths of reason. Here again, however, pure Arminianism is the mediating position. While disagreeing with Luther's position that reason is blind in spiritual things, it resisted the Socinian extreme, as it resisted the rigid and narrow adherence to the letter of Scripture which marked later Protestant theologies. Some of the later Arminians added the canon that Scripture cannot contradict reason. The general position, however, was that reason must be followed in literal speculation; that the foundation of religion, on its intellectual side, should be in personal thought and investigation; that neither antiquity nor universalism was a proper or sufficient ground of belief; and that every branch of Scripture must be considered separately and in its historical setting and limits. This appeal of Arminianism from the Symbolic methods to the critical treatment of the text and substance of Scripture was a precursor of the method of exegesis of the last century, and of their issue in the restoration to authority of Biblical as distinguished from Systematic and Dogmatic Theology.

The reaction from the hardening processes of the Lutheran and Calvinistic divine upon the views, generous for their time, of Luther and Calvin, respecting the human and fallible element in Scripture, which were illustrated in the terms of the Helvetic Formularies and in the Buxtorf's irrational contention for the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points, was inevitable. It was initiated by the Arminian writers, who reserved the direct action of the Holy Spirit for matters of faith, and left historical research and the memory of places to their credit. Arminianism thus asserted positions in Biblical interpretation which have proved a basis and authority for the methods now known as the Higher Criticism. Sanctions were also provided for the science and truth of natural and Christian history, as afforded by Arminian principles to an atmosphere of freer inquiry into the preservation and historical growth of the received texts of the OT and NT.

The Arminian principles of human freedom and personal responsibility, with the humanitarian spirit they tended to evoke, gave a new impulse to the awakening movement towards Foreign Missions, which succeeded the era of rationalistic influence in the Protestant Churches. If the Awakening of the universe had the whole race, the sense of responsibility for making conditions the possibility of salvation, and a note of urgency was added to the claim for the expansion of Christianity. Moreover, the weak place in the great Protestant confessions had been the anthropological. One of the many effects of this deficiency was seen in the judgment of the Church in respect to the heathen races, which was obviously prejudicial to aggressive enterprise. Calvinistic theology led to the clinging to the Deism of the age, and the application of Arminian principles was among the earlier signs of the dawn of a new light upon the nature and history of the races of mankind, and upon their religious possibilities, which has since broken in the ethical results of the kindred sciences of Anthropology and Comparative Religion. And the system, amongst the Protestant theologies, least discredited by the new light, is Arminianism.

Reference must be made finally to a great service Arminianism has rendered to theological thought generally. This is discovered in the subtle influence it has exerted in the gradual softening and humanizing of the harsher forms of theological definition. As a separate and separable system, either ecclesiastically or theoretically, its result was brief; as a genial and vitalizing influence, suffusing itself through all the discussions of the relation of God to man, its authority is ageless. It has wrought, often secretly and unacknowledged, towards the approximation of the position of modern theology respecting Predestination to that which was held by Catholic Christendom before the age and teaching of Augustine. Substantially the Churches of East and West were united, before his time, in the holding the primitive and Scriptural view of the relations between God and man in the work of salvation, and of the sole responsibility of man for his own damnation, which it was the effort of Arminianism to restore. How far the discussions of the Church on these relations, brought about by the revived and intensified Augustinianism of Calvin, has been re-effected by the influence of Arminianism, is as present only partially discernible. It is, however, certain; it has greatly modified the specific views which were the objects of its original contention, as they are now held by Calvinistic theologians; it has also become a dominant factor in the current re-statement, to the present generation of the discussion of the reduction of the area of Calvinistic influence, and its partial disintegration in communities where it had long been established, are facts that cannot fail to challenge attention. When Arminianism arose, very early in the 17th cent., the Calvinistic creed prevailed largely in Bohemia and Hungary; it was supreme in Switzerland, Holland, the Palatinate, and in the Protestant Churches of France, Scotland, and England, where, until the instance of Elizabeth, it was the prevalent theological influence; and shortly afterwards it grew to strength in the Puritan settlements of America. Over all these areas a steady disintegration of its force may be traced. Many factors have co-operated towards the secular influences which may be regarded as both ethical and historical, the active principles upon which Arminianism insisted have been prime causes.

In France an early and interesting illustration of the modifying influence of Arminianism occurred in the theology of the school of Saumur, associated particularly with the name of Amyraut (see Amyraldism), and later with that of Pajon. Amyraut endeavoured to mitigate the harsh re-enactment of the doctrine of election by his theory of hypothetic universal grace, which was substantially equivalent to a doctrine of universal atonement. God, in some more or less desire that all men should repent and be saved. In case all should repent, no purpose of God would stand in the way of their salvation; but the indispensable means of repentance—regenerating grace, following election—is not bestowed upon them. In the order of nature the decree of election follows the decree providing the universal atonement. The notion that the intrinsic possibility of Pajon's attempt to blunt the edge of Calvinistic particularism was his conception of regenerating grace. The Spirit uses the truth of the Gospel as its instrument in effecting the antecedent intellectual change; but He also uses all the circumstances
and providential environment of the individual. To this aggregate of objective influence, which is not the same in different individuals, regeneration, where it takes place, is due. It is the act of God because the antecedent circumstances are the effect of God's ordering, and are adapted by Him to produce the result. Pajonel reasserted the widespread interest in the French Church.

In Germany the strength of Lutheran influence was already in sympathy with the Arminian movement. Its influence was also strong, though silent, in the bosom of the Reformed Church itself; and in the whole of the Western Church, the Reformed dogmatics were moving from the doctrine of the absolute decrees. Amongst the English-speaking peoples, in addition to the influences, already referred to, which strongly modified the theology of the great school of Anglican divines, the influence of Butler became a powerful ally of Arminianism. His doctrine of probation was not the Calvinistic doctrine of the probation of the race, but the Arminian insistence on the probation of the individual in his unshaped and unshareable relation to God.

In the Methodist revival Arminianism became aggressive. Associated with the renewed vitalities of personal godliness, the Arminian theology, carried by singers and preachers, passed swiftly across the Atlantic, and the earliest settlers as they moved, from east to west, across the continent. In the newer British Colonies at the Antipodes a similar influence has wrought, until, at the present day, Arminianism, as understood and taught by Methodist preachers, dominates what is probably the largest Protestant Church in the world, reckoning some thirty millions of adherents. In America the matchless intellectual gifts of Jonathan Edwards were consecrated to the task of checking and destroying the forces of Arminian doctrine. But the ultimate results were disappointing to Calvinistic theologians. The New England theology, where it has not passed under Unitarian influences, has revealed a persistent modification of the Calvinistic position. The distinctly Calvinistic formalities of faith in Great Britain and America have undergone revision, mostly at those precise points which were the objective of the Arminian attack.

Modern theology in general has tended to forget the solemnness and absolutism of doctrinal statement, without surrendering the deeper significance of the ultimate supremacy of the Divine will. And this position was the original idea and ideal of Arminianism. There is a deep and almost universal dissatisfaction with the declaration and issues of a limited Atømtenon, which was a main element in the Arminian objection to Calvinism; and a strong conviction prevails that the salvation of the non-elect is an object of sincere desire to the mind of God. Yet it is obvious that it is not the doctrine of Predestination per se, in which Calvinism has enclosed the realms of nature and providence in a network of teleology, that excites the strongest repugnance to the system against which Arminianism rose to protest. For Determinism in philosophy and Selection in biological science are still acceptable and popular equivalents for Election in the realm of grace. Differentiation is a basal principle in each of these spheres; but differentiation involves inequality; and inequality involves preference; for it is admitted that the differences are original, so far as individuals are concerned. Biology postulates differences in the single cell. Psychological ethics starts the career of individual character with differences ab initio. Popular influences assume that the difference between Cain and Abel, or between Esau and Jacob, is an illustration of the same principle that differentiates the hawk from the dove or the hart from the swine. It is rather towards the Calvinistic eschatology that the antagonism is most keenly felt. The injustice and cruelty which this element in the Calvinistic system wore to the early Arminians, it wears to the modern mind. The humanity of God has become an element in the standard of judgment applied to the Divine activity. Fatherhood has dispelled Sovereignty, and a Deity has modified transcendence. When to such tendencies is added the momentum of the critical and exegetical methods which prevail in the modern interpretation of Scripture, to which Arminianism gave countenance and impetus at their origin, it may be possible to show some justification for the claim, made by the advocates of Arminian principles, that they possess the requisite possibilities of adaptation for the re-statement of the doctrines of grace demanded by the appeal to the conditions of modern thought.

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ARNAUD, ARNAULDISM.—See PORT ROYAL.
ART.

Origins (Yujo Hirn), p. 817.
Note on Painting (J. A. McCulloch), p. 821.
Primitive and Savage (A. C. Haddon), p. 823.
Ægean.—See ÆGEAN RELIGION.
American (L. H. Gray), p. 827.
Buddhist.—See TEMPLES, and the articles on
BURMA AND ASSAM (Buddhism in), INDIAN
BUDDHISM, JAVA, SIAM.
Etruscan and Early Italic (G. Karo), p. 883.
Greek and Roman (E. A. Gardner), p. 866.
Hindu.—See ARCHITECTURE AND ART (Hindu).

The religious art of savage and barbarian races
constitutes a field of inquiry the limits of which
are exceedingly difficult to trace with any accuracy.
There seem to be no doubt that among some tribes
religion dominates almost the whole of individual
as well as of social life. The Pueblo Indians in
Arizona and New Mexico may be quoted as an
example of such thoroughly religious peoples.
The customs of their beliefs have been known, the more evident it has become
that even the apparently most trivial actions are
to them associated with religious feelings and
ideas. From birth to death the Pueblo Indian,
actively or passively, partaking in an almost
continuous act of religious worship. In the
art production of these tribes the religious purposes
are naturally apt to become almost exclusively
predominant.

It is true that the Pueblo tribes appear to be
quite exceptional in their inclination towards
pious practices. But if the word 'religion' be
taken in its widest sense, as including magical
ideas and superstitious beliefs, there might easily
be found many other tribes among whom religion
exercises an all-pervading influence on art
production. And the field of religious art becomes
further widened if, as has been done by several
authors, traditionalism is included under the head
of religion. Among almost all uncivilized nations,
every act that has been handed down from religious
to descendents is treated with a respect
which closely resembles religious feeling. And in
art, even if the products we meet with be of recent
origin, the methods employed in production have
almost everywhere been transmitted from earlier
generations.

It is only natural, therefore, that several authors
should have been led to consider all ethnographic
art as essentially religious. This opinion is repre-
sented by some of the most eminent German
ethnologists. According to Dr. Gerland, the
Distinguished continuator of Waitz's Anthropologie
der Natuvölker, dances, pantomimes, and dramas,
had been meaningless they may now appear, have
always originally been connected with religious
ceremonies. The articles of dress and ornament
with which primitive man decorates his body are,
by ethnologists of this school, interpreted by pre-
ference as magic signs or religious symbols. And in
works of art, such as rock paintings and engravings,
the sacred and serious meaning has been taken
for granted.

Against this line of thought, however, a reaction
has set in among other German ethnologists. In
his remarkable essay on petroglyphs (Ethnographi-
tische Kunst) Andree has branded as a learned
bias the general tendency to look for some sacred

meaning in all ancient drawings, many of which
may have had their origin simply in the impulse
of the idle hand to scratch lines and figures on
inviting surfaces. Other ethnologists have pointed
out how easily the simplest dances and songs are
to be explained as outbursts of an emotional
pressure, which in itself has nothing to do with
religious feeling. And it has been urged that
the religious sections of primitive traditions
upon all ancient customs, does not in itself give
us any information as to the real origin of these
customs.

However sound in its principle, the reaction
against the religious interpretation may, never-
theless, easily lead to a too radical scepticism.

The case of the carved ornaments of the Hervey
Islanders is most instructive in this respect.
Notwithstanding the deriding strictures originally
passed in the name of common sense, the
symbolic interpretations of Stolpe and Read, an
unbiassed examination can lead only to the
conclusion, that in these apparently meaningless figures
we really meet with a symbolic art which is full
of religious significance (Stolpe in Trans. of the
Rochdale Lit. and Scient. Soc. 1891).

By such examples it is proved beyond question
how impossible it is to uphold any a priori asser-
tions as to the religious or non-religious character
of primitive works of art. In order to estimate
with exactness the influence exercised by religion
on the earlier stages of aesthetic development, it
would be necessary to examine in detail and from
a philosophical point of view the artistic productions
of all tribes of mankind. Such an examination
has as yet been undertaken with regard to only
a few tribes: the Hervey Islanders, the inhabi-
ants of the Torres Strait regions, the Dayaks of
Borneo, the Pueblo Indians, and some others.

In an article for an Encyclopedia, there could in no
case be any question of endeavouring to supplement
these gaps in our knowledge. The only thing
therefore that can safely be done is to interpret,
at the risk of incompleteness, such works and mani-
festations alone as display their religious character
on the surface. And it will be necessary, in order
to keep the survey within reasonable limits,
to exclude all works the origin of which is to be found
in an exclusively magical purpose. Thus the
various kinds of dramatic rain-making rituals, and
the magically-medical curers, although generally
executed by the religious profession, will not be
treated of in this connexion (see MAGIC).

1. Dramatic art.—The simplest of all forms of
religious art, from a theoretical point of view,
are those dances and songs which are resorted to
in order to bring about exaltation. These
 ceremonies of the Muhammadan dancing and howl-

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ing dervishes and of many other well-known sects, might be quoted in proof of the fact that, among civilized as well as among barbarous peoples, a highly strung emotional state, even if produced by purely physical agency, is considered as a religious feeling. And it is significant that this emotional manifestation, which has been observed among the lowest of all savages—the wood Veddahs of Ceylon—consists of an exalted dance, which has justly been compared with the antics of the Siberian shamans and with the performances of the howling dervishes. As to the religious significance of the dance, travellers do not all agree. Some take it to be intended as a kind of propitiation, addressed to the divinity of the arrow—an arrow being always stuck in the earth in the centre of the dancers. According to others, the dance might be explained as a kind of thanksgiving; others again see in it a rite, aiming at the expulsion of demons. But however much these interpretations may differ, the religious character of the ceremony has been taken for granted by almost all the different authorities. And their descriptions of how the dance is accompanied by dance-coincide at all important points (P. and F. Sarasin, Naturwiss. Forsch. auf Ceylon, iii.; Emerson Tenney, Ceylon; Hoffmeister, Travels; Deschamps, Au Pays des Veddas; Schmidt, Ceylon).

The scene is set in the presence of all men. At the outset, they advance slowly around the arrow without touching each other. Every dancer turns round on one foot, whilst performing some spasmodic movements with the free leg. The arms describe circles in the air, and the head is thrown backwards and forwards, to make the long, entangled hair stand out like a brush from the crown. The music is a simple melody, which is sung, or rather howled out, by the dancers. The time is marked by strokes of the hand on the nude belly. All this is begun in relative tranquillity. But gradually the time grows quicker, the movements become more violent, and the howling louder. Thus the dancers work themselves up to the utmost frenzy, and finally, one after another, fall to the ground in exhaustion. Some of them lie on their backs 'as stiff as a fallen tree,' whilst others, continuing the howling, tremble in convulsive vibrations.

This 'arrow dance' is typical of a large class of dances, examples of which are most numerous amongst the lower races, sometimes as mere amusements, but more often as religious rites. The means employed in order to bring about the exaltation and the convulsions may, indeed, be more complicated than those resorted to by the Veddahs. Thus, among some North American Indian tribes (cf. Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, v.): the dancers prepare themselves for their performance by some days of fasting, and increase their state of exaltation during the dance by partaking of drugs or inhaling them. The clappings on the nude belly are, at higher stages of culture, replaced by the sound of some instruments capable of a greater suggestive power. But the spirit of the performance is none the less the same all over the world. Whether the dancers belong to the Ainus, to some of the aboriginal tribes of India (Aquis, Kurs, Santals), or to some South or West-African race (Basutos, Tshi-speaking peoples on the Gold Coast), their chief endeavour is always to throw themselves, by violent movements and sounds, into a state of exaltation which borders upon, or really passes over into, insensibility and unconsciousness; and it is the same endeavour which characterizes the celebrated performances of the tribes of Northern Asia (cf. e.g. Radloff, Skiriies; Mikhailovsky in Journ. Anth. Inst. xxiv. 62, 126).

In the shamanistic rites, however, we meet with one important feature that is not represented in the Veddah dance. In this example, the frantic scenes seem to be over at the moment unconsciousness is attained. In the higher developments of the arrow-dance type, however, it is from this moment that religious interest is awakened. And what follows, far more than the dance itself, is apt to give a religious character to the rite.

It is well known that on the lower stages of culture lunatic ideas are generally considered as possessed by some divinity, and are consistently treated with a kind of religious respect. It is only natural that the same attitude should be upheld in those cases where the mental disorder is acute instead of chronic. And the shamanistic psychosis is the more liable to be interpreted in a supernatural way, since the shamans, in accordance with the traditionally-fixed programme of their performances, invariably astonish the bystanders by jugglery and feats of insensibility, such as eating fire, lacerating themselves with knives and needles, etc., made possible by their exalted and anaesthetic condition. The presence of a true divinity in the case of the convulsive dancer, together with the apparently supernatural power he exhibits, must necessarily lead the primitive spectators to the inference that a divine personification has taken hold of the dancing man, and that himself is endeavouring by all means in his power to confirm the spectators in this belief. He delivers oracular utterances in a mystic voice, which is taken to be the voice of the god, or he keeps up long dialogues with the divinity, who is supposed to be visible to him, but is audible only to the bystanders. We have not in this connexion to decide whether these representations are wholly fraudulent, or whether they may have their origin in some visual and auditory hallucinations of the shamans. The important fact, from our point of view, is that in either case the orastic and, so to say, lyrical dance, which forms the beginning of the shaman performance, has passed over into something which, in its effect, if not in its intention, is to be considered as a work of dramatic art.

2. Pictorial art.—In these dramatic representations we meet with an expression of the belief—which may partially have been prompted by the faces of shamanistic possession—that the priests are, or may for a time be, possessed by the divinity. If, as primitive peoples seem to believe all over the world, the priest really is a kind of 'god-box' (to use the picturesque expression of the Polynesians), then it is evident that the actions he is representing must impress his pious spectators as an eminently religious drama. But even if there had been no belief in a particular class of 'god-boxes,' dramatic representation would still have acquired a religious importance, on the ground of the belief in the magical effects which imitations of things and movements are supposed to exercise upon the things and movements that have been imitated. According to this belief, the god may be conjured to take up his abode in the body of the performer, who imitates what are believed to be his appearance, movements, and behaviour. And the artistic production, which has been called into existence by this principle of sympathetic magic, does not restrict itself to the department of dramatic art. It has attained a great importance within the domain of pictorial imitation.

The transition from dramatic to pictorial art is marked by those masks which, in many tribes, such as the Bellacoolas, the Melanesians, etc., are worn by the dancers in religious dances (cf. Boss, Dall, Woldt, on the Bellacoolas; Haddon and Cod
rington on the Melanesians). The effect produced
on the spectators by these painted faces is partially
dependent upon the dramatic acting—the singing
and the movements—of the performers. But the
masks themselves are, no doubt, apt to awaken
fanciful sensations and awe. Among all primitive
tribes they are regarded as sacred things,
scarcely less holy than the religious paintings
and statues venerated by more developed nations.

Among the most primitive tribes, however, one
scarcely meets with any pictorial representations
of the deity. This, probably, has less to do with
the technical inability of the lowest savages than
with the deficient anthropomorphism in their
notions of the deity. Where a god is imagined as
some vague and formless being, certain rude and
shapeless fetishes may be considered as satisfactory
representations or vehicles of the Divine power.
But as soon as a god has taken the form of animal
or man, pictorial art will be resorted to as a means
of facilitating—by virtue of sympathetic magic—
communications between man and the divinity.

The images and statues of primitive man must
not, however, be interpreted as in any way similar
to those pictorial representations of which bar-
barous races sometimes even civilized—men avail
themselves in order to heighten the magic or
illusion. It seems, on the contrary, as if
similarity and lifelikeness had not even been
aimed at in the idols and ancestral statues of the
lowest savages. And what we know about the
way in which these have been fashioned—can be
imagined. When the Negroes wish to transplant the wood
deity from his original home to their towns
and villages, they construct a wooden doll of branches
taken from the tree in which he is supposed to
live. The god, no doubt, believed to feel a
special temptation to take up his abode in the idol
made in his own likeness; but it is evident that the
material link established by the choice of the wood
is thought of as being of no less, perhaps even of
greater, importance than the resemblance to the
ancestral god, or the zoomorphic
form of the divinity. (De Clercq in Schmitz, New Guinea;
Brenner, Kannibalen Sumatras). When the cannibals of
Sumatra prepare their celebrated richly-sculptured
magical staffs, they always enclose in the head of the
uppermost figure of the staff the brain of a young
man who has been killed for the purpose (Brenner, Lc., cf. also
the author's Origins of Art, p. 291). It is probable that whatever
power such images are possess of is given to them
chiefly by their material contents. The worship
and respect shown to the statues are developed
out of a worship of skulls, and the statues them-

selves have originally been considered, not as
images of the body, but as receptacles for some
part of the body itself. The more, however, the
totemism order of the statues are developed
more there must also arise a subjective
illusion, which to the primitive spectators brings the image
into connexion with the imitated reality. The
chord character of savage statuary is no obstacle
to such an illusion, as in primitive peoples the
want of technical ability is counterbalanced by a
naive suggestibility. And as soon, on the
other hand, as the image itself—as image—has
acquired a magical or religious efficacy, there will
also appear an endeavour to heighten the
suggestive effect by increasing the lifelikeness and
the resemblance of the statues. These superstitious
and religious motives will tend gradually to incr
the artistic value of the religious images.

The religious statues of the Melanesians and the
idols of the West African Negroes, for instance,
undoubtedly owe something of their wild and
fantastic lifelikeness to an attempt to awaken an
intense impression as possible of the divine
powers which they are intended to represent. At
somewhat higher stages of evolution, on the other
hand, as, for instance, among the Pueblo Indians,
religious motives tend to restrain the impress-
iveness of pictorial representation within some
traditionally-fixed limits.

However crude and simple an idol may be, it
will none the less, by virtue of its mere existence,
bring about some important changes in man's
attitude towards his god. By the idol a divinity,
who has originally been considered as distant or
vaguely localized, becomes concentrated in an
apprehensible, some object. The people acquire a
fixed object for their worship. And the
holiness of this object makes it necessary to shelter
it from the environment. Thus, around the idol,
there naturally arises a temple.

Among the lowest tribes these temples have no qualities entitling them to be enumerated
among works of art. But at a somewhat higher
stage of development, the house of the god is often
decorated in a most gorgeous way. The ancestral
decors in the literal sense of the word—display, especially among some Malay-
sian and Melanesian tribes, a wealth of ornamental
art (see Temples). (See, further, 'Note on the Use
of Painting in Primitive Religion,' following this
article).

3. Propitiation in art.—In order completely to
explain the motives which have led to these archi-
tectural constructions and decorations, it is not
sufficient to appeal to those philosophical and
superstitious ideas which have here been men-
tion. In the foregoing we have devoted our
attention exclusively to man's endeavour to
create, by dramatic or pictorial art, a representa-
tion of the god—a receptacle, so to say, of the
divine spirit—of the divine spirit that can be
entranced. This effort has naturally become more and more marked
the more the idea of God has become localized,
fixed, and vivified through artistic representa-
tion. Thus the ornamental art which is lavished
on the decoration of primitive temples may in
younger and most cases be described as the purific-
tion of the god who is believed to inhabit the temple or to visit it.
But the tendency to flatter and propitiate is by no
means dependent upon the degree of development
reached by the idea of God. It manifests itself
among tribes who conceive their divinity as a
vague, unlocalized, and impersonal being, as well
as among tribes who have adopted anthropo-
morphic or zoomorphic religions. Those of its
manifestations, however, that are most important
from a general point of view cannot possibly
be treated of in this connexion. For there is
nothing artistic in the various forms of material
sacrifice—with the exception, perhaps, of the
sacri-

ficial vessels, which, in virtue of their religious
purpose, may be elaborated and decorated with a
greater care than ordinary vessels. On the other hand, the dramatic and poetic forms of sacrifice—prayer and homage—afford us an ample store of examples which exactly fall within the scope of the present article.

A kind of sacrificial purpose may indeed be discerned in those shrines to which the deceased is imagined to ascend after his death. To the superficial observer they appear to have their only motive in the desire to bring about a state of exaltation. As every effort is taken to be agreeable to the divinity, the dancers may in many cases nourish a hope of softening the hard heart of their god. But it is by no means clear that the intention of explaining and illustrating the facts of religious history. In such dramatic representations, for which the religious tradition offers a welcome justification. Thus it is more than difficult to decide in individual cases whether the artistic manifestations fulfill a religious, a magical, or a purely aesthetic purpose.

The same doubt exists when we have to do with purely lyrical and poetic forms of art, through which the performers express their gratitude and devotion to the god. Psychologically there is an easy transition from the feeling of joy—when it is pure and complete—to the feeling of loving thankfulness. The fulness of the emotion seeks expression, and the expression seeks some one to whom it may address itself. Thus in happiness we experience a desire to imagine a god who may receive our gratitude. And among peoples who are expected to consider every dance and dramatic performance as a manifestation of the god, the pleasure which has been especially accorded to them by the divinity, pleasure will easily cause some manifestations which express both emotions in one common expression. As the most typical and best known example of religious pleasure, we may quote the song and dance of the Israelites after having passed the Red Sea (Ex 15). It is true that in this case the poetic and orchestral hymns were called forth by an exceptional and unique occurrence. But there are always some regular events of happy importance in the life of a primitive man which will tend to make thanksgiving ceremonies fixed institutions. Thus the return of the spring will be saluted with dance and song among the nations that have been suffering from long and hard winters, e.g. the Eskimos, the Chukchis, etc. Among agricultural nations the occasion of a bountiful harvest will give rise to some joyful festivals, in which the participants amuse themselves at the same time as they pay homage to their divinities. Such festivals seem to be essentially frequent among the North American Indians.

The dances performed at these ceremonies, as has already been mentioned, closely resemble the manifestations of pure and simple joy. But there are some gestures which, although originally connected immediately with the simple feeling, may gradually become peculiar to the religious ritual. Thus hand-clappings (which, as is well known, accompany states of great joy both among savages and among children) have, among Polynesians as well as among the ancient Egyptians, acquired the sense of a pious and reverential gesture, by which the adorers manifest their love and thankfulness towards the god.

4. Ethical instruction in art.—The facts hitherto quoted have raised the invisiblespirits of the dead, who are believed to endeavour to possess themselves of his body. Sometimes one may even believe that the survivors try to frighten the spirit itself away from their homes by terrifying dances and pantomimes. Lastly, it is probably in the endeavour to exert a sympathetic influence upon the combatants which the deceased has to undergo before he can attain his peace and rest, that survivors hold magic war-dramas (e.g. slaying of giants and tussle of war) over his grave.

When—as has probably been the case in some tribes—the cult of some individual ancestor is transformed into a cult of a general divinity, and, in consequence thereof, the small spirit-house above the grave is replaced by a temple, some of the ancient funeral performances may still be kept up as religious observances. Although their original purpose is forgotten, their character will scarcely become changed. When magical ideas have died out, magical ceremonies will still survive as a means of religious homage. And when, at a later stage of development, the notion of a divine spectator has been forgotten, the same ceremonies may be performed as mere amusements, for which the religious tradition offers a welcome justification. Thus it is more than difficult to decide in individual cases whether the artistic manifestations fulfill a religious, a magical, or a purely aesthetic purpose.

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tions as, for instance, the great Kachina dance of the Zuñi Indians, this didactic tendency seems to be especially prominent. In masquerades of the type represented by the Mumbo Jumbo dance in Central Africa and the "Kinias" of the Fuegians, we meet with the moral, or pseudo-moral, motive of terrorizing women and children into subjection by showing them the awful aspects of the gods. Finally, in the dramas, songs, and dances at the initiation of boys and girls into maturity, magical, didactic, and moralizing purposes are combined, with the religious significance, to the most splendid and wonderful manifestations which are to be met with in the department of primitive art. It is true that the instruction conferred at these ceremonies refers chiefly to practical utility. But even among peoples at so low a degree of development as the Australian aborigines, religious and, one might say, philosophical doctrines are expounded to the young men. Thus in a kind of miracle play, to which some curious analogies have been found among the Fijians and the East Africans, the old men enact before the boys a representation of death and resurrection. Although less elaborate in dramatic detail and stage-management, the fragmentary dramas in which the American Indian shares, as among the animistic peoples, are killed and recalled to life present to us a scarcely less interesting illustration of the same great thought. There are indeed, especially in this last example, good reasons for assuming that the simulated death and resurrection scene — in a magical way, some kind of spiritual regeneration in the novices on whose behalf the drama is performed. But while admitting this, we may nevertheless take it for granted that an exorcism to which are coupled the sacramental quantities of the primitive rite may be combined with the magical rite in question. And similarly with regard to analogous ceremonies in other tribes, we feel justified in assuming the presence of a didactic purpose. The more the dogmatic system becomes fixed and elaborated, the greater need will there ensue of affording these doctrines a clear expression in the objective forms of art.

It is evident that poetry more than any other art can serve such a purpose. In fact, among several tribes at the stage of higher savagery and barbarism there have been found some more or less complete mythical poems. These songs, however, will be more properly treated of under the headings MYTHOLOGY, CHARMS, and HYMNS.


NOTE ON THE USE OF PAINTING IN PRIMITIVE RELIGION.—Besides the realistic and symbolic representation of his divinities or of his religious conceptions and aspirations by means of various art methods—images or statues, carvings, sacred dances, sacred hymns and chants—painting has been employed by it to the service of religion by primitive or savage man, as well as by his more civilized successor. The purpose of this note will be sufficiently fulfilled by reference to such painting in the Stone Age, among the rudest savages, and with a semi-barbaric people. In all alike the ends aimed at are precisely the same as those intended by the image or carving—the obtaining of power over or from the being represented, the vivid depicting of the worshipful object or person so that the worshipper, by means of the picture or symbol, may have his religious sense re-awakened, or may also be brought into contact and communion with the divinity. In the first example to be referred to—that of the Palaeolithic cave-artists—the paintings are not those of divinities but of animals. Even if these had no totemistic significance, there could also be no doubt that they played a highly important part in the magico-religious ceremonies which, as hypothesis, were performed before them.

Within recent years, French archeologists have discovered the existence of engravings and paintings of animals on the walls of caves in Périgord and the Pyrenees. Similar paintings were, almost simultaneously, found in grottoes at Altamira in Spain. They are executed on rocks in the darkest part of the caves, far from the entrance. Artificial light must therefore have been employed in signing them, as is proved by the discovery of a stone lamp ornamented with an incised figure of a reindeer, and thus dating from the Reindeer age of the Palaeolithic epoch—the age of simple painting of the great majority of the Quaternary times terminated. Probably these wall engravings and paintings belong to this closing period also. The animals represented are mammoths, reindeer, bison, oxen, horses, goats, saigas, etc. Of these being engraved, have the outlines filled in with reddish-brown colour, or, in some cases, bluish-black, exactly as totemic grave-posts used by the American Indians have incised figures painted over them by means of some primitive brush. Or, besides, the outlines, being having the coloration of the thin band of colour. Frequently a design is outlined in black, and the surface covered with red ochre. We are yet ignorant how the colour was applied; it may have been daubed on by means of some primitive brush, or blown from the mouth, as is in the case with some Australian rock-paintings. The interest of these paintings, for us, consists in the theory regarding their purpose enunciated by a French savant, M. Salomon Reinach. He postposes the idea that these paintings, as well as Quaternary art in general, are a sort of borrowed from the animal world the most numerous, and that the animals represented are those which form the food supply of a nation of hunters and fishers. The savages, in fact, among several tribes at the stage of higher savagery and barbarism there have been found some more or less complete mythical poems. These songs, however, will be more properly treated of under the headings MYTHOLOGY, CHARMS, and HYMNS.
character, are painted on rocks, and are tabu to women and children.

M. Reinach notes the fact that the Quaternary paintings are executed on the walls of caves far from the entrance and at the end of corridors difficult of access, as if with a view to secrecy. Not only so, but the caves are in total darkness, and the paintings must have been executed and looked at by means of artificial light. Hence the impossibility of assuming that they were executed for mere pleasure. They must have had a religio-magical character, and their purpose, why they were painted, is left a spirit child practices in the multiplication of the game on which depended the existence of the clan or tribe. Ceremonies, in which adults alone took part, were performed with that end in the darkest part of the cavern, entrance to which was forbidden to the profane. 1 These paintings formed the object of the cult, addressed not to the individuals represented, but to the species, over which the worshippers had influence by reason of the individual being thus depicted. The animals, as a result of these ceremonies, would manifest themselves to them. They would find them. The various sculptures and engravings of the Reindeer age may have had such a purpose also, while the so-called bôtas na commandement doubtless played their part in magical and totemistic ceremonies. As M. Bernardin says, the engraved designs of the rock deposited in 1876 at Repou Septentrion, Feb. 1875. Thus the art of the period was neither a luxury nor an amusement, but the expression of a rude yet intense religion, based upon magico-religious practices having for their object the attainment of the food supply. While we cannot admit that Palaeolithic man's artistic powers were used only for magico-religious purposes—the beauty of some of his designs, and the care in reproducing exactly what he saw, suggesting the artist pure and simple—it could not fail that they should be frequently employed in such ways as M. Reinach has suggested. Everywhere else this has occurred, and art has been freely enlisted in the service of both religion and magic.

In the times of transition to the Neolithic age, though the brilliant art production of the earlier period is unknown, art was again used in the cult. This, already shown by the symbolic engravings and markings on rocks, megalithic monuments, etc., is further suggested by the painted pebbles found by M. Piette at Mas d'Azil. Some of the designs represent numbers, others are alphabetiform signs corresponding to the letters of the later Aegaean and Cypriote syllabaries; others are photographs, with or without a symbolic meaning. It is in these last that we may find the use of painting as an accessory to the cult. Among them are the cross by itself or within a circle, a circle with a central dot (solar symbols, some of which occur as engravings on the megalithic monuments of the times of age), the serpent, tree, etc. All are painted with vermiculite upon white pebbles. Later, the carved symbols of the Neolithic period, e.g. the symbolic axes and female figures (divinities) on the walls of the grottos of La Hougue, have been covered with colour, like the carved images of later ages.

For the cave paintings see L'Anthropologie, 1902; Revue mensuelle de l'école d'anthrop. 1902. M. Reinach's paper with illustrations in Arch. de la Soc. l'Ant. Ath., p. 527. See also his Story of Art, throughout the Ages, p. 1. M. Piette's discoveries are described in L'Anth. vii. 856, xiv. 643 f. For the symbolic carvings of La Roque, see M. d'Azil. La Roque-Préhistorique, 244 f.; Baran de Baye, L'Archéologie préhistorique.

Some Australian instances of the use of painting for magico-religious purposes have already been referred to. Among the Northern tribes of Central Australia similar paintings are used in the totemic ceremonies. The men of the Thalamiil or Black Snake totem, when they perform the Intichiuma rites for the purpose of increasing the numbers of this snake species, paint partly symbolic and partly imitative designs on the ground with red ochre and other coloured earths and charcoal. These depict the mythic history of the ancestral snake, which is also dramatically represented by Spencer-Gillen, Northern Tribes of C. A. 302, 737.

Similar ground paintings are used in the Wallunqua snake totem ceremonies. Each one represents, or rather was associated with, the various spots at which the animal stood up, performed ceremonies, and laid the object used by the spirit child during the initiation ceremonies, whose purpose is usually the healing of disease, and which are characterized by great elaborateness.
and length. As practised among the Navaho Indians, the ceremony continues for nine days, and is conducted by a theurgist and several assistants. Every part of the ritual has a special significance, and must be performed with the strictest attention to traditional detail, lest fatal consequences should ensue from the least infringement of it. Several men personate the gods and goddesses and take part in the ceremonies; each day's proceedings include pantomimic action, symboliser, offerings to the gods, singing of sacred chants, and prayers, and the whole ends with a elaborate dance. The whole ceremony is known as yebitchai, a word meaning 'giant's uncle,' and, as in several Australian mysteries, it is used to awe children, who, on the eighth day, are initiated into the ceremony, and discover that the men personating the gods are their fellow-tribemen. The paintings are made with dry sand and pigments of various colours sprinkled on a ground of yellow sand with the thumb and forefinger of the operator. The colours used are yellow, red, white, black, and a blue prepared from a mixture of charcoal with white, red, and yellow sands. These colours, as well as the pictures themselves, are made according to instructions given by the gods, as the Navaho myth of 'The Paintings' relates. All the paintings represent gods and goddesses, usually about three feet in length, and depicted in a somewhat conventional manner. Face, arms, and legs are carefully done; the body is long and narrow; each divinity is usually drawn with various emblems: a god is denoted by a round head, a goddess by a rectangular head. Considering the method in which the colours are employed, the resulting picture is a marvellous piece of art work, full of minute details, with four lines in the dress and each decoration of the divinities are like threads. The first sand-painting is made on the fifth day of the ceremony, and represents three divinities; in the painting of the sixth day, there are four pairs of divinities, male and female, each sitting on the limb of a cross, with their appropriate emblems: outside the painting are four gods, one on each side, and the whole is surrounded by the rainbow goddess. The seventh day's painting represents fourteen divinities in two rows, main surrounded by the rainbow goddess, 25 ft. in length. Twelve divinities are shown in the eighth day's painting; in their midst is a huge picture of a corn-stalk, the main subsistence of life; a square base and triangle represent clouds, and three white lines the roots of the corn. The rainbow goddess again surrounds this picture. A detailed account of this last picture will show its symbolic nature. The divinities are the Zenichi, who live in a rock, represented by a long black parallelogram. Those parts of their bodies and faces which are painted red, denote red corn; black signifies black clouds. Zigzag lines on the bodies mean lightning; certain black lines surround the head, zigzagged with white, are cloud baskets holding red corn.

These paintings are arranged on the floor of a medicine-lodge in which are assembled the invalid, the theurgist and his assistants, and certain privileged spectators. In each case the sick man is seated on the central figure of each painting, having previously sprinkled the design with sacred meal. Several ceremonies, chants, and prayers follow, during which one of the representatives of the gods touches the feet, heart, and head of each figure respectively with his right hand, each time touching the corresponding other side of the whole body. This appears to be the vital part of the ceremony, bringing the sick man into relation with the gods through their pictures and by their representative, thus transferring their power to him so that his disease may be overcome. This seems to be certain, as, before the pictures are obliterated at the end of the day's proceedings, the people crowd round to touch them, and then, having inhaled a breath over their hands, rub their bodies so that they may be cured of any malady, moral or physical, by the divine influence. The sacred pictures in the American Indian ceremonies are believed to have been originally given by the divine manitous (see BE, Fourteenth Annual Report, p. 91).

James Stevenson, Ceremonial of Haajett Datija and Mythical Sand Paintings of the Navaho Indians, with Illustrations of the paintings, in BE, Eighth Annual Report, 1891. Reference may also be briefly made to: (1) Zodi religious paintings on vessels, representing the Creation and other myths current among the people. The colours themselves are symbolic (see Cush. Study of Phalic, op. cit., 1889). (2) Painting or tattooing the body (d) for magical purposes, as among the Arakan hill tribes and Burman (St. John, J.A. ii, 391; Stevenson, Essay to on Am. Ant., p. 312, and others); (3) with totem designs, e.g., a few years ago Mr. Haddon, of Malacca (Hadd., Anm. Arch., p. 312), had certain ceremonial occasions, as with the Australians (Spencer- Gillen, op. cit.); (4) for mourning.—(3) Painting the bodies or the parts of the dead. (Red, brown, or black), may be found among savages—Australians, American Indians, etc. (Cartailhac, La France primitive, p. 107). (5) In the art of painting the divinities in religious mysteries and as mnemonic symbols among the American Indians (BE, Fourteenth Report, p. 107); see also Tatting, Totemism. (6) The use of pictographs to illustrate chants used in religious mysteries and as mnemonic symbols among the American Indians (BE, Fourteenth Report, p. 107).
consequently they stand the chance of no further interest being taken in them; whereas, ... influences of the evil eye in Morocco. Silver amulets and numerous objects of everyday use are decorated with crosses, and.

Apart from the foregoing and the utilization of decorative art as an exhibition of wealth or for social distinction, we find that magic and religion have exercised a preponderating effect on the native peoples. The surpising, as though it were due to the vast importance they play in the life, thought, and feeling of mankind. From the nature of the case that aspect of sympathetic magic known as 'homopathic' lends itself to artistic treatment rather than does the 'contagious.' The representation of an object is as effeclual as the object itself; and as there is virtue in words and power in a name, so there is efficacy in a pictograph, which, after all, is a graphic as opposed to an oral or written expression. According to von den Steinen in Unter den Naturvélker im Blosse (Mallery, Fourth and Tenth Ann. Rep. Bureau Eth.). The pictorial blazings or notice boards of the Alaskans get definite formation to friends and travellers (Mallery, I. e.).

For the art, and, in the absence of other records, we therefore find a preponderating effect on the native peoples. The surpising, as though it were due to the vast importance they play in the life, thought, and feeling of mankind. From the nature of the case that aspect of sympathetic magic known as 'homopathic' lends itself to artistic treatment rather than does the 'contagious.' The representation of an object is as effeclual as the object itself; and as there is virtue in words and power in a name, so there is efficacy in a pictograph, which, after all, is a graphic as opposed to an oral or written expression. According to von den Steinen in Unter den Naturvélker im Blosse (Mallery, Fourth and Tenth Ann. Rep. Bureau Eth.). The pictorial blazings or notice boards of the Alaskans get definite formation to friends and travellers (Mallery, I. e.).
groups of five knobs or two intersecting squares; all these indicate the five fingers or finger-tips, which are employed in a gesture to throw back the harmful gaze of those who possess an evil eye. Similar designs and representations of eyes, often as triangles, decorate saddle-cloths, pottery, money-boxes, leather pouches, etc., and are embroidered upon or woven into the garments of the people, so that at all times and from all points they, their animals, and their personal effects may be protected from premeditated or casual harm.

Profof Lartigau says of the decorative art of Ancient Egypt: 'The object of decoration was not merely to delight the eye. Applied to a piece of furniture, a coifin, a house, a temple, decoration possessed a certain magical property, of which the power or nature was determined by each word inscribed or spoken at the moment of consecration. Every object, therefore, was an amulet as well as an ornament.' (quoted by Goodyear, The Architectural Record, iii.). The lotus is the parent, writes Hamlin (Architect. Rec., vi.), of a greater number and variety of ornament-forms than any other motif known. It was the most conspicuous and beautiful flower known to the Egyptians, and its intrinsic decorative value, as well as its importance in their mythological symbolism, gave it an extraordinary vogue as an ornament. Associated as it was with Horus and Osiris, with the idea of Nature's reproductive power, with the life-giving Nile, and with all the solar elements of Egyptian mythology, its use as a universal symbol is not surprising, when we consider that it underwent the operation of that universal law by which ornament forms lose in time their original significance and receive new and diverse applications. Hamlin also states that symbolism alone does not sufficiently account for the fact that four-fifths, perhaps nine-tenths, of the ornamental patterns of Egyptian art are based upon the lotus; the real reason for the extraordinary vogue of this single motif is to be found in the decorative possibilities of the type itself. The lotus as a flower has been and is still found in the vegetable kingdom, and it was also largely employed in funeral rites, and also symbolized the resurrection; but this latter idea was associated in the Egyptian mind with reproductive power. As the intensely religious and superstitious Egypian, in common with the problems of death and elevated by the prospect of immortality, it is not surprising that the flower which symbolized the resurrection should be depicted in such profusion in their tombs and elsewhere. How the Grecian artists borrowed this motive and transfigured it, how it was still further modified by the Romans, and how it spread to the British Islands through Celtic and Scandinavian channels, has been described by Gombrich (Architectural Aspects of the Grammar of the Lotus), Hamlin (loc. cit.), Colley (Journ. Roy. Soc. Ant. Ireland, 1894-1895), and Haddon (Evolution in Art).

Whereas, for our present purpose, magic may be regarded as a direct action by means of which man endeavours to accomplish his desire, religion is the recognition of some outside power or entity who can give aid directly or indirectly, or with whom an emotional relationship has been established; though it is not always easy to distinguish between magic and religion. In a paper on the decorative art and symbolism of the Araucanos, who are typical Plains Indians of the W. Algonquin linguistic stock, Kroeber informs us (Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. xviii. pt. 1 [1902]) that the closeness of the connexion between the symbolism and the religious life of the Indians cannot well be over-estimated by a white man. Apart from the decorative symbolism on ceremonial objects, the making of what have been called tribal ornaments is regularly accompanied by religious ceremonies. Some of the types of patterns found on these ornamental and pfeifaches ('rawhide bags') are very old and sacred, because originating from mythic beings. A considerable number of objects are decorated according to dreams or visions. Finally, 'all symbolism, even when decorative and unconnected with any cult ceremony, tends to be to the Indian a matter of a serious and religious nature' (Kroeber, loc. cit. p. 150).

While totemism is largely a social factor, it has a religious aspect which is often not far removed from magic. When a people is in the totemic stage, the human members of the kin or clan are prone not only to carry about with them or portions of their totem, but to mark their body by paint, scarification, or tat with realistic or conventional representations of their totem. Not only so, but they may decorate their personal belongings with their totem (cf. Spencer and Gillen's Native Tribes, and Northern Tribes, and the Reports of the Comb. Anth. Exped. to Torres Straits, vols. 1-2, 1898-1901). The totem, like the totemistic people, frequently engrave bamboo, tobacco pipes, drums, and other objects, representations of their respective totems; almost without exception the latter are animals. Not only the totem animals themselves are pictured, but also objects connected with them, as well as of which there is no evidence that they ever were totemic. In this case it would seem that the habit of animal-drawing has been extended from totems to a few other forms. On the adjacent mainland of New Guinea, and in the islands of Melanesia, totemism, or 'system of descent' as it is called, as well as of which there is no evidence that they ever were totemic. In this case it would seem that the habit of animal-drawing has been extended from totems to a few other forms. On the adjacent mainland of New Guinea, and in the islands of Melanesia, totemism, or 'system of descent', is carried on with just as much frequency as in Australia. In the Fly River, plant totems greatly preponderate, and certain pipes and drums brought from some little distance up that river are decorated solely with plant motives. It is only when we come to the opposite extremity of British New Guinea—the Milne Bay district—and the neighbouring archipelagoes, that we again meet with animal forms, more especially birds, frequent in decoration, carved reliefs of them, and also represented as human figures. The representation of animals occurs (Stephen, Südsee-kunst, 1907). It would be safe to say that where totemism exists there is usually an expression of the cult in decorative art; but it would be very rash to assume totemism wherever we find representation of animals or plants.

Throughout the greater part of America the belief in guardian spirits has led to representations of the ma'at, warahi, okki, sulen, maguy, or by whatever name it may be known, is this the case along the North-West Coast, where blankets, boxes, hats, spoons, pipes, as well as the so-called 'totem posts,' are decorated or carved with representations of the guardian spirit of the owner or those of his ancestors. Though highly esteemed and jealously guarded crests and emblems originated among the Sulich, according to Hill-Tout (Trans. Roy. Soc. Cornwall, sect. ii. 1901), from two sources. The crest springs from pictographic or plastic realization of the sulen or 'dream-totem,' and the other set of insignia are symbolic records of some event or adventure more or less mythic in the life of the owner or of his ancestors from whom he inherits them. In neither case do they regard themselv-
as descendants of their ‘totems.’ Speaking of the more northern of the North Pacific group of peoples, Boas says (Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus. 1895–1897) that each man acquires a guardian spirit, but he can acquire only such as belongs to his clan; thus a person may have the general crest of his clan, and besides use as his personal crest such guardian spirits as he has acquired by his own efforts. This explains the great multiplicity of combinations of crests on the carvings of these people.

Totemism frequently gives way also before an ancestor- or a hero-cult, and thus the human form must be invariably attended by a symbol or a totem. In the Papuan Gulf district the great bulk of decorated objects are ornamented with representations, sometimes highly conventionalized or degraded, of the human face (cf. Dec. Art Brt. New Guinea). In this district, at the imitation ceremonies, masks are worn to simulate the ancestral gods, and build-roarers are whirled; these and other ceremonial objects, as well as the carved wooden belts that only warriors may wear, are decorated with faces or figures of the same apotheosized ancestors. It is a fact that the only region of British New Guinea where ‘gods’ have been evolved (Holmes, JAI xxxii. 429 ff.) and at the same time it is the only district where the human form or face enters at all prominently into the decorative art of the natives, but here the human face is the dominant motive. It is interesting to note that, while animal forms are common in art in the extreme west and east of British New Guinea where totemism is rife, and the human face in the Gulf district where there are ‘gods,’ in the central districts, where, so far as is known, there is no religion as defined above, the decorative art is devoid of animal or human representations, and is characterized by ‘geometric’ designs. While an ancestor-cult may develop into the worship of gods, the same result may be arrived at by other roads. In Torres Straits a hero-cult, presumably introduced from New Guinea, had invaded the original totemism, and we can trace the amalgamation of the old cult with the new, and its final disappearance, and replacement by the higher religion. In the intermediate stage we are thus faced with an amalgamation of the totem animal with the human hero. In the ritual this was symbolized by the wearing of masks of animal form, or of part animal and part human form. The same occurs also in the Papuan Gulf district, where animal and human attributes are represented pictorially. There does not appear to be any record of a totem animal actually becoming metamorphosed into human form. It may have occurred, but, judging from the Papuan evidence, it is more probable that a substitution took place owing to contact with an ancestor- or hero-cult, and during the transition the demi-god would partake of his double ancestry. In this way we can explain the beast-headed deities of ancient Egypt and the religion of ancient Greece had its origin in totemism may be admitted. The ox, the mouse, wild beasts and birds, and similar associates of the Olympian hierarchy, whatever they were to the enlightened pagans who endeavored to rationalize and even to spiritualize them, are to us milestones which mark the road traversed by Hellenic religion; the Egyptian had been petrified at an earlier phase. When gods had been evolved, it was very important for men to retain the remembrance of those family ties between themselves and mankind which were in danger of being snapped through the length to which they were drawn and the degree of attenuation which consequently ensued. The traditions of statement as to the descent of mortals from gods are reinforced by the representations of artifices of the unlettered races, just as they are enshrined in the written cosmogonies of more cultured folk, the main difference being that anybody may understand the one if he knows the written characters, whereas the other is practically a pictograph, and requires the interpretation of the natives who have the traditional knowledge of the symbols. We are probably justified in assuming that very early in the history of the custom, and partly accounts for the great multiplicity of combinations of crests on the carvings of these people. Gill states that significance is usually attended by a symbol or totem. In the Jotings from the Pacific, 223). Several investigators have studied the peculiar wood-carving of the Hervey Islanders (Haddon, Evolution in Art), and many of the designs can be shown to be modifications of the human figure. Stolpe says: "Ancestor-worship is a characteristic feature of Polynesian religion. The souls of the departed become the guardian spirits of the survivors. Their worship demanded a visible form . . . it appears to me that the peculiarly hafted stone adzes of the Hervey Islanders are significant, and are especially connected with ancestor-worship, and that they were probably the very symbols under which this worship was performed" (Tamer, 1890, 232, 234). Colley March first suggested that the carved shafts of the sacred paddles and adzes were pedigreed-sticks, the patterns being the multitudinous human links between the divine ancestor and the chief of the living tribe (JAI xxii. 324). This seems to be a probable explanation of these beautiful carvings, which thus illustrate the origin of man from his god, and his continued connexion with and dependence upon him. What more can religious art teach?

Symbolism is a universal method of religions expression, and most of the decoration in connexion with shrines and altars has this significance. Primitively this was entirely the case, and may be seen from the researches of Cushing, Fowke, Voth, Stevenson, and others on the religion and ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona (2, 15, 21, and 23 RBEV; Field Columb. Mus., Anth. Ser. iii.; Journ. Am. Eth. Assoc. Arch. i.-iv.; Ancestor-worship, and JAI, various vols.). The sand-paintings, decorated tablets, and other ornamental ceremonial objects appear to be not merely representations of the desires of the worshippers, or pictures of the gods and their attributes, but practical instances of actual pictorial prayers. The Huichol of Mexico also spends a great part of his life at ceremonies and feasts, many of which are for making rain. Very important in the religious life of the Huichols is the use of the hikuli, a small cactus known in the south-western United States as 'mesal buttons.' The plant is considered as the votive bowl of the god of fire, who is the principal god of the Huichols, and it has to be procured every year, or there will be no rain. Hence conventional representations of the producing plant are placed on ceremonial objects or painted on the face. There are numerous other gods. Religious feeling pervades the thoughts of the Huichol so completely that every bit of decoration he puts on the most trivial of his everyday garments or utensils is a request for some benefit, a prayer for protection against evil, or an expression of adoration of some deity. As Lamboltz says (Unknown Mexico, 1903, ii. 294 ff.), the people always carry their prayers and devotional sentiments with them in visible form. They are as much as they are considered as rain-serpents, are in themselves prayers for rain and for the result of rain, namely, good crops, health, and life; also the designs on these objects may imitate the markings on the backs of the real reptiles. Of
similar significance are patterns composed of representations of conventionalized or vestigial double water-gourds, or of the tire-steel which represents the great god, or of the toto flower which grows during the wet, corn-producing season, and therefore becomes a prayer as well as a symbol for corn. The eye is the symbol of the understanding unknown things, and 'god's eyes' are commonly combined with other designs in woven patterns, in order that the eye of the god may rest on the wearer (Lamboltz, Memoire Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. iii.). Thus these people are literally clothed in prayers.

ART (American).—The art of the American Indians, like their architecture, is of many varieties and widely scattered. The chief forms are weaving, basketry, pottery, carving and sculpture, painting, metallurgy and jewellery, and mosaics, which may be taken up in the order named.

Weaving.—The art of weaving is found among many American tribes, particularly in the south and west, although some, such as the Apaches, are unacquainted with it. The material for the loom is very divergent in character. The Menonim, an Algonquian stock, form their thread from the inner bark of young basswood sprouts, while the southern and south-western tribes use cotton, and the KwakiiUtis of the north-west coast employ wool, hair, and even birds' feathers. The fabrics produced by the looms of the American Indians are of extreme closeness, and the colours are very gaudy, although the blankets for ordinary use are dark blue and white, or black and white, or are even left the natural colour of the wool. The figures, both in the Navaho blankets and in the closely related Hopi work, are frequently elaborate, and the effect is pleasing. It is among these two tribes, indeed, that weaving is best developed in North America. The native colours of the Navahos, who are fond to make the blankets of personal adornment impervious to rain, are red, yellow, and black, but here, as in the Orient, chemical dyes have largely impeded the excellence of native workmanship. Most of the weaving is done by the squaws, who make up their designs largely by lines and straight lines, as they go along, occasionally tracing model patterns in the sand. Considerable symbolism attaches to the designs. The square with four knot corners represents the four quarters of heaven and the four winds, thus corresponding to the use of the svastika in America; while the two crosses is a symbol of protection and a prayer to the Great Spirit. A spiral is said to typify the purified soul and a double spiral the struggles of the soul. The ear, if like man, may have a religious significance; so that black is the symbol of death (as indicated by wavy lines), or the female principle, and red the sign of fire, the male element. The Chilkat blankets of the Alaskan coast, woven in elaborate and artistic figures, with a warp of cedar-twine and a woof of mountain-goat wool, are also important in this connexion. The designs on these blankets, as might be expected, are very like those on the totem-poles and other carvings of the north-west coast. The natives of the Aleutian islands were also acquainted, and even made cotton puppets in which the bones of the dead were placed. Among the Aztecs weaving was highly developed, a conspicuous part of the adornment of the warriors being mantles of woven feathers, decorated with the art which was a national characteristic of this marvellous people.

The most striking remains of ancient American Indian weaving, however, which even include lace and drawn work, are those preserved in the great Peruvian necropolis of Ancon, near Lima, where the elaborate forms of Peruvian civilization and richness of the colouring surpass all other examples of American textile art (see W. Reiss and A. Stuber, The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru, tr. by A. H. Keane, 3 vols., Berlin, 1880-1887).

The general course of development of weaving designs among the Peruvians is thus summarized by W. Reiss and A. Stuber (Art, 1893, pp. 222-268): 'Les têtes les plus simples ont pour ornements de simples lignes droites parallèles ou des lignes croisées. Cependant ces deux développements, bien que d'abord les lignes croisées, et puis petit à petit nous trouvons la reproduction de motifs, de poisons et d'animaux, pour être élever finalement à la représentation de l'homme. C'est ainsi que le crâne devient une personne à gradins, que l'ail devient un rhomboide, le nez un triangle, la bouche un quadrilatère.' Yet, despite the restrictions necessarily imposed on Peruvian art by the demands of large conical objects, they have a distinct charm, and frequently suggest in many respects the products of the Orient.

Mention should also be made, in connexion with weaving, of the bead-work of the American Indians. The primitive bases of this form of art in many tribes have been pebbles, seeds, nuts, claws, teeth, and similar objects of adornment, which continued to be employed side by side with the more artistic beads. 'Beads of marine or fresh-water shells were made by grinding off the apex, as in the case of dentalium, or the unchanged shells of bivalves were merely perforated near the hinge. Pearls were bored through the middle, and shells were cut into disks, cylinders, spheres, spindles, etc. In places the latter are removed and pierced through the long diameter for stringing. Bone beads were usually cylinders produced by cutting sections of various lengths from the thigh or other parts of vertebrate skeletons' (Mason, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 138). Ivory and amber beads were used by the Eskimos, while turquoise was carved into ornaments in the south-west, in Arizona, and in New Mexico. The principal uses of beads were for the decoration of vessels and of articles of dress, as insignia of office, as records of intertribal treaties and other important events, and as money. In the last two uses the strings of beads are known as wampum. The value of beads naturally varied considerably. Pink shells were especially prized, while in New England dark purple wampum was made from the small round spot in the inside of the quahog shell. The northern Pacific tribes affected dentalium shells. But here, as in blanket weaving, the invasion of the whites brought modification, and glass beads and silver coins (the latter particularly among the Navahos) are now extensively worked up into ornaments. Woven beadwork is found among the Sioux, Winnebagoes, Apaches, and other tribes, the latter being more profuse in design, while the Winnebagoes and others are noted for their designs of flowers and animals. Closely akin to beadwork is quillwork, especially among the Plains Indians (now done in its purity in the north-west coast, and the northern Athapascans), which, in its turn, is supplemented by featherwork, the latter carried, as already noted, to its highest perfection among the Aztecs.

Basketry weaving is largely the work of women among the American Indians. Its forms are classified by Mason ('Aboriginal American Basketry,' in Report of the United States National Museum for 1895, pp. 222-258) into
woven and coiled. The former is subdivided into checker-work, twilled, and wicker-work, wrapped, and twined, the latter further occurring as plain twined, twilled twined, crossed or divided warp with twined work, bird-eye weaving, and various forms of three-strand twining. Coiled basketry includes only basketry, and work without foundation, simple interlocking coils with foundation, single-rod foundation, two-rod foundation, rod-and-splint foundation, three-rod foundation, splint foundation, grass-coil foundation, and Fuegian stitches (the buttonhole stitch). The forms of the Pomo or basketry may be various, ranging from flat trays, as among the Tules of Central California or the Hopi food trays, which are little more than woven mats, to the elaborate water jugs of the same Hopis. The baskets are richly adorned with shells, beads, feathers, and the like, as well as coloured with dyes and painting, and interwoven with materials of different colours.

Basketry is used in America for the most varied purposes, as for transportation, cradles (especially on the Pacific coast), amour (as among the Massa-womekuk of California). Particularly the baskets of the Thilkinets, Huayas, and Hupas of the west coast), preparing and serving food, building (as among the Pomo of northwestern California), furniture, trapping, general use in burial, and so on. Basketry plays an important part in the ceremonial of the Hopis, as in the 'basket-dances,' the same tribe also including among its masks some made of basketry. The decoration on North American basketry is reduced by Mason (op. cit. p. 206) to the following motifs: lines in ornament, squares or rectangles, rhomboidal figures, triangles, polygonal elements, and complex patterns. Here the type of weaving adopted necessarily conditions the general style of decoration, the simplest being that obtained from checker-work, and perhaps the highest being such coiled basketry as that of the Salishans and Tules. The decoration thus obtained may be heightened by the use of colours and by the addition of feather-work, bead-work, shell-work, and the like. But to convey an idea of the vast variety of design and colour of American Indian basketry without several hundred illustrations would be impossible, and reference can therefore only be made to the monograph of Mason already cited. Bank (op. cit. pp. 545-548), as well as to his Indian Basketry (2 vols., London, 1905).

Allusion has been made to the fact that basketry is employed in ritual, particularly in the Hopi women's festivals, celebrated in September and October respectively, of Lalakonit and Owakonit (Fewkes, in 21 RB EW pp. 22 f., 83). Symbolism in American Indian basketry is now confined to the northern part of the continent; yet, even among these tribes and stocks which now show merely decorative designs in their basketry, symbolism still exists, 'for with Algonquin, Siouan, Kiowan, the substitutes for basketry, rawhide receptacles, as well as mocassins, cradles, and objects in three dimensions, are covered with idealism in painting and embroidery' (Mason, op. cit. p. 318). The chief modern symbolic basket-makers are the Hopis, the Thilkinets (cf. the similar designs on the Chilkat blankets), the Salishans, and the tribes of the northern California and southern Oregon. It must be borne in mind, however, that the same design may represent totally different conceptions among different tribes, and that the conventionalization is carried to such an extent that only the makers themselves can truly interpret them, for 'to a Chilcotin symbolism fully one must know the sign, hear the story, and then study the skies, the landscape, and the social environment. To attempt to discover an alphabet in this primitive art would be useless, for each tribe adapts old and new standard forms to its own concept myths' (Mason, p. 315). From the wealth of symbolic baskets allusion may be made to representations of the Corn Maiden (Palalakoa manu) on Hopi pottery, and the various birds and flowers depicted on trays of the same marvellous people, as well as to Navaho baskets with four crosses which give a double symbolism of the four cardinal points. Here the colours also are symbolic, and it is interesting to note, in this connexion, that according to J. W. Hudson (quoted by MS. Mason, op. cit. p. 328), the following colour symbolism: red, bravery, pride (personified by the woodpecker); yellow, amatory success, gaiety, fidelity (lark); blue, demoniac cunning, prudery (jay); green, astuteness, discretion, watchfulness (duck); black, conjugal love, beauty (quail); and white, riches, generosity (wampum). The ovastika and labyrinth motifs are also found.

The relative perishability of basketry is obvious; and it is equally apparent (particularly in the northern) that it was far more widespread in America than the extant remains would imply. It existed, for example, among the Pequots of Connecticut and the tribes of Virginia; fragments are found in the mounds of Ohio; and the means of its existence in the Mississippi valley will be noted in the following section. Baskets were likewise known, according to the early explorers, among the Antillians, some of them so interwoven with leaves as to be water-proof. Not only were baskets used in many religious ceremonies, but, like the Orinoco tribes, the Antillans often preserved the skulls of the dead in baskets made specially for the purpose.

Throughout South America basketry is found. Thus, the Indians of Guiana make excellent baskets, which they adorn, as in North America, with geometrical figures. Along the Amazon the baskets receive their ornamentation primarily from the rectangles formed in weaving—another interesting proof of the influence of the older on the younger art. Of these designs, which are noted, are extended to painting and drawing, and are apparent even in the drawings of men, fish, and birds made by the Indians of this region (Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien, by Pirro, 1903, pp. 65-69), while some of the wooden masks of the Amazonians resemble those in their ornamentation obvious analogues with the more primitive woven masks. Of Peruvian basketry many specimens are known, particularly from the great necropoleis, but they present scarcely any features not already known from North America.

3. Pottery.—The first utensil for holding water, grains, etc., at least in some cases, was the gourd, which was often slung in basketry for convenience, as in the South, reinforced with thongs of sinews, or, in the North, with earth or clay. It is not impossible that when these clay-covered gourds were left in the sun, the gourds were found to crack, while the clay became hardened. For a time pottery was accordingly made by covering gourds and basketry with clay, the former being destroyed by heat, and the latter retaining, in its hardened form, its original shape and the markings of its former mould. Still later, the mould was no longer used, since clay containing sand, or particles of shell could easily be formed into the familiar shapes, and baked to the requisite firmness. It is significant, in this connexion, that the Navahos still term earthenware pots kle-it-tsa, or 'mud baskets,' thus recognizing the fact that American pottery is a direct development of basketry. In the further course of development, resoundous gums were put on the
clay vessels while still hot, thus forming a glaze which enabled the otherwise porous receptacles to hold liquids. As pottery gradually evolved, moulds were dug in the ground, and clay ovens were constructed in the hill-sides. The coiled basketry, noted above, also finds its application in pottery, as among the Hottentots, who both coil ropes of damp clay around a wicker nucleus and construct similar vessels by freeland modelling.

It has already been stated that basketry was more wide-spread in America than the extant remains would indicate, and proof of this is afforded by many specimens of the pottery of the Mississippi valley, where casts taken of the clay vessels reveal the pattern of the basket shell on which they were constructed. There is, however, no decisive evidence that the potter's wheel was known in aboriginal America.

Pottery was primarily used for storing, cooking, and transporting food and water, later being used in religious ceremonial, and formed into various fancy shapes, as masks, gaming implements, and even toys. Burial urns are also found in the Mississippi valley, and clay pipes are common, particularly among the Iroquois. In general, it may be said that the pottery of North America developed, in its distribution, in relation to local and ceremonial uses, as one goes north toward the east, until among the Eskimos it is represented only by lamps of the rudest description. The farther south one proceeds, on the other hand, the more abundant and diverse the pottery becomes, thus further exemplifying the fact that the peoples of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru stood at the acme of all pre-Columbian American civilization.

Pottery is a characteristic, moreover, of a sedentary people, and would be found less, of course, among the comparatively nomadic stocks and tribes of the northern parts of the American continent.

The shapes of the pottery of North America are numerous and, in many cases, artistic. Vases, dishes, and cups occur with especial frequency, either plain or with handles, the vases being both completely open and partially covered at the top. Bottles have also been found, as in Arkansas, and early writers on America relate that they saw earthenware drums in use, these, as far as can be ascertained, were made by the earthenware rattle used in the ritual, as by the Pueblo peoples. At least one case of earthenware burial-caskets is known from Tennessee, and funeral jars with obvious death-masks are not uncommon in the Mississippi valley. The ethnical values of the pottery needs no comment. Frequent and most interesting forms of pottery are the figurines of fish, turtles, birds, and animals. It is noteworthy that these figurines are restricted to Pueblo Indians, who, indeed, represent the zenith of American pottery north of Mexico. It would be impossible within reasonable limits to give any detailed account of the forms of either construction or decoration of American pottery, whether in the northern or southern aspect. Primitive specimens of North American pottery there were merely marks of the wicker mould. The early ornament of the coiled clay vessels was, as might be expected from their form and method of construction (see above), a direct imitation of the patterns of the basketwork vessels. With further progress the impress made by the fingers of the designer gradually came to have regular modifications, which resulted in producing artistic patterns of more or less regularity. The rope coils, as first pinched involuntarily, were later purposely thus modified into regular designs, a Pueblo pot, for example, having the pinch marks so obliterated as to leave rows of triangles attached to each other at the corners. Various tools were likewise employed, pointed ones for incising and gouges for scraping, as well as many varieties of stamps for impressing designs upon the clay before baking.

Examples of fictile ware have been found, especially in Arkansas, engraved, after being burned first, with designs of true artistic merit.

The most common mode of decorating pottery, however, was to give the vessel a wash of fine clay, which was painted in various colours and designs, as well as polished, before the pottery was finally burnt. This was particularly the case among the Pueblo and Arkansas Indians. There is a wide range of colour, especially white, black, red, brown, yellow, and green. The designs are so numerous as scarcely to admit of classification; but as the material of baskets led most easily to the production of right-angled decoration, so in the pottery circles and curves form a prominent feature. At the same time, angular designs are not uncommon, doubtless derived from basket patterns; and both angular and curved decorations appear with great frequency on one and the same specimen. While many of the patterns are purely ornamental, and while representations of birds and animals seem, at least in many cases, to be simply decorative, other figures on Pueblo pottery show a high degree of symbolism. The chief symbols used by the Indians of life occur, for instance, on a food bowl from Chevelon, which site also shows raincloud symbols on another bowl. The raincloud symbol, indeed, is well-nigh as important on Pueblo pottery as in the ritual of the ancient kindred tribes. The chief raincloud symbols in the modern Hopi ritual are the rectangle (usually appearing as a stepped triad), the semicircle (also usually in triads), and the triangle. These and similar symbols occur less commonly among the comparatively nomadic tribes of the northern parts of the American continent.
was apparently made with the same instrument as the line itself; or it was sometimes slightly separated from the end of the line' (Fewkes, in *Z 1901* p. 180). Pottery from St. Kitts, on the other hand, shows red ware with a fine superficial polish and incised lines filled with white pigment. Among the tribes of this region, the most famous are those known among the South American Indians of the central Andes and Guiana, the latter tribes adorning their pottery with juices extracted from the bark of various trees, thus making crude designs of animals or geometric figures in red, brown, black, and other colours.

Carving was carried to its highest development among the Aztecs, Zapotecs, Mayas, and kindred peoples. There not only vessels of various exquisite shapes and of a noteworthy degree of finish were made, but also elaborate funeral jars and water-pipes, and life-size figures of terra-cotta. Some of the Zapotec funeral urns are 20 inches in height, and are fashioned in the conventional forms of the sculpture of this region—a feat all the more difficult when the material used for the modelling is borne in mind. Among the Aztecs elaborately finished ware is found in Peru. Dishes and vases of all shapes, some of them of great intricacy of design and decoration, are found in large numbers. The forms of various fruits, animals, birds, reptiles, and fish are represented among the terra-cotta and clay vessels in human shape abound. The most important of the latter class are those which represent the head only; and while many are evidently conventional, others are plainly intended for portraits, and are thus valuable for a study of ancient Peruvian physiognomy. Groups were also represented; and fidelity to nature, which was the aim of the ancient potters of Peru, was increased by making some of their vessels a kind of mechanical toy, which could give a sound imitating the cry of the animal or bird represented, similar figures also being found in Central, and even in North America. A noteworthy form of Peruvian pottery was the water-jar, an article of prime importance in so arid a country. One of the chief forms is the twin bottle; and it has been suggested that one reason for the intricate shape of many Peruvian jars was the desire to prevent insects, etc., from finding their way into the interior. The pottery was often painted or engraved just as it was to be carved; after the clay had been mixed with powdered ashes, carbon, or graphite, while in more common ware chopped straw was also employed. The decoration was, for the most part, purely conventional, although important exceptions are not lacking. The symbolism, which may well have existed, is not as yet worked out.

4. Carving and sculpture. —The carving and sculpture of the American Indians are still more limited than pottery in territory. This is but natural, in consideration of the fact that wood and stone are far less tractable than the clay of the potters. Excepting on the north-west coast, sculptured figures are rare, although a few rough heads have been found as far east as New Jersey. Among the so-called 'mound-builders' the tobacco-pipe attains a considerable degree of artistic development, and among the Eskimos rude carvings on ivory, copied in the scrimshaws of the whalers, frequently represent the forms of animals and other objects with remarkable fidelity. In the Mississippi valley gorgets have been discovered, which, in some cases, are curiously similar to Aztec work. Rude shell masks are also found, some as far east as Virginia. The most important specimens of North American Indian carving, however, are found among the tribes of the north-west coast, such as the Haidas, Thlottcns, and Kwakitts, who are also skilful engravers on slate and metal. The totem-poles of these tribes are most elaborate, and are sometimes covered almost to their full height, which frequently reaches 50 feet, with representations of totemistic animals, birds, or fish. In addition to the totem-poles, the posts of the houses on the north-west coast are also elaborately carved, and in the South-east are sometimes gaudily painted in red, yellow, black, and other primary colours. Here, too, belong the wooden masks of the same tribes, which, like the totem-poles and the carved posts supporting the main rafter of the house, have religious significance, and suggest in this connexion the Totem poles of North America and the Chillkit blankets. The Haida canoes are also elaborated, carved, and decorated with totemistic and other religious designs. The Pueblo Indians, so advanced in other respects, were singularly deficient in carving and sculpture, and there is a wide extent of territory from the Haidas to the Aztecs (except for a few stone whale-killer figures among the Santa Barbara Indians of the southern California coast) before any real examples of these arts are found. Only the Toltecs, Zapotecs, and Mayas, moreover, that any carving or sculpture is found actually to be artistic. The elaboration of the Aztec calendar stone and of the sculptures of Palenque, Chiriqui, and Copan are unsurpassed in any part of the American continent, being unequalled to Peruvian art. Individualistic statues, likewise, occur in these regions, and the walls of temples are elaborately sculptured. The close connexion between sculpture and painting is exemplified in the resemblance of the carved figures to the pictures in Aztec and Maya manuscripts. Carving in wood was known in ancient Mexico, but naturally few examples of it have survived. Large stone figures are found from Mexico to Nicaragua, terminating, towards the south, in the idols of Zapatero and Penasco and elsewhere, some of them 12 ft. high. They are, however, rude in structure, and far inferior to the polished productions of the Mayas. The archaeological remains of Porto Rico and the neighbouring islands, which have become known from the more recent excavations, for example (Hulse, in 1904 (contained in his 'The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighbouring Islands,' in *Z 1901* pp. 3-220), give some striking contributions to American art from a region hitherto imperfectly understood. In the former, the clay of the Guarico is used, and it is thought, as in South America, for pillar stones (generally with rough and grotesque attempts to represent the human form), and rude wooden idols (some possibly imported by the Spaniards from Africa for the negro slaves), there are three classes of sculpture which are apparently peculiar to this region. These are three-pointed stones (either plain or with faces of birds, beasts, reptiles, or men, restricted thus far to Porto Rico and the eastern end of Santo Domingo), stone 'collars,' and 'elbow stones.' The first are regarded by Fewkes as 'clan images of tutelary totems, fastened to some unknown object; and the third class may have been connected with the 'collars' (op. cit., pp. 173-174). There thus remain the 'collars,' which are either massive ovals or slender ovates, and either partially decorated or plain
Their use is entirely problematical (cf. Fewkes, op. cit. pp. 167-172); but similar objects have been found in Totonac ruins in eastern Mexico. They are accordingly held by Fewkes (22 REEL, pp. 251-201) to be connected with the Aztec 'sacrificial yokes,' which he seems inclined to regard as fertility symbols (cf. the more conventional view advanced, perhaps incorrectly, by the present writer in art. ALTAR [American], above, p. 336). At all events, the problem of the real meaning of these 'collars,' which measure as high as 19 by 17 in., can as yet scarcely be said to be solved.

Turning to South America, one finds rough carvings on trees among the Indians of Central Brazil, while their chairs are made in the shape of birds, and they have vessels in the form of various birds, lizards, fishels, and tortoises. On the Chaco, on the other hand, art consists only in scratching natural objects roughly on gourds and making rude topographical scenes (Grubb, Among the Indians of the Paraguayano Chaco, London, 1903, p. 98). Among the most remarkable sculptures, if such they may be called, of the South American Indians are those of the natives of Guiana. One of the most typical of these is on Temehiri Rock in the Essequibo, and in height must be better feet in length, by five feet seven inches in width. The carving represents a number of figures of men, monkeys, snakes, and the like, and also has simple combinations of two or three curved lines. The figures are in all cases extremely crude and sculpture, and though they are sometimes painted instead of carved. Some of these carvings are of comparatively recent date, for one at Ilia de Pedra in the Rio Negro represents a Spanish galley (cf. Im Thurn, Among the Indians of Guiana, London, 1883, p. 390-400). The sculptures of the ancient Peruvians, although naturally superior to any others of the South American continent, were, as already noted, far inferior to the work of the Aztecs and their neighbours. Expert cephaohoeceans though they were, they were but indifferent sculptors, and even the few specimens of wood carving which are still extant are but rough work. Like the Central Brazilian Indians, the Peruvians paid considerable attention to their pottery, and much has been preserved which are supported by figures of some artistic merit. Chairs of similar form are also found in Nicaragua and Porto Rico. A few admirable granite heads have been found, as at 'Yasha'; and the fountain of Quonmacha, is, according to the traditions, a raft of which the head and foundation is raised as a pyramidal idol, now at Collo-Collo, and the shapelessness of the granite statues of Tiahuanaco, when contrasted with the Maya sculptures of Copan, bespeak most clearly the inferiority of the Peruvians in this form of art. The elaborate sculptures on the buildings, moreover, are far less frequent than among the Aztecs and their congeners.

3. Painting.—This art, at least in its crude forms, doubtless prevailed throughout most of the North American continent; but the best modern examples are to be found among the Indians of the West. The tribes of the west-coast, where, as just noted, carving in wood is relatively highly developed, paint their totem-poles, canoes, chests, batons, and other objects in gay colours, while the Hopis and other Pueblo peoples are also acquainted with this art, as is shown by the masks, often of leather or basketry, and garments used in the personations of the gods in their great winter festivals. In like manner, much of the pottery discovered in the 'cliff-dwellings' is painted, frequently in conventional designs of pleasing effect and with the general systems of symbolism noted above (p. 829). Among the Aztecs and related peoples the manuscripts still extant are painted with considerable skill, but with the high colouring characteristic of so much of early art. As to stone for their somewhat curious deficiency in painting, however, the inhabitants of ancient Mexico were noticeably for their skill in making pictures of trees and flowers, and even copies of European paintings, in mosaics of feathers, with a degree of excellence which aroused the admiration of the Spanish invaders (see above, § 1, and cf. Hodge, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 455 f., and the bibliography there given). The Peruvians also possessed the art of painting; but among them, as among the Aztecs, it was undeveloped as compared with their achievements in other departments of art. Their representations of the human form, however, as is clear from their vase-paintings, were far superior to those of the Aztecs, and the same statement holds true in general with regard to all ancient Peruvian painting. The problem of symbolism here, as elsewhere throughout America, must be solved together with the interpretation of the pottery, basketry, and kindred arts. Outside the empire of the Incas painting seems scarcely to occur in South America. This, however, is by no means a pre-eminently a sessile art, and one which requires a considerable degree of civilization before it can be acquired with any measure of real merit. It is less utilitarian even than carving and sculpture, and though it is a later product, while it is still more tardy in development as compared with weaving, basketry, and pottery, and for a like reason.

Certain special forms of painting among the American Indians call for notice in this connexion. Of these the first is 'dry-painting,' which is practised especially by the Navahos, Apaches, and the Pueblo tribes of Arizona and New Mexico, and in ruder form by the Chichennes, Arapahos, and Siskalas. These paintings are used exclusively in religious ceremonies, as in the Hopi altars (see ALTAR [American], p. 336), and seem to be most highly developed among the Navahos. Here the paintings are sometimes 10 or 12 ft. in diameter, and are drawn on a rectangular board or upon the walls of a kiva. Working from the centre and according to the plan prescribed by the ritual (except in a few definite cases), the artist, in applying the pigments, * picks up a small quantity between his first and second fingers and his opposed thumb and allows it to flow slowly as he moves his hand. . . . When he makes a mistake he does not brush away the coloured powder, but obliterate it by pouring sand on it, then draws the correct design on the new surface . . . When it is finished, ceremonies are performed over it, and then with song and ceremony it is obliterated. When no semblance of it remains, the sand of which it was made is gathered in blankets and thrown away at a distance from the lodge. In the ceremonies of the Pueblo Indians a picture is allowed to remain seven days' (Matthews, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 403 f.). The Hopis, unlike the Navahos, begin their dry-paintings at the periphery, commencing with the north; and when the painting is effaced, pinches of sand are used in its composition are deposited in certain spots prescribed by the ritual.

A sort of heraldry was perpetuated by means of painting, particularly among the Plains Indians. This applied especially to the *tipis and shields.
and involved certain tabus, while the basis of the design was drawn from the visions obtained by the young braves (cf. Communion with Deity [American Indian]). As in many other lands, the painting of the face and body was and is common among the American Indians. This may arise from the belief that, in some instances, or in certain parts of the country, it may have symbolism relating to religion, war, or social status. Thus, the Mandans often painted their bodies reddish brown and drew red or black figures on their arms, while their faces were coloured vermillion or yellow. These designs, being merely ornamental, might be painted at any time, but the transition from the ornamental is shown by the practice of the same tribe of painting the entire face black after performing an exploit (Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, Travels in the Interior of North America, London, 1843, pp. 340-389).

Heardson (Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon, Washington, 1853, i. 201) describes a Conibo dandy as ‘painted with a broad stripe of red under each eye; three narrow stripes of blue running over the head from one ear, across the upper lip to the other—the two, and the one upper bordered with figures. The whole of the lower jaw and chin were painted with a blue clay-work of figures.’ Ritualistic face-painting is exemplified among the White Earth Ojibwas, of whom a description is given in Hearndon’s (American Anthropologist, 1888, pp. 209-229) account of the Ghost Society being indicated, according to Hoffmann (American Anthropologist, 1888, pp. 377-388), by a red stripe across the face from near the ears to the tip of the nose; the second by a similar stripe plus another across the eyes, temples, and root of the nose; the third by painting the upper half of the face green and the lower half red; and the fourth by painting the forehead and the left cheek green and impressing four vermilion spots on the brow and four on the cheek. The ‘war paint’ of the American Indians is, in general, either red or black, or a combination of both, and the same colours are frequently used for mourning (cf., in general, on American Indian face-painting, Mallory, in 10 RBEW pp. 619-634).

All clays could also be made into the pictographs which are scattered over North, Central, and South America. Since these are in great part mnemonic, chronological, or historical in purpose, or are intended to convey messages, notices, and the like, they will be discussed in connection with the subject of Writing (American Indian). Here, however, it may be noted that the artistic powers evinced in these pictographs (which are mainly petroglyphs) are decidedly primitive. Their interpretation, when they are not mere ornaments or idle graffitis, is often problematical, and requires, in many cases, a knowledge of traditions, local surroundings, and the like. An important class of pictographs is given in the representations of tribal designations (cf. the list in Mallory, 10 RBEW pp. 377-388) and see in general on this subject his ‘Pictographs of the North American Indians’ in 4 RBEW pp. 13-255, and ‘Picture-Writing of the American Indians,’ in 10 RBEW pp. 26-829. Illustrated for Porto Rico by Fewkes, in 25 RBEW pp. 148-169. They likewise symbolize personal names (Mallory, in 10 RBEW pp. 442-460), and religious symbolism is also prominent, being found not only in the Mexican pictographs from Cojiminojuk Lake, Nova Scotia, but also among the Ojibwas, Dakotas, and Haidas (Mallory, pp. 461-512). More than this, there are well defined pictographic signs for the mossatika, the sky, the heavenly bodies, day and night, lightning, eclipses, and meteors, and representations of figures (for the warlock) are also found (Mallory, pp. 694-735). The older American pictographs are naturally on stone and uncoloured; but bone, skin, gourds, copper, wood, and textiles also bear like figures, frequently in colours.

6. Metallurgy and Jewellery.—The Indians of North and Central America were acquainted with copper, silver, gold, iron, galena, lead, and tin, and the knowledge of the last two being restricted to the Aztecs, Toltecs, and Mayas. Nevertheless, the use of metal in personal adornment was comparatively rare in North America, shells, beads, and the like being used instead, although bracelets of copper were frequently worn and were highly valued, in spite of the difficulty of mining the metal in pre-Columbian days. The metals were worked chiefly by cold-hammering and grinding, but there is no evidence of a knowledge of casting. Silver is now worked with considerable elaboration among the Navahos, and bells of copper have been found in Tennessee, while elaborate sheet copper repoussé figures occur in the Etowah mounds, Georgia, and the Hopewell mounds, Ohio; and the copper ‘tokens’ of the north-west coast are famous in many ceremonies. The Aztec peoples were expert metallurgists, and their gold vessels and adornments were the marvel of their conquerors.* They imitated the forms of animals and birds, and manufactured personal Jewellery, often enhanced in beauty by gems. They likewise worked metal with hammer, anvil, and tin, thus forming a bronze of considerable hardness, while specimens of copper plating are known from the mounds of Florida, Alabama, and Ohio. Gold ornaments are also known from Florida and the West Indies. The metallurgical remains of the Peruvians include silver bracelets and collars; gold, silver, copper, and bronze vessels; and animals and birds, such as jaguars, deer, monkeys, and parrots, in copper, bronze, and silver, as well as human figures. Apart from this, however, South America falls behind the northern continent in the amount and excellence of metallurgical products and jewellery, as it does in nearly all other requisites and tokens of human progress in civilization.

7. Mosaics and Minor Arts.—The art of making mosaics was known especially in the Pueblo regions of Arizona and New Mexico and among the Aztecs. The modern products of the former region are much inferior to the ancient specimens, ‘which consist of gorgeous designs of birds, animals, and ...’ Turquoise was the favourite material, but bits of shell and various bright-coloured stones were also employed. The foundation form was of shell, wood, bone, and jet and other stone, and the matrix of gum or asphaltum. Although the work is neatly executed, the forms are simple and the designs not elaborate (Holmes, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 947). Rude mosaics have been found in graves in southern California. One of the most interesting mosaic objects north of Mexico is a shell used as a pendant and found by Fewkes at Chaves Pass, Arizona, in 1896. This is a frog formed by inlaying turquoises in pitch on the shell of a Petenius giganteus, with a small rectangle of red Jasper set in the centre of the back (cf. Fewkes, in 22 RBEW, pt. 1, p. 86f.). Mosaics from Mexico have long been known, particularly a knife with a blade of semi-translucid chalcedony, the handle being a crouching man, clothed in an eagle’s skin, his head being formed from the beak, Manomina, Dakota, and Haidas (Mallory, pp. 461-512). More than this, there are well defined pictographic signs for the mossatika, the sky, the heavenly bodies, day and night, lightning, eclipses, and meteors, and representations of figures (for the warlock) are also found (Mallory, pp. 694-735). The older American pictographs are naturally on stone and uncoloured; but bone, skin, gourds, copper, wood, and textiles also bear like figures, frequently in colours.

The gold was an alloy of copper, varying from almost pure gold to almost pure copper; and to almost pure gold; and it was frequently coated (plated?) with pure gold. The technical processes used were exceedingly skilful, but what they were is uncertain.
double jaguar now in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde. This is described by Lehmann (in XV. Congress international des Américanistes, Quebec, 1907, ii. 340–344) as follows:—The figure is carved of tough reddish brown wood, 32 cm. long, 10 cm. high at the head at each end, one of which is turned towards the spectator and the other averted. The belly, which has no mosaic work, is painted with black and bluish green. The bed for the mosaics is a dark brown resin 3 or 4 mm. deep, and the stones themselves are either or greenish black or blue malachite, their shapes varying between polyhedrons, rectangular, and round, and all carefully polished. The neck and the extremities are almost covered with turquoise, and rossettes of the same material are evidently intended to represent the jaguar's spots. Rows of turquoise alternate with rows of obsidian on the body, and the ornamentation is enhanced by mother-of-pearl and bits of white, yellow, red, and violet mussel-shells. It would also seem that the eyes and nose were originally covered in part with gold-leaf (see in general on Mexican mosaics, Globus, 1906, pp. 318–322).

The account thus given of American Indian art, like that of the architecture of the same people, cannot pretend to be exhaustive. Besides the large categories here outlined, there were other arts, such as bark-work. This was used for cord, mats, receptacles of all kinds, dishes, canoes, and houses: for relics and for clothing, and for writing-tablets; and for religious dances regalia and masks (cf. Mason, in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, i. 130–132, and the literature there cited). Among the more northern tribes of the Pacific coast bone is always regarded as important as bark, being used not only for personal ornamentation and as household utensils, toys, and fetishes, but even for weapons and in the construction of dwellings, canoes, and the like. Bones were elaborately carved, and were also inlaid by the ancient Pueblo Indians, while even a copper-plated bone has been found in a Florida mound (cf. the summary of Holmes, in Hodge, i. 159 f.). Horn was likewise sometimes employed, and remains of such objects are well known among the Spanish vessels.

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LOUIS H. GRAY.

ART ( Assyro-Babylonian).—The religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, which, according to the received opinion, was animistic in its origin, may be regarded as going back to between 4000 and 5000 B.C. This long period, added to the nature of their faith, has supplied us with an enormous amount of material illustrating their religious art, which the student can trace, in all its variant styles, through the ages of its existence, noting the changes in religious thought which it reflects, and the reaction of its influence on the people themselves.

Before B.C. 4500 (as far as at present known) no monuments exist, so that there is practically no record of that animistic period in which the religion of the Babylonians had its origin. A wide gulfi

must therefore exist between the religious conceptions of the simple-minded savages of early Sunnernian and Semitic times and those of the men of even the remotest civilization of Babylon when works of art are found.

Babylonian religious art therefore comes before us only when it had attained a certain measure of perfection. It is true that a number of comparatively rude examples have come down to us, but such are a specialty of no particular age, and at all periods excellent examples, principally in stone, exist, amongst them the engraved seals, mostly cylindrical. Many good bronzes, too, have been found, some of them being as early as the 3rd millennium B.C.

In all probability the art of Babylonia is best divided into periods, though the schools of the various States (Ur, Erech, Akkad, Babylon, Lagas, etc.) could also be taken into account if we had sufficient material. With our present knowledge, however, it is often difficult to place the examples, and even the estimation of date is not without difficulties, as the chronology does not admit of a clear line of demarcation in the matter. The divisions, therefore, can be only roughly determined, somewhat as follows:

(2) Until the end of the dynasty of the Land of the sea (c. 1700 B.C. = Babylon, Sippur, Erech).
(3) The Kassite period (c. 1700 B.C. — 1100 B.C.).

(4) From c. 1100 B.C. until the downfall of the Babylonian empire (c. 530).

2. Assyria.

The artistic period may be regarded as extending from the 9th cent. or earlier (we await the results of the German excavations at Adur until about A.D. 2000 B.C. for this period). Though, like the art of Egypt, that of Babylon comes before us only when it had attained a certain amount of perfection, it is, in a way, more interesting than that of Egypt, in that it shows a much greater variety of styles; and the Assyrian school, when it comes into existence, has a distinct stamp of its own. We have also to distinguish, besides the perfect and artistic, the amateurish (which is sufficiently rare) and the rough and unfinished—generally cylinder-seals 'dashed off' by the hand of one accosted to do such work, and probably to be regarded as cheap productions from lower classes, who naturally needed things similar to those required by the well-to-do, though they could not pay the price. At all times these classes of religious artistic productions had existed, and among the perfect and artistic are now and then to be found things of noteworthy beauty of workmanship, due, doubtless, to the presence of artist-workmen of wonderful talent.

1. Babylon.—(1) Among the best of the earliest examples of Babylonian religious art are the very interesting cylinder-seals impressed upon tablets found at Tel-loh (Lagas) in S. Babylonia. They show a man and a woman, nude, the former struggling with a stag, and the latter with a bull, whilst the two lions, whose bodies cross each other, as in the case of the lions. The wide-open mouth of the man, the closed mouth and the large ear of the woman, suggest that we may have here primitive representations of the deities Nebu, 'the proclaimer,' and Tammuz, 'the bearer'; but the crowned with points which the woman wears is rather against this identification, on account of analogies elsewhere. Concerning the art here revealed, a few words may be said. The
animal-forms, especially the heads, are good, and the manes of the lions are well treated, but the human forms are less satisfactory, the body of the man being thick, and the arms in both cases abnormally thin. The head of the man regards the spectator, and, though too large, is more successful than that of the woman, which has the same length of neck and the same pointed nose, which makes the figure grotesque. The close-shut mouth (the line of the lips is invisible in the impression) and the abnormally large hair tuft on the crown and the wide-open mouth of the man, shows that the design has a deeper meaning than appears at first sight. This seal belonged to En-gal-gala, the superintendent of the women's house during the reigns of Lugalanda and Uru-ka-gina, about B.C. 4600.*

* Scenes similar to this are common, though no woman is shown as one of those struggling with the animals. From the same site, Tel-loh, de Sarzec expedition † obtained a very fine seal showing a bearded man struggling with a bull, and a bearded woman pulling on the hair of a lion. These animals cross each other like the lions in the other design, and the bull-men beneath the inscription of En-gal-gala's cylinder are replaced by two human-headed bulls, one of which is held by and the otherdivision by a bearded man, a bearded man. There is shown for an eagle, occupying the space between them. If the short inscription Nin-in or Ni-in, close to the crowned personage, refers to him, it probably represents the ancient deified king Ninus, who, with Semiramis, is said by Diodorus (i. 8, 6) to have been represented on the walls of Babylon in enamelled brick, hunting the leopard and the lion.‡ The objects here described suggest that there was not only a legend referring to the goddess Nina, patron of Nina on the Esphirates and of Ninisina in Assyria, but also a male deity of similar name. Semitic influence, with its veneration for the male, is probably the cause of the substitution of the male deity for the hearing but silent female.

The occurrence of these early designs on cylinder-seals reminds us of an important fact in connexion with Babylonian art, namely, that in Babylonia there is neither building-stone nor even blocks in any number suitable for sculpture either in relief or in the round. It is therefore impossible that the earliest works of art were those attempts at engraving, first as charms, and afterwards as charms and seals combined, on the cylindrical beads which were for many centuries the favourite forms of seal in Babylonia and Assyria, and which afterwards travelled to the extreme west of Asia and Egypt.

Presenting a large surface in a small space, these cylinder-seals became suitable for all kinds of pictures, and we find engraved thereon the Babylonian legends with which we have become familiar from the tablets. Thus it happened that, in a scene showing a nude bearded figure struggling with a bull which is being also attacked by a lion, we see a representation of a boat as a weapon, in the manner of which is generally supposed to show the Babylonian Noah in the ark. Several copies exist also of that exceedingly interesting scene which shows Etanna riding in the air upon an eagle, whilst people on the ground interrupt the holy work by gazing upon them.* Another noteworthy example is well known as a possible Babylonian picture of the Fall. It shows two personages seated one on each side of a palm-tree bearing fruit, and stretching forth their hands as if to grasp it, whilst behind the figure apparently representing the woman a wavy serpent raises himself. The work is rough, but implies some technical skill.†

Noteworthy are the early engravers' attempts to cope with the scene representing the overthrow of the dragon Tiamat by Merodach. The best is one figured by Haddan-Su of the wide-open mouth of the Babylonian pantheon is seen striding or running along Tiamat's wavy body, and thrusting his weapon into her mouth as she turns her horned head towards him. Two of Merodach's helpers seem to follow behind. Another picture of the same, which apparently of late date and Assyrian workmanship, shows the dragon with a long and straight, but apparently scaly, body, erecting herself at an angle where the feet spring forth. She does not turn her head towards him, and the god attacks her from behind with thumming weapons. The scene, although it is now understood before him, seems to partake; and on the left another deity bending down a tall thin tree apparently to conceal a goddess and a (? child) deity coming forth from its trunk (cf. the classical story of Adonis [Ovid, Metem. x.]). All the figures on this cylinder-seal (even that of the owner) wear the horned hat indicating divinity.

The design in the right-hand division, which shows the owner of the cylinder before the god whom he worshipped, is probably, in its various forms, the commonest found, especially in the period preceding 2000 B.C. The deity is generally seated, and often holds a cup in his right hand. Before him is sometimes a vase, and the worshipper (the owner of the seal) is led into his presence by a divine personage. A divine attendant sometimes brings up the rear.* The worshipper is generally bare-headed and clean-shaven, the latter peculiarity probably indicating his priestly office.** Variants of this oft-repeated design are found; one, which is regarded as exceedingly ancient, is a fragment of a last-relief †† showing a seated deity in his right-hand, and wearing on his head a hat with two horns, one at the front and the other at the back, instead of one or more on each side, as in the later designs. The work is rough and primitive, the artist having apparently found his material not altogether satisfactory (it is a calcarceous limestone, probably of sufficient hardness to make its working difficult).*

* E. de Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 30 bis, No. 13; Cylinder-Seal in the Possession of Sir Henry Pech, 1890 (plate, No. 13).
† Smith, Chaldean Genesis.  
‡ L. W. King, Babylonian Religion, p. 102.  
§ Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. 50 bis, 157. It is not exactly known why the Babylonians and Assyrians represented their deities wearing horned hats. The primitive sign design above (p. 253), the demons or bull-men have horns placed directly in their heads. Perhaps this is an artist's device to show who, among the figures in the picture, are gods and who are men, just as the star placed before the names of deities in the inscriptions is not an indication that the deities are stars (though some of them were so regarded), but an indication that the gods belonged to the place where the stars are, namely, the heavens.

** Numerous representations of this kind will be found in the Amhert Tablets, vol. i. pp. 40, 65, 83, 141, 158, 190, etc.  
†† Ib. pp. 20, 170.  
†† A very fine but fragmentary relief, showing Gudes (c. 2600 B.C.) brought before his god by two introducers, is given in Mayer's Nummern und Sammeln vor Babylonien (Königliche Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1906), pl. vii.

†† Découvertes en Chaldée, pl. i. No. 1.
The deities at this period are represented wearing mantles which recall, in a measure, the sacred animal, sewn together in long strips giving the appearance of flounces. This costume distinguishes divine personages, or those who claimed divine kinship. A squat little figure in alabaster, standing naked, wearing flowing robes reaching a dress of this kind, the head bound round with a fillet crossing behind the long carefully-arranged hair, may be a divinity, or the priest of a god.

It is noteworthy that though, in the archaic fragments above described, and on the cylinder-seals, the deities are represented in profile, in bas-reliefs of somewhat later date they are often shown front-face. Whether front- or side-face, however, the horns on their hats, which vary from two to eight in number, are shown as if the head-dresses were towards the spectator. Goddesses are shown dressed similarly to the gods, in horned hat and robe of skin, but the right shoulder is covered as well as the left. One small fragment shows an attendent wearing a single horn on each side. Her head descends in graceful curves upon her shoulders, necklaces adorn her neck, upon which is also a triple row of beaded work which disappears beneath the low-cut neck of her goat-skin robe, over which are thrown a robe with a single horn descending from each side. She holds in her hands a vase from which flows a twofold stream of living water. Here we have something really good and artistic—almost aesthetic. The work is so dignified, the idea intended to be conveyed (of a beneficent goddess bearing the water of life) so well expressed, that the spectator realizes that he has before him the work of a people who knew what they wished to express, and had skill to express it.

After that, the picture of a god, apparently of the same period, is disappointing, though even this has its excellences. Its shortcomings are probably due mainly to the damage which the stone has received. A deity, front-face, bearded, and horned, seems to be seated on a low-armed chair with a high and slightly bent back. He wears the usual robe of skin, and hair falling upon his shoulders. In spite of the damage to the stone, the dignity of the face is striking. Reliefs in terra-cotta, apparently those of divinities, also occur. A very good example shows a male figure nearly nude, wearing a horned hat, and plaited hair descending to each side of his longish beard, where it ends in two tightly-arranged curls.

The bronzes, though not numerous, are excellent of their kind. They represent casephoria (priestly rulers as bearers of gifts to the temple), human figures and seated bulls, on a kind of tang for insertion in a socket, and the well-known kneeling figured lions and bulls; the unflanged hats (regarded by some as the god with the fire-stick). They are of the nature of votive statuettes, and were used as the bearers of stone inscriptions detailing the building of temples.

(2) With the advent of Semitic influence (c. 2100 B.C.) there is a change in the representation of certain of the deities. The horned hats and skin robes are found, but in the case of what may be regarded as the warrior-gods, short tunics and thick-brimmed hats appear, and the deity grapples with a horned goat, reaching to his feet, and wearing a thick-brimmed hat. His right shoulder is bare, and his hand is raised as if addressing the deity. The sun-god, heavily bearded, wears a flounced robe without any indication whatever of a hairy surface. Upon his head is a pointed hat, with four horns curving upwards in front—eight in all. Wavy rays proceed from his shoulders. His seat has four superimposed recesses, such as are often found both in bas-reliefs and in designs on cylinder-seals.

His right shoulder is bare, and in his hand he holds a staff and a ring, emblematic of his endless course and his authority as judge of the world. The work is good and well finished, but wanting in lightness and detail. The bronzes of this period seem to have been more copiously ornamented than those of the preceding period show. One, probably now in private hands, is a good reproduction, in the round, of one of those divine attendants so often shown in the cylinder-seals as a graceful female, with long curly tresses, wearing a robe of skin, holding up her hands with the palms facing each other. When the deity and the owner of the seal are absent, these attendants are sometimes shown in the same attitude of adoration before the divine name contained in the inscription.

(3) In the Kassite period we meet with another style for the cylinder-seals, the work being exceedingly plain and flat, and wanting detail. The designs are, moreover, confined to single figures, either sitting or standing, and accompanied by some emblem—a cross, one or more birds, etc.; and in one case even a fly, suggesting that the deity may have been the Babylonian Beelzebub. Various of these designs or symbols occur. It is to the later Babylonian style of art, in which the robes are likewise very plain; but the work, which seems to fall off somewhat during the Kassite period, later assumes remarkable accuracy and finish.

It is to the Kassite period, however, that the boundary-stones which have come down to us belong. These objects (generally inscribed with grants of land) are sculptured with the signs of the gods as a protection against the wrongful alteration of the boundary or changing the conditions of the deed, etc. Those found by the de Morgan expedition at Susa are of special value, as they have sometimes short inscriptions which enable the signs upon them to be identified. The sun is represented by a disc having a flaming star and crescent within; the month gods, horned goats; Nusku ('the light of fire') by a lamp; Gula, godess of healing, by a female figure in horned hat and robe of skin, etc. We see also the fish-goat, the scorpion, and the bull emblematic of Adad (Haddad). The signs vary on each stone, and the work is seldom really well finished, that of Nebuchadrezzar I. in the British Museum being in all probability the finest specimen.

(4) Comparatively early in the latest period (c. 900 B.C.) comes that magnificent specimen of Babylonian art, the sun-god stone, found beneath the

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pavement of the temple of the sun at Abu-habbah by Mr. H. Rassam. It shows a design derived from the early cylinder-seals. The sun-god sits in his shrine, wearing horned hat, robes of skin, and long beard. In his right hand he grasps his staff of justice and the circlet of his everlasting crown. At the top of the shrine two little figures, personifying righteousness and justice, guide with cords the great disc of the sun erected on the table below. A divine personage leads Nabû-Abâ-iddina, the king who had the stone sculptured, into the presence of the god, and a divine attendant in the usual attitude of veneration, and beard, are behind. The ground consists of wavy lines (the waters above the firmament) with stars below, pointing to the probability that the scene is laid in heaven. The figures are a little too broad, but the work is excellent, and may be regarded as maintaining all the traditions of Babylonian art.

Figures of deities during this late period are rare, but there is evidence in the antiquities found that they did exist. On the cylinder-seals emblems similar to those found on the boundary-stones of the sacred object, surfacing in the sun's disc and the moon's crescent mounted on a tall object set on square corniced and panelled plinths. A burly clean-shaven priest stands before the emblems in an attitude of adoration. The fish-figures and deities copied from the boundary-stones also appear.

2. Assyria.—But it is Assyria, from about B.C. 885, that furnishes us with the greatest wealth of material for the study of Assyro-Babylonian religious art. In the sculptures of that date (time of Assur-nasir-apli) the king is represented as the great high priest. Assyria being a country possessing stone, the sculptors were not dependent on such chance fragments as they could get, and magnificent bas-reliefs indicate what her artists were capable of. The examples from Ninurta (Calah) show us the king, clothed in garments splendidly embroidered with representations of all kinds of mystic emblems and ceremonies, himself engaged in ceremonial acts, surrounded by his eunuchs and drinking from the sacred cup, while winged genii offer him the divine pine-cone, or something of similar shape. In other sculptures we see him worshipping before the sacred tree, above which hovering the winged disc representing Assur, the chief god of the Assyrians. Fauxiliar to all the reliefs showing the adoration of the sacred tree, and the winged figures carrying offerings of flowers and young animals. An admirable example of religious art is the sculpture from the entrance of the temple of Ninip, representing the expulsion of the dragon of evil from the building, which was repeated on the other side of the doorway. As a testimony to the divine status of the king we have the image of Assur-nasir-apli as an arch-headed monolith, and the sacrificial altar which stood opposite before it at the entrance to the temple. Though the figures are too thick-set, the work is excellently finished, and the details carefully indicated. This applies also to the winged bulls and lions of this reign, though they were wanting in vigour. The effect is somewhat marred by the long inscriptions which are carved across the sculptured work of this reign.

Based upon these or similar models are also the religious sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III., Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assur-bani-apli; but though they belong to the same school, the improvement in style can easily be traced, until we reach the delicate perfection of many of the sculptures of the last-named. While the sculpture of Assur-nasir-apli give us the Assyrian idea of the sea-god Ea (Synec. Chron. 28; Euseb. Chron. 5, 8), who was clothed with a fish's skin, Dagon, according to a sculpture of Sargon from Khorsabad, was shown as a deity with a horned hat, carefully-curtained hair and beard, and he is reaching to his waist, where the scallop lower part, ending in a fish's tail, begins. To the stump of Dagon, AV 'Vam 'the fishy part'. Noteworthy, though clumsy, are the statues of Nebu standing in what is regarded as an attitude of meditation. On a cylinder-seal, apparently of the time of Assur-bani-apli, and bearing a dedication to Nebu, is shown a divine figure holding two winged bulls by one foreleg, whilst they incline their heads gracefully towards him. If this be Nebu, and the design have a mythological meaning, then the engraver has wisely done to rise to the strong. Securing to the bas-reliefs of Assur-bani-apli, we may note the scene where, to the sound of zithers, the lion, which the king has killed in the chase are brought home, and before a sacred temple and a pair of deities he pours out an offering of wine over the beasts lying on the ground. This is in the best Assyrian style; the figures of Assur-bani-apli and brother of Babylon as basket-bearer at the restoration of the temple Khaza there, though good, fall somewhat short of the sacrificial scene.

Whether it is votaries or ministering spirits in the form of Istar or of Mah (Merodach's spouse as she who presided over births) who are represented by Assur-nasir-apli as making offerings before the sacred tree, or whether the round cylinder-seal, whose myths demons with snarling lion-heads, sea's ears, and eagle's claws, are shown. Sometimes they threaten each other with dagger and mace; at other times they raise their weapon menacingly against a person unseen. But they are powerless in consequence of the protecting spirit in the form of a man in front, who with mystic sign casts an unseen spell. In some cases there is also a bearded and ringleted spear-bearer, similar to the nude figures on the Babylonian cylinder-seals of B.C. 2550, showing how long these things persisted.

No artistic remains from Assyria later than the reign of Assur-bani-apli are known.

There is hardly any doubt that the high level of Assyro-Babylonian art is due to the deep religious feeling of the two nations. Their sincerity is re-


† Dunlop, Inscriptions of Western Asia, vol. i. p. 60; Treasury of the Monuments of Nineveh, pl. 37, 42, 43, 44.
† Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, 1st series, pl. 6, 8, 9, 45 ff.
† For various forms of these see G. Rawlinson's Ancient Monuments of Nineveh, ii. p. 322-323.
† Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 7, 7a, 25 (king adoring).
† Layard's Monuments, 2nd series, pl. 5, Nineveh and Babylon, plate, p. 351.
* See Layard's Nineveh and Babylonia, plate, p. 351.
* Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 3, 4, 42 (with human arms).

Retaud, Formes Inscriptes, pp. 32-34.
† Bibl. Bibl. et Archéologique, ii. pp. 6, 7.
† Jerdu, 16-16; Île, 24-25, 37, 38, 39.
† Th., 2nd series, pl. 5, and Nineveh and Babylon, plate, p. 351.
† See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, plate, p. 351.
† Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 7, 7a, 25 (king adoring).
† Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 7, 7a, 25 (king adoring).
† Hobbs, Ancient Monuments, pp. 6, 7.
† Beatus, Monuments de Ninive, pl. 34, 10 ff.
† British Museum Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, pp. 31 ff.
† Layard's Monuments, 1st series, pl. 7, 7a, 25 (king adoring).
† Rawlinson's Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 566.
flccted in their work, which, if the nations pro-
duced it had continued to exist, might have
attained a perfection which would have rivalled
even the art of Greece and Rome. How far the
influence of their art extended, it is difficult to say.
Connexion with that of Phoenicia may be traced,
to some extent, from the 10th to the 14th cen-
tury. If the empire of the Phoenicians existed,
the faith of their god, El, was probably wor-
dowed in a similar manner to that of Phoenice,
some of these gods being identified with the
Greece, and some with the Olympian deities.
G. Rawlinson, Nineveh and its Palaces (Bohn's Illus-
trated Library), London. T. G. PINCHES.

ART (Buddhist)—ART (Celtic)

ART (Celtic).—The article 'ART (Christian)' is
designed to bring into view the various forms in
which art in the modern era has been made the
expression of religious feeling. Special attention
is given to that phase of Christian art in which
the geographical, social, and ethical conditions
of Non-Romanized Celtic lands, or, in other words,
the art of the British isles, is to be studied.

Definition and scope.—By Celtic art is meant, of
course, the art of the British isles, and the style
are developed, perhaps more perfectly than
the art of any other time or people, and this
is one of the reasons why it here receives a special
mention. The spirit of monastic craftsmanship,
in all the monasteries of the British isles, is
never seen in such purity as in the monasteries
particularly of the Celtic manuscripts, or the exquisite ecclesiastical art which
had been formed in the art of the early Middle Ages.

Monastery the home of ecclesiastical art.—Celtic
monasteries of the kind indicated existed not only
in Ireland but in Scotland, in Wales, and in other
parts; but it is in the first-named country that
they have left the clearest record of their
artistic character. Even as early as the time of
Patrick—those first half of the 5th cent.—Irish men
and women were devoting themselves with ardour
to the religious life, and the sites of ancient settle-
ments are almost innumerable. Those in the
remoter and less accessible regions, such as
the islands and rocky headlands of the
Atlantic, off the coast of Kerry. Here, at the
height of some six hundred feet above the sea,
we find on a terrace, sustained by a magnificent retaining
wall of dry, i.e. uncut, stone-work,

*C For pre-Christian Celtic art see CELTIC RELIGION.
half a dozen or so of hermits' cells and two or three tiny oratories used for service and private prayer. The cells, and all other structures except one of the oratories, are constructed of the same dry stone-work, and according to methods that carry us back directly to pagan times. The terrace wall is of precisely the same construction as the very small ramparts that form the successive encirclement around the stoneworks of unknown date and origin on the headlands and islands of Galway or Kerry. The cells are round or oval in plan, and are of a beehive form, the layers of flat stones of which they are built being alternately laid horizontally and vertically, and a dome-like finish terminates the whole, an opening being left for the egress of smoke. This method of construction also is pagan, and may be found in the central stone chambers of the great prehistoric burial tumuli at Newgrange, Dowth, and other places beside the Boyne. That the cells on Skellig Michael are Christian is proved by the fact that over one of the doorways white quartz stones have been set in the form of a cross. The smallest of the little oratories is one of the most interesting of early Christian structures. Its interior length is only about eight feet, and it has a door at one end and a window over the altar at the other end, which is turned towards the east. The construction is similar to that of the cells, but the round windows, which are not circular, and the windows converge till they meet in a ridge at the top. The little oratory stands apart from the rest of the structures of the settlement, on a jutting corner of the terraced platform, and we may well fancy it a place where the worshipper might tarry awhile and meditate, in this almost inaccessible oryie between sea and sky.

Such meditations availed much for Christendom at large, for these small hermit monks were at the same time the most indefatigable of missionaries. That passion for solitude which drew the Celtic Christians away from the world was only one of the tendencies in their emotional piety, and is balanced by quite the opposite passion for wandering and evangelizing activity. To carry on this work successfully they seem to have needed to subdue themselves from time to time to certain spiritual influences, which should act on their inner nature and charge them as it were with an electric force that radiated with irresistible potency when they journeyed forth as missionaries. It was in places of solitude and retirement, like Skellig Michael, that the saint was kindled and fanned to burst into the proselytizing fervour of a Columba, an Aidan, or a Billfrith. Here were the source of a stream of Christian influence that flowed with beneficent effect over all the island of Britain and far across the Continent of Europe. Ireland gave her mission, Scotland, Norway, and from Northumbrian Lindisfarne proceeded the effective conversion of the Angles, while some of the greater Continental centres of the religious life looked to Celtic missionary saints as their founders.

The foregoing details are germane to the purpose of this article, for we have to note that the arrangement and the life of the Celtic monastery had great influence on the forms and aesthetic character of Celtic ecclesiastical art. It is not pretended here that all the artistic activity of the early medieval period was centred in the monastery. The monastic craftsmen plays a prominent part in the artistic history of the time, but he had no monopoly. Among the northern peoples in the pagan period, the fabrication and adornment of weapons, implements, and objects of personal wear, gave employment to artistic workmen whose skill and taste are in their way unsurpassed, and there is no reason to believe that the introduction of Christianity broke this tradition. In Ireland the Tara brooch, in Scotland the Hunterston stone, dating about the 5th century, are productions of secular art, and we need not credit them to the monks. On the other hand, as the mediæval period advanced, sacred art undoubtedly preponderated over secular, and sacred art was specially cultivated at the monasteries. In time, as Mr. Romilly Allen has remarked (Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times, 1904, p. 171), 'The priest took the place of the warrior as the patron of the fine arts, and monopolized all the available time of the metal-worker and enameller in making beautiful vessels for the service of the Church.' In periods of political unrest, such as on the Continent followed the breaking up of the Roman provincial system, art might be profusely be regaled and the artistic production of the time that had an ecclesiastical purpose, and it will lend force to this statement to quote the nearly contemporary record as to the making and putting forth of one striking monument of Celtic art, the so-called Gospels of Lindisfarne or of St. Cuthbert, a manuscript dating from the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th cent., and now one of the treasures of the British Museum. In an Anglo-Saxon colophon of the 10th cent. appended to St. Cuthbert's Gospels, it is told that 'Eadfrith, bishop over the church of Lindisfarne, wrote this book in honour of God and St. Cuthbert, and all the company of saints in the Island; and Ethelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne, made an outer case and adorned it, as he was well able to do, and Billfrith and the metal-work of the ornaments on the outside thereof, and decked it with gold and with gems.' The fact that Billfrith is called the anchorite ('se oncras') shows that fine metal-work with the setting of gems was carried on by the solitary recluse in his cell. The extreme minuteness and elaboration of this is, in fact, just what we should expect in work executed under these conditions; and this applies with even greater force to the manuscripts, wherein ingenious planning of ornamental schemes and faultless execution of multiform convoluted detail must have made the hours long pass lightly away.

Celtic ecclesiastical art in general was of a kind that could be carried out single-handed and in small interiors. Work that needed the co-operation of many hands and large spaces was little in vogue. In the Benedictine monasteries of the Continent the dominant art was architecture, and vast buildings for the accommodation of communities were envisaged, but this was not achieved by the inmates in person. Romanesque architecture is in the main monastic, and the great abbey church is its crowning achievement. In Ireland and other Celtic areas early conventual buildings were, as has been seen, smaller and simpler; and though they may possess a great constructive interest, little pains have been taken with their ornamentation. From the traditional dry-stone building, illustrated on Skellig Michael, there were evolved on the one hand certain striking features in the monastic church, and on the other some interesting forms of vault construction. The single-celled oratory was enlarged by the addition of a second cell, also rectangular, forming when smaller than the first a presbytery or chancel, and when larger a nave: and this type of church plan, differing from the type with apsidal termination which belonged to the Roman tradition, appears in England after its conversion by the Celtic evangelists, who may thus have contributed towards the establishment of certain preferential forms for square-ended churches. The most striking peculiarity of Celtic church architecture in early medieval times is the detached round tower, abundant in Erin, though represented by only a few stray examples in other parts of these islands. These towers are always connected with religious establishments, and it is now acknow-

ART (Celtic)
ledged that they were primarily designed as towers of refuge, though also employed as belfries. The dangers against which they furnished temporary security were the Viking inroads with which from the beginning of the 9th cent. onwards the country was beset. It is stated by Miss Stokes in her *Early Christian Art in Ireland* (ii. 67), that, in the entries in the Irish annals, regarding the attacks of the Northmen from 729 to 845, it is recorded that the clergy fled for safety into the woods ... but in the year 850, and for two centuries later, we read of the "clochetich," house of a bell, as a special object of attack to the Norsemen. Exhibitory inscriptions quoted thence speak of the erection near a church in that Celtic region of a "little round tower ... wherein to deposit the silver-plate and the treasure." The same church, and the same hands of the barbarians, should they wish to plunder it.

The construction of the extant round towers bears out this evidence of their origin and intention, for in almost every instance the doorway of access to them is at a substantial height above the ground, and was accessible only by means of a ladder, which could be drawn up when the temporary garrison was housed within it. The interiors had wooden floors at different stages reached by ladders, and in the uppermost was the place for the bell.

The features here described are specially not exclusive to Ireland. In other central, north-western regions which were practically outside the Empire, and to which the influence of the ecclesiastical Rome did not penetrate till a later date, we find specimens, or at any rate relics and traces of them. Scotland, especially in the north and west, is well supplied; for example, the "Isle of the Saints," Eilean na Naomh, not far from Mull, has a group somewhat similar to that on Skellig Michael; but Wales and Cornwall have very little to show in the way of substantial and western Roman Conquest. In Ireland such structures are at once more numerous, more clearly marked, and better preserved than they are elsewhere. The plainness of these early Irish structures has already been noticed, and is remarkable in a country where the arts of ornament were flourishing in the Pagan period, and were destined to develop for Christian service into forms so elaborate and beautiful. The rude stone building gave place to cut stone-work, and to the use of lime and ornamental stone; but the simple character of plainness prevailed till about the year 1100, when a rich and somewhat fantastic style of architectural embellishment came into vogue, with which was mingled the undoubtedly Norman element in all monuments. With the development of this so-called Irish Romanesque Celtic architecture loses that special character it had derived from the primitive methods of dry-stone construction, and comes into line with the other local styles of Western Romanesque. The subject need not therefore be further pursued.

1. **Stone-Slabs, Crosses, etc.**—If the earlier Celtic masons did not carve ornament on the stones of their religious buildings, they made up for this by considerable activity in sculpture of and upon the crosses and carved stones-slab and crosses, a monumental form of Celtic art represented by abundant examples in all the Celtic and also in the Teutonized parts of the British Isles. No complete comparative survey has yet been made of the whole body of monuments, but there exist monographs on the various groups, the most complete and elaborate of which is the ponderous volume issued in 1903 by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland under the title, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. The subject is a very large one, for the monuments in question in the Scottish area alone number about five hundred, and it can, of course, only be touched on here.

In the matter of distribution, we may distinguish the following provinces in which the monuments occur in groups large or small. (1) Southern, eastern, and midland England. The monuments here are sporadic, and some regions are bare of examples, though in other parts, such as Derbyshire, they are well represented. (2) North-eastern England and the same side of Scotland up to the forth, the region forming the ancient kingdom of Northumbria. Here the monuments are very numerous and of great artistic merit. In point of art they show a combination of Celtic elements with those derived from classical sources, and especially partly in runic characters derived from Scandinavia. (3) Galloway or south-western Scotland, the scene of the ministrations of Ninian to the southern Picts, represented by some interesting early monuments of a Gallo-Roman type. (4) Cumberland and the Isle of Man, and in part Lancashire, where the art of the stones betrays a Scandinavian influence. (5) Eastern Scotland north of the Forth and south of the Moray Firth, known to historians as the ancient 'Kingdom of the (northern) Picts'. The stones here exhibit certain devices peculiar to this region that are for the most part unexplained, though probably Christian in significance, but in the main their art is of the Celtic type. (6) In the far western provinces of Scotland the Celtic art prevails with a certain Scandinavian admixture. (7) Wales, a region specially well represented by monuments of this class, in which the art is Celtic, the epigraphy partly Roman, and partly in ogham script, of native Celtic style of writing answering to the Teutonic runes. (8) Cornwall and Devon, the monuments of which on the whole resemble those of Wales. (9) Ireland. This region, with parts of north-western Ireland, is very rich in stone monuments, native Romanized; and here the art, with the language, and to some extent also the epigraphic character, of the inscriptions, is almost wholly Celtic.

Of these provinces all but the first and second are entirely, or to a preponderating extent, Celtic, for the 'Pictish' element in (5), though very remarkable, does not affect the general character of the monuments. The ancient Northumbria, (2), was Teutonic in government and (with of course the admixture of Teutonic in the pagan) in art, as was preponderatingly Celtic. That this region was effectively Christianized by Celtic missionaries from Lindisfarne has already been noticed, and it is highly significant that one of the most important exhibits in the recognized Celtic style of manuscript illumination was produced there by Anglian hands at a time when the Celtic monks had already retired from the island. The existence of this datable monument, noticed in this article on p. 836* (the Gospels of Lindisfarne or of St. Cuthbert), shows that we might expect the same Celtic style in other monuments of the region; and this we accordingly find, mingled with other elements, in the early sculptured stones now under consideration. This may be fairly held to represent the prevailing kind of Celtic art, as well as an attractiveness for the Teutonic population. In view of it, it will not be surprising to find that the monuments scattered over the rest of England, (1), exhibit also a prevailing Celtic character, which reminds us that it was influenced in almost every part by Celtic missionary activity. We are therefore justified in regarding the whole body of these monuments as so far Celtic that they cannot be excluded from any general survey of Celtic art.

It is with the art of the stones, not their epigraphy, that we are here concerned; but the inscriptions cannot be entirely disregarded, for they often afford valuable evidence of the nature and provenance of the monuments. The questions that
have to be considered concern (1) the character, (2)
the form, (3) the ornamentation of the stones.

1. Character.—The inscriptions show that the
majority of them are sepulchral, and as such they
represent a form of monument that has been in use
since Neolithic times. At the single site of Clon-
macnoise in Ireland, there are nearly two hundred
of the early Christian inscriptions, all by inscribed, and many orna-
mented. This religious establishment beside the
Shannon, a place of surpassing interest, was founded by St. Ciaran in the middle of the 6th cent.,
and an Irish poem thus celebrates 'the peaceful clear-
streamed place':

'Ciaran's city is Cluain-mic-Nos,
Nobles of the children of Conn
under the liffey, brown-peopled cemetery;
A knot, or ogham, over each body,
And a fair, just, ogham name.'

Of ogham inscriptions on these stones only one has
been known in modern times, and the rest are in
Roman minuscules. Among the names that can be
read upon them is that of Suibine, son of
Maellhumal, of the latter part of the 9th cent.,
celebrated as one of the most learned Churchmen
of his time. Inscriptions, however, also show that
many of these stones were not sepulchral but
commemorative, or devised for other purposes.
Thus at Kells in Co. Meath there is a cross
with the inscription, 'The cross of Patrick and
Columba,' which was erected centuries after the
death of the same person it commemorates.
Most of the so-called 'High Crosses' of Ireland—
elaborately sculptured stone monuments of the
10th cent.—were apparently of this commemora-
tive character. In Northumbria we know, from Simms of
Durham (Hist. Reg. § 30), that two
sepulchral crosses stood at Hexham at the ex-
tremities of the grave of Bishop Aces, who died in
740, but the Ruthwell Cross is shown by its
inscription to have been a memorial of the sacrifice
of Christ. We are told in the Life of Kentigern,
by Joceline of Furness (late, but based on older
materials), that the saint was accustomed to erect
'the triumphant standard of the cross' to com-
memorate any marked successes in conversion; and
in Wesssex we have evidence (Acta Sanctorum, Jul. 1, 1229) that the isle of the Holy Cross was
up to mark a place of Christian assembly before the
building of a church. Again, some crosses were
terminal, that is, they defined a boundary by
a landmark which religion made inviolable. An
Irish fragment stone at Kilmanus gigant., Co. Armagh,
proclaims that the place which it marked was
under the protection of St. Peter, while one of
the interesting early stones at Whithorn in Gallo-
way, Ninian's missionary centre, is inscribed 'The
Place of St. Peter,' and was evidently a boundary
mark.

2. Form.—In the matter of form, the earliest
class of stone monuments are pillars unshaped by
the tool, after the fashion of the pre-historic
mounds, and correspond to the rude stone building
of the early Christians inherited from their
pagan forefathers. These pillars have on them
inscriptions in one or other of the languages and
characters noted in the enumeration of the
provinces, and sometimes incised crosses or sacred
monograms. These last, though in themselves,
from the aesthetic standpoint, negligible, become
important as the origin of the form of the shaped
free-standing crosses of later times. In Galloway
there are upright pillar-stones with Latin inscrip-
tions, and the Chi-Rho (urtles) monogram in
different forms which are early, but probably not so early as
the time of Ninian himself. This monogram
appears within a circle, in which we may see a
reminiscence of the wreath that enclosed it on the
original labarum, or standard of Constantine,
described by Eusebius; and this wreath, or circle,
becomes later the stone ring, which in the well-
known 'Celtic' form of the monumental cross is
seen connecting the arms. The Chi-Rho monogram
changes into the form of a cross by the addition of
a horizontal bar across the upright stem of the
original Rho (urtles), and the arms of the cross,
though originally enclosed within the circle, come
afterwards to protrude beyond its circumference.
This transformation can be seen in progress in a
half-developed cross at Penmon Priory in
Anglesey.

The untooled pillar-stone does not of course itself
change directly into the free-standing cross, though
the incised monogram it bears has influenced the
development. The actual process was as follows:
The pillar-stone corresponds, as we have seen, to
the rude stone building. When this gives place to
the construction with cut stone and cement, the
former is similarly changed to a dressed monument,
which may be recumbent, in the shape either of a
flat slab, which is par excellence of the Irish
inscription, or of a 'coped' or 'hog-backed' stone, such as occurs chiefly in the
north of England, and is more probably of
Anglian or Scandinavian than of Celtic origin; or
there may be upright, in the form of what is
like a modern tombstone. The flat recumbent
Irish slabs are adorned with incised crosses, the
upright slabs with crosses in relief. From
these latter were developed the free-standing crosses by
the following stages. When a cross head contained
within a circle is carved in relief on a slab, the
upper part of this may be rounded off to follow the
curve of the circle, as on a stone from Papil by
Shetland, in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities.
Next, the part of the slab below the head of
the cross is cut in a little to correspond with the form
of the comparatively slender shaft, and we obtain
the shape known as the 'wheel cross'—a shape con-
-fined to the Isle of Man, Wales, and Cornwall.
The background may now shrink in still further
length to the outline of the shaft, and the contrary
process, the arms of the crosses are allowed to
protrude beyond the circle which has enclosed
them, and the final step is taken when, as it has
been said (Romilly Allen, Celtic Art, p. 186), 'the
portions of the background of the cross between
the quadrants of the ring are cut away, and a
right through the slab, thus giving us the "four
hole" cross of Cornwall and the typical High Cross
of Ireland,' in which the outline of the stone
corresponds with the outline of the Cross.

3. Ornamentation.—That subject of the orna-
mentation of the slabs and crosses cannot be
discussed without reference to Celtic decorative art
in general. The forms in which this expresses
itself, apart from the carving on the stones, are
practically confined to five—work and the
illumination of manuscripts, for in extant elem-
ents of the Celtic Christian period, productions in
other materials, such as wood, ivory, or textiles,
are so rare as to be in the meantime negligible.
On stone, metal, and the parchment of books,
Celtic artistic feeling externalized itself in elaborate
and varied ornamental patterns, the design and
technical execution of which have excited the
wonder of all subsequent ages, from the time of
Giraldus Cambrensis in the 12th cent. downwards.
The same patterns and methods of ornamentation
appear in all three forms of art, and some of the
best authorities treat the stone carving as later in
date than the similar work in the other materials.
It is a curious fact that certain details of the
Irish High Crosses have no meaning in stone-work, while
there is a technical reason for them in work in
metal, and this would indicate the priority of the latter. Again, the similarity between richly decorated cross-slabs, of which Scotland is the home, and the emblazoned pages of ornament in Celtic manuscripts, cannot fail to strike the observer. It was maintained that the styles of artistic treatment which are in question here were first evolved on the pages of books or in metal, and then transferred to stone; and Mr. Romilly Allen believes (Celtic Art, p. 171) that the book-work was prior alike to that on metal and on stone. At first sight this seems contrary to natural likelihood, for there is much elaborate and beautiful Celtic metal-work of pagan date and also a certain amount of decorative carving in stone, whereas manuscript writing and illumination came in as a totally new form of craftsmanship with the introduction of Christianity. Irish experts converted to the new faith could continue for Christian service their metal-work or stone-carving, while it would take them a long time to learn the new art of calligraphy and illumination. The first books used in Christianity would be imported, and would only very gradually be supplanted by those of native production. Hence we should expect to find Christian metal-work and stone-carving earlier than the same is the case with books.

Here, however, we are met by rather a curious fact. Christianity at its first introduction did not seem to inspire the Celtic artist, but rather to repress his activity, so that, as Romilly Allen states (p. 164) about A.D. 600 'it is impossible to say that Christian art existing in this country' (op. cit. p. 165). He accounts for this on the theory that the introduction into the British Isles of Christianity itself was much later than is generally supposed, and suggests A.D. 450 as the date of this innovation. The negative evidence of the dearth of really early Christian monuments in this country had so impressed him that he has called the significant and quite unquestioned notice of the presence of three bishops of Roman towns in Britain at the Council of Arles in A.D. 314 one of 'the vague and unsatisfactory statements of the mythical period' (op. cit. p. 164). Archaic evidence, however, must be weighed along with literary, and not allowed to swing the scale as yet. If we were left only to literary evidence for the condition of the earliest Christianity at Rome, we should probably believe that art was at that time tabooed. Monumental evidence, however, as shown in Figure 2 (next page), certainly Celtic, but at the earliest Christian Church at Rome not only accepted art as part of its external dress, but soon began to use it for definitely Christian purposes. Conversely, if we were left to monumental evidence alone for Christianity in early Britain, we should believe that it hardly existed, for Romano-British Christian monuments are extremely rare, and those belonging to the 5th or 6th centuries are few and artistically simple and even rude; yet the Romano-British Church had progressed so far by the early part of the 5th cent. as to have a flourishing Pelagian hierarchy, and after the Saxon conquest it is clear that the large and active Christian community in Wales was this Romano-British Church, and not a new foundation in the 5th cent. from Gaul. Why it was that the earliest Celtic Christianity did not at once employ the native artistic resources available is a question which cannot be entered on here; it is a fact, however, that the Celtic ecclesiastical art on stones and manuscripts is of this form of幼稚 from the middle of the 7th cent. onwards, used motives that were not originally Celtic, but are found also in 'Merovingian' work in Gaul and in that of the period of the Teutonic migrations in general, and hence it is reasonable to refer the great unfolding of Celtic artistic activity in this period to the impulse which came in from England and the Continent as soon as the conversion of the pagan Saxons opened the door once more to intercourse between Celtic lands and Western Christendom.

The following are the ornamental motives that occur in the decoration of the carved stones, the objects in metal, and the manuscripts: (1) the human figure, (2) leaf-ornament, (3) animals, (4) geometrical ornament, consisting in: (a) step-and-key-patterns, (b) interlacing- or knot-work, and (c) spirals.

(1) Celtic art proper has no place for the human figure; and where this is treated in native fashion, as in some of the Irish manuscripts, it is reduced to a decorative pattern with no more resemblance to nature than have the figures on court-cards. Wherever the figure is reasonably well drawn or modelled, there influence from the side of classical tradition is at work. The best figures on monuments of any rate partly Celtic character are those on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, and they are accompanied here by vine-foliage enclosing animals which is of distinctly classical type. The High Crosses of Ireland, which date from the 10th cent., exhibit a remarkable art which is all due to Continental inspiration, and need not here be described.

(2) Leaf-ornament is also foreign to the Celtic style proper. There is hardly a trace of it in the manuscripts, but it is very occasionally on the stones in the purely Celtic areas of Ireland, Wales, and northern Scotland. In the ancient Northumbria, on the other hand, it is abundant, and is clearly of classical origin, for the vine is almost always the motive employed. The vine scrolls and some so-called 'Anglian' crosses, such as that of Acock, now at Durham, and the one at Bewcastle, are as charming as any decorative foliage in existence.

(3) Animals.—Like the human figure, animals, such as the horse, the deer, the dog, occur, naturally treated in some abundance; and it is of course a well-established fact that the unsophisticated artist is always better at animals than at men. There are hunting scenes on the battle-scene crosses or their sculptured bases, and on a certain class of sculptured stones in Scotland animals are represented truthfully in a very telling and artistic fashion. There is nothing here, however, that is especially Celtic. On the other hand, the conventional treatment of animal forms for ornamental purposes is a very important element not only in Celtic, but in all northern decoration. There is no attempt in this to give the animal its specific character, or even to preserve elementary truth in anatomy and proportion. The creatures barely preserve so much zoological character as resides in the possession of a head and limbs, and their bodies are elongated and flattened till they are nothing but bands. All parts that can be extended, such as a limb, a tail, an ear, or a tongue, a lip, are drawn out and twisted into elaborate convolutions, and are intertwined as if the artist wished only to produce the effect of complex knot-work. Though birds are sometimes introduced, the beast is generally intended to be a quadruped; but it is drawn out to such a length and tenacity as to justify the epithet 'lacertine,' or lizard-like, which is generally applied to it. There is no question which has been more discussed than that of the origin and history of ornament among the Teutonic and Celtic peoples. The latest and most elaborate work on the subject, Bernhard Sain's Allgermanische Theiorornamentik (Stockholm, 1904), favours the view that the animals in northern art are ultimately derived from classical models, but that the northern
people generally made the motive their own, and worked it out with extraordinary ingenuity and patience. A close comparison of the animal ornament in Irish manuscripts and metal-work and that on objects of Teutonic provenance indicates that Celtic zoomorphic forms are of Germanic origin. These forms are very rare in the Celtic pagan period, and do not occur in Ireland, so that a foreign origin is in accordance with likelihood.

(4) In the geometrical ornament, in all its forms save the spirals, the same derivation seems now accepted.

(a) 'Step' patterns occur in the cloisonné setting of Teutonic jewels. Moreover, these patterns in the manuscripts, such as the Book of Durrow, are shown in white lines on a dark ground, and the background has been laboriously filled in so as to leave the lines the colour of the light vellum. There may be in this somewhat artificial process an attempt to imitate the damascening in lines of silver on iron, common on buckles and similar objects found in Germanic graves. Key patterns, the first developed of a line in such a fashion as is typical, are very abundant both on the sculptured stones and in the manuscripts, but are not much used on metal. They are unknown in pagan Celtic work, and their prevalence in that of Christian date is probably due to Continental influence. The Christian artist, in fact, copied such patterns directly from the art of the Oder and Elbe to Scandinavia, where we find it developed in the Bronze Age to the utmost possible perfection. From Scandinavia it is thought to have passed over North Britain to Ireland, where it appears carved on a great stone at the mouth of the pre-historic royal burial-place at Newgrange by the Boyne. In all these cases we have to deal with regular closely-coiled spirals, which look as if they were derived from the coiling of metal strips or wire, though there is evidence that they were not. Now, however, that the Iron Age of Celtic art, spirals of a different and more elaborate kind become the predominant ornamental form, and produce what are sometimes called 'trumpet' patterns. These are formed by double lines which are coiled round one another and produce a shape like the mouth of a trumpet. These coils and expanded offsets are ingeniously connected together, so that they can be made in combination to fill with ornament any given space. It has been argued very forcibly by Dr. Arthur Evans that these late Celtic scrolls, which are sometimes called 'flamboyant,' are in fact derived, by a process of conventionalizing, from the 'honeysuckle' patterns or acanthus scrolls of Greco-Roman classical foliage. As used in Ireland and Scotland in early Christian times, the spirals are partly closely coiled and partly flamboyant, and we may regard them as representing a combination of these classical derivatives with the older and more severe forms of the Bronze Age spirals, the origin of which can be traced to Mycenaean Greece and to Egypt. The use of this primeval motive for the purposes of Christian decoration is a fact of much interest, to which attention was called in a previous part of this article.

We are not concerned with archaeological questions of origin so much as with those of the artistic use made of these various motives, and of the place of this artistic activity in the life of the Celtic Church as a whole. It has been well said by Dr. Joseph Anderson:

From whatever source or sources the different elements of the composite style of decoration of the Christian period may have been derived, the style itself belongs specially to the period of the early Saxon Church, especially in Northumbria. In each of these areas it produced a remarkable development of monumental sculpture; and whether we consider their manuscripts, metal-work, and monuments collectively as one great comprehensive manifestation of Celtic ornamentation of the early Christian period, or take them separately as national developments of a common style, it is equally true that, considering the work and the time, it presents a manifestation of artistic culture altogether unparalleled in Europe (The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, c.).

The first point to notice about the artistic use of this decoration is the method of its distribution over the surface. The Sassanid ornament does not meander at will, but is confined to strictly defined spaces; and these spaces, which may be termed panels, are arranged in a carefully thought-out scheme of composition. The finest examples of this are the pages devoted to ornament in the Irish manuscripts, and the large
cross-slabs which are best represented in Scotland.

ii. Manuscripts.

Of the Irish manuscripts now extant, the earliest is probably the Book of Durrow, and the most elaborate is the Book of Kells, both in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; while the Gos¬pels of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, comes next in age to the former, and the Gos¬pels of Lindisfarne, in the British Museum, is only second in beauty to the latter. This book, moreover, possesses the unique element of value that it is dated, and that in this way it can be fixed in point of time. But it has no other examples not only in illumination but in metal-work and carving can be grouped. It was written within a few years of the date A.D. 700, and is earlier in style than the Book of Kells though not so early as the other two. Hence the Book of Durrow may be assigned to a date in the 8th century, the Book of Kells to one in the 8th cent.; and it is satisfactory to know that Bernard Salin endorses these dates as a result of his elaborate and detailed comparative study of the ornaments which occur in them. The decoration in these books is not more sumptuous and minute in its execution than it is clear and bold in its distribution. Leaving out of sight the figure-work, and taking only the ornamental, it is found that the first word or too of each Gospel occupies a page, the initial letter spread from top to bottom and the range of the letters of the first word filling up a good part of the page. A border is designed to combine with the initial in framing the whole composition. If this page be a recto, the verso of the previous folio, which is the bottom of the page, is treated in a sheet of pure ornament, the object being that the book shall present a sumptuous and beautiful appearance when placed open at the beginning of a Gospel on a reading-stand upon the altar. The scheme of design for such a page is generally based upon the form of a cross, which appears as the centre and support of a composition of variously-shaped panels filling the rest of the sheet. These panels, as has already been explained, are them¬selves numerous, with various ornamental devices, and are enumerated, while a border encloses the whole. As has been well shown by Mr. Johan Brun, the general arrangement of these show-pages of initials or pure ornament provides spaces or panels varying in size, shape, and decoration. These were usually used as complementary fillings for the big initial letters are often of curved outlines, while those connected with the cross opposite are commonly rectangular, or at any rate symmetrical in contour. In the decorative enrichment of these different fields, patterns of various kinds are selected.

Spirals (and we may add zoomorphic patterns) were chiefly used to fill in the irregular sections of the body of the letter and its curvilinear enclosed spaces, where, owing to a certain freedom in fixing the centres of volutes of varying size, they were easily adapted and in keeping with the flowing calligraphy and the ornamental motives. Interlacings, on the other hand, were more rarely used outside of the spaces allotted for oblong panels, for which they were naturally suited. Thus the disposal of the various designs was ruled by taste, and it is evident that the combination of contrasting elements in a graceful scheme (An Enquiry, etc. p. 29).

We may connect this decision and self-control, in the matter of planning out and distributing enrich¬ment, with the severity of the monastic discipline that in the period of the insertion of the Book of Durrow in this work had its home. The spirit of order and obedience to rule was as strong in the Celtic establishments as in those organized on the Bene¬dictine plan, and the Irish regulars were not only among the most learned, but among the best-living in Christendom. And if we discern their mental rectitude and respect for law in these well considered and justly balanced schemes, in the actual execution of the ornament we are brought into contact with their intensity of devotion to the allotted task, and the infinite patience to which they were schooled by the seclusion and monotony of their daily existence. The little cells where once they sat at work are places as holy to the pilgrim of art as to the religious devotee, and we can realize there how this element of dainty love¬lines and the gracefulness in line and hue, this ingenious scheming, this minute accuracy in measurement, must have humanized and brightened spirits that might otherwise have become numbed in ascetic rigour, while an education of conscience must certainly have resulted from their scrupulous logic and exactness in pattern making. Prof. Westwood and other experts have examined Irish manuscripts with a glass 'for hours together, without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement. In the interlaced work, Mr. Romilly Allen reports that every cord laps under and over with unflagging regularity . . . and all the cords are joined up so as not to leave any loose ends.

The details of the spiral-work are suggestive of care, and there is never a broken line or pseudo-spiral. In the zoomorphic designs the beasts are all provided with the proper number of limbs and Evangelists, and in every respect down to the smallest detail (Celtic Art, p. 259).

No mere description can give any idea of the variety, minuteness, and unflagging consistency of this decoration, which can now be judged of from accessible photographic reproductions which greatly exceed, as those in Stanford Robinson's Celtic Illuminative Art. As regards colour a word may be said, because it is noteworthy that the Irish scribe produced the effect of sumptuous splendour on his ornamented folios without any use of gold, olive, the Continental miniaturist so largely depended. This is at first sight surprising, for Ireland produced a good deal of gold; and this was not only used in her native metal-work, but, it is believed, exported to other lands such as Scandinavia. Trinity College, Dublin, possesses a magnificent and weighty gold fibula of native metal and workmanship, but the manuscripts in the library are destitute of gliding. The colours employed are bright, clear, and harmoniously blended, but the best effect is gained by the free use of black, of which the script is large and self-sufficient. II. Metal-work.

The fine Celtic metal-work was, as we learn from some special cases, also a monastic craft in the hands of ecclesiastics. It was applied to the embellishment of the manuscripts either at once in the form of covers, such as that adorned by Billirch at Lindisfarne, or later on in that of the shrine or box, called in Ireland cumdach, made to contain and preserve the precious volume (p. 833). These cumdachs are peculiar to Ireland. Shrines of a similar kind, also of a later date, were intended to protect, were made for the early hand-bells connected with the names of famous saints, which are in themselves objects of the highest interest, and may in some cases really have belonged to the saints with whom they are traditionally associated.
Their simplicity and even rudeness agree with an early date. The most primitive are four-sided, and these are sometimes ornamented. There are early bells of the kind in Scotland and Wales as well as in the materials of two bell-shrines, the rest being Irish. Celtic metal-work of early Christian date is perhaps most largely represented by the enriched penannular or annular brooches, of which the Tara brooch in Ireland and the Hunterston brooch in Scotland are the finest examples. As the ornamented metal shrines and their contents, it may be sufficient to refer to four fine examples in this class, the Ardagh Chalice and the Cross of Cong in Ireland, and the Monymusk reliquary and crozier of St. Fillan in Scotland. They are all works of great interest either from the historical or the artistic side, and the first named is one of the most beautiful and elaborate examples of fine metal-work extant anywhere in the world.

The Monymusk reliquary is described by Anderson as a wooden box (it is about four inches long), hollowed out of iron plates of pale bronze and with plates of silver. . . Its ornamentation is that peculiarly Celtic form of interlacing zoomorphic decoration, united with coloured designs of diverging spirals and trumpet shapes, the primary subject of this decorative art of the Celtic manuscripts and memorial stones of the early Christian time. It is jewelled and enamelled, and its engraved and chased designs are characterized by such excellence of execution that it must be early in date (Scotland in Early Christian Times, p. 249). The special historical interest connected with the reliquary resides in the fact that there is some reason to believe it a relic of St. Columba, and a cresset, or battle charm, which, like the Ark in ancient Israel, was borne out to battle with the Scottish host. It is preserved at Monymusk House, Aberdeen. The crozier of St. Fillan is an example of a specially Celtic form of ecclesiastical object. It is really a shrine of fine metal-work, made in the shape of a case enclosing the head of the pastoral staff of wood traditionally belonging to an early saint. The form of the crozier is exclusively Celtic, and differs from the form that such objects take on the Continent, and in the case of that of St. Fillan and others is a relic on which oaths of a peculiar solemn kind could be taken, while it is surmised that it was borne as a cresset into battle at Bannockburn. It is preserved in a damaged condition in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.

The Cross of Cong, at Dublin, is the one surviving example of a procession cross of the early Celtic Church. It measures 2 ft. 8 in. in height by 1 ft. 6½ in. across the arms, and is 1½ in. thick. It is constructed of oak, and was supposed to contain its centre, under a boss of rock crystal, a portion of the true cross. On the exterior it is all covered with metal plates of copper which are adorned with silver mouldings and plaques, with panels of fine gold work and gilded bronze, and with bosses of coloured enamel. The panels are ornamented with gold filigree work and zoomorphic patterns, and the effect of the whole is rich and artistically pleasing. It can be dated in the first half of the 13th cent., and is a striking proof of the long survival of the characteristic Celtic work in Ireland. As a rule the other objects, such as the cumbachs and the bell-shrines, though the style of the enrichment remains the same, are comparatively coarse in execution, but the Cross of Cong has fine technical qualities.

Lastly, in the Ardagh Chalice we come back to the period of the most perfect design and workmanship, of about the 8th cent., and to a master-piece of unique value. It is a large two-handled bowl on a low stem, and will hold as much as three pints of liquid. In its construction and ornament the materials are least freeman, bronze, copper, silver, glass, amber, and mica; and the ornamental patterns include interlaced-work, step-patterns, key-patterns, spirals, zoomorphs, and scrolls, arranged in panels after the fashion represented in the manuscripts, and of the finest period of the style.

What is chiefly remarkable about the Ardagh Chalice is not the elaboration or variety of its detail, but the almost classic nobility of its general design. As a rule, in all barbaric enrichment, whether Celtic or Teutonic in origin, the tendency is for the ornament to cover practically the whole surface of the object under treatment, while it is only very rarely that we find that contrast between plain and richly adorned passages on which so much of the effect of classical decoration depends. The chalice, like some other objects of the pagan period in Ireland, is perhaps imitating, or being an imposing largeness of style, due to the simple contours of the plain polished silver bowl, in contrast with the bands and medallions filled in with panels of delicate ornament and studded with small bosses of variety. The most striking part of the base, which would be visible when the chalice was raised to the lips of a communicant.

Conclusion.—It has been seen that in the manuscripts all the kinds of ornament already enumerated are used freely in conjunction, while in the metal-work zoomorphs are conspicuous, and interlacing patterns are less used than the others. Turning now to the sculptured stones, we find interlacing patterns most prominent of all, so that they sometimes form the sole ornamentation of a monument. As the forms of the slabs or crosses differ in the various Celtic or Celtaicized districts, so do the kinds of ornament with which they are adorned. Decoration in tastefully distributed panels is everywhere the rule, and in Kells churchyard, Ireland, there is an unfinished cross, on which the panels are marked out and carefully squared, though there is no carving on them. The panels, however, are differently filled according to the localities. In Ireland, where the antique or pre-Christian elements are largely retained, the figure subjects greatly preponderating over ornament; and the same may be said of the free-standing Scottish crosses of the same type, though the subjects in Ireland are more generally Scriptural than in Scotland, where hunting scenes and the like are more common. In Wales and Cornwall, on the other hand, figure sculpture of all kinds is subordinate to ornament. In the matter of ornament, spirals of good design and zoomorphs are frequent in Ireland and Scotland, but are very rare in Wales and Cornwall, and are concerned, in the Isle of Man. The Irish and Scottish stones have also as a speciality that kind of knot work where curved lines are most in evidence.

The varieties of interlacing patterns in Scotland and Wales are astonishing, and these have all been analyzed with extreme ingenuity and care by Tomy Allen in The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, where the subject occupies 150 quarto pages. Since these slabs and crosses were, as we have seen, not works of technical character as the manuscripts and much of the metal-work, it is not necessary to postulate the monastic craftsman as in their case the sole executant. Yet the loving care and the single-minded devotion to a laborious task of which they give evidence are just the qualities which the monastic life developed in its votaries; and though the designer of some of the
elaborate cross-slabs of Scotland may have helped himself by appropriating compositions and motives from the manuscripts, yet he could never have carried out the work with such perfect execution had not his whole nature been brought into accord with the spirit that inspired it. Celtic art, as the expression on the exterior of the person and the intensity of a wonderful religious life, without which the Christian Church would have been greatly poorer, was a possession of the people at large, and is a democratic art practised alike by the very rich and by the most learned scholars in Christendom.


G. BALDWIN BROWN.

ART (Christian).—Introduction.—The limits of this article permit of the treatment of the subject only in one or two selected aspects. There can be no attempt to enumerate the various forms of Christian art, still less to trace out their history. For this purpose a useful collection is that in the Encyclopaedia. The noblest and most important form of Christian art, architecture, furnishes the subject of a distinct article. Illuminated manuscripts are dealt with in next article. For art as a class of Christian art, as ivory, or ecclesiastical metal-work, information will be found in Dictionaries of Christian Antiquities, or in compendia like Dom Leclercq's recent Manuel d'Archeologie Chretienne.

(a) Space.—The scope of the present article must necessarily be a narrow one, and the main object of it is to take the most characteristic forms of Christian art as we meet with them in successive ages, and consider how far each of them expressed the religious ideal. In considering with these historical phases we shall keep in view the two main questions: (1) That of the relation of art and the element of beauty generally to the religious life, and (2) that of the actual attitude of the Church at large, and of sections of it, towards art and beauty.

(b) Definition.—It is necessary to understand at the outset what is meant by 'Art.' To the majority of people a work of art means a picture or a piece of sculpture, and such works are generally regarded as the point of contact with nature, and of the intrinsic character of the person or scene or object delineated. Art is, however, something far wider, and it is taken to embrace the element of beauty wherever this appears in the works of man. The tasteful embellishment of buildings and of objects of utility is just as much art as the painting of a picture, and such decoration can be in the highest degree artistic even though the representation of nature plays little or no part in it. Where the representation of nature does form an important element in the effect of a piece, this may be a very beautiful and precious work of art, though the aspect of nature it presents is comparatively trivial, whereas a markedly inferior work of art, like some modern religious pictures of the 'Doré' type, may have for its theme a subject of highest import. In this article the subject and the religious intention of a work are not reckoned as in themselves competent to give it its rank, and only those works are regarded as illustrating the subject of Christian art that express Christian ideas in an adequate and beautiful artistic form.

(c) Misconceptions concerning Christian art.—These considerations may help us to get rid at the outset of certain popular misconceptions, such as the notions that in early Christian days pagan art was deeply tainted with impurity; that the Christians were in consequence opposed to art, and that the earliest manifestations of Christian art assumed a symbolic or didactic character as a sort of apologia or explanation. It is true that there was an immense amount of art in the pagan world of a decorative kind that filled life with beauty, but did not obtrude upon notice any special representations of mythological personages. In cases where these figures were actually in evidence, there was, as a rule, nothing in the way they were displayed that would necessarily offend the eye. As a fact, the works of the Greek and Roman chisel and brush are so far from being tainted with impurity that it is difficult to pick out from existing galleries of antique sculpture more than one or two works that are in any way suggestive or ignoble. Antique works compare quite favourably in this respect with those that figure yearly in European exhibitions of contemporary art. It is true we are told of some great painters of antiquity that they exercised their skill occasionally on licentious themes, but this is a fact also about certain prominent Italian painters of the present day. The extant works of painting, apart from a few examples that were never meant for public view, we find nothing displayed on the plaster of Pompeian walls that is not perfectly innocent. There may have been no fear of being taxed by lubricity, but they were specially executed to suit the taste of the Athenian jeunesses d'ore, and any one can see that thousands upon thousands of painted vases on view in the museums of Europe are as chaste as a child's picture book. A false impression arose when the Christian Fathers applied somewhat uncritically the OT category of 'idol' to the classical gods and goddesses, and were prompt to note the scandalous appearances made in pagan literature. As the early Greek philosopher complained, while the gods commit all the disgraceful acts repudiated among men, but the artists steadfastly refused to lend themselves to any such degradation of the religious ideal. In sculpture and painting the behaviour of these mythological beings is in almost every case exemplary. In their persons and conversation the artists exhibit nothing but what is ethically noble. Hence the spirit of pagan art, literally interpreted, was not anti-Christian; and of art as such must be adapted to Christian purposes without any marked incongruity.

Again, the existence of a vast number of works of art, often of an elaborate kind, dating from all the Christian centuries, is enough to show that there has been no general opposition to art in the
minds of Christians. There are, it is true, statements which have been interpreted as implying a condemnation of all forms of art. The statements are, however, primarily concerned with the making, embellishing, and setting forth of images connected with the pagan religion. This sort of work was naturally forbidden to the Christian and still is, save that, in the Christian church, it has gone so far as to eavel at the making of the similitude of any natural object, on the plea that it might conceivably become an object of adoration. On the other hand, he points out (De idolatria, ch. viii.) that the Christian and ultimately the Jewish artist should not be prevented from exercising his art. Moreover, even on work which had no connexion with the pagan religion; and the 11th Canon of St. Hippolytus allows the craftsman to supply ordinary social demands for artistic work. Hence there is no reason to doubt that Christian houses were as pleasingly adorned, to the measure of the means and the taste of their owners, as pagan ones; but the art thus applied was of a light and decorative kind, not depending on formal pictures or statues, which probably would not make their appearance at all.

1. Before Constantine.—The earliest existing examples of Christian art are applied not to houses but to burial-places, wherein the classical fashion is followed of giving them the same sort of adornment as the abodes of the living. The earliest known of these are decorated in the same fashion as contemporaneous Roman tombs, such as the well-known ones on the Via Latina. The style is bright and cheerful. Pure landscapes are not unknown. Wreaths of fruit and flowers play a considerable part, and there occur also figure motives of a classical kind, in the form of two-winged genii, often engaged in vintage operations, personifications of the seasons, Cupids and Psyche, and the like, wherein the innocent classical convention of the nude is wholly repudiated. To these purely decorative shapes there were added from the first certain others of a religious significance. The simplest of these is the Orant, a female figure with arms raised in an attitude of adoration. In the case of more distinctive personages, as the Canon of the NT was at the time only in process of formation, the representations are drawn mostly from the OT. Jonah is the favourite, and is evidently accepted, in the spirit of Mt 12th, as the type of Christ. Moses striking the rock, Daniel in the fiery furnace, and Susanna, also occur, and the choice seems determined by lists of typical worthies of the Old Dispensation such as those in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, or in liturgical documents such as the Commendatio Animae quando Infirmus est in Extremis.

The figure of Christ appears early, but in a disguised form as the Good Shepherd, or as Orpheus who exercised a controlling charm over all living creatures. Occasionally He is presented in His own person, but occasionally the personage chosen is one in which He appears as worker of wonders. The 'Raising of Lazarus' is specially favoured. Save in one exceptional scene of the 'mocking,' the suffering Christ does not appear, and still less the Just Judge. Such are characteristic subjects in the 1st and 2nd centuries, while occasionally in the 3rd, and more often in the 3rd, we meet with representations of a more or less doctrinal kind, such as the faithful round the table of the Lord, on which is placed for food the mystic fish, the symbol of Christ. It is remarkable, however, that historical representations from the actual life of the Church, especially scenes of persecution and martyrdom, are wholly absent.

In all this work we have from the present point of view to note: (1) that it is in the main decorative, the artist being more concerned to cover bare spaces and to dispose symmetrically his representations than to inculcate by them any doctrinal lesson; and (2) that classical influence remains strong, even when we have passed from the earliest period of almost exact correspondence between pagan and Christian decorative schemes. As Dom Leclercq has recently shown, many of the OT figures were modelled on pagan types, while the earliest and best plastic representations of Christ as the Good Shepherd not only reproduce the familiar classical motive, but show a grace and elasticity in form and pose not unworthy of a fairly good period of classical art. Moreover, the Christian artist, if he be not a true Christian, is represented as youthful and beardless, with something of the attractive calmness of an Apollo. It is impossible in face of these facts to believe that there was any general sympathy among the early Christians with the extreme views expressed by Tertullian when he objected to any representation of figures or natural objects; or that there was any reason why Christians should turn with repugnance from the classical art that was all about them.

The OT and NT scenes that begin to appear in the catacomb frescoes of the 3rd cent. are repeated on the carved sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th. On some of these we find the same idyllic scenes of genii vintaging, the vine being, of course, in this case the True Vine. We have the typical decorative motives which we meet with in the earliest frescoes; but the OT and NT scenes form the staple subjects of sarcophagus art, and Jonah, Abraham, Moses, and Daniel are seen side by side with Christ raising Lazarus, healing the blind, or touching with a magic wand of power the water-pots of Cana. If the crowning scenes of His life are touched at all, there is no attempt to deal with the deeper Christian mysteries of suffering and sacrifice. The march to Calvary becomes a triumphant procession, with the Cross borne forward as a banner; the crowning with thorns is envisaged as a royal honour.

2. After Constantine.—The next epoch of Christian art, after the time of Constantine, introduces us into quite a different scene. In the 4th cent. Christianity has become the religion of the State, and confronts the world as a regularly constituted power. The artist needs no longer to hint but can assert, and there is demanded from him a certain amplitude and majesty in his work.—(a) Mosaic Art. The characteristic form of artistic expression for this period is the monumental mosaic. The artist's operations are no longer confined to the narrow limits of a burial chamber or the side of a sarcophagus. He has to cover with decoration the vast interior wall surfaces of the great basilican churches and the stately though much smaller baptisteries. His style changes with his task. If the bright unpretending catacomb pictures seem to have a literary counterpart in the Passion scenes of the 4th cent., the severe and imposing mosaics possess a certain epic grandeur. The subjects of the mosaics are not, as a rule, historical or directly doctrinal, and there is the same reliance in the avoidance of those Passion scenes in the life of Christ in which He is represented as suffering or in humiliation. The aim of the mosaic artist is to present in majestic and simple forms the heroes of Christianity. It is not the adventures of the saints that attract him so much as the dignity of their presence as they stand at the foot of the cross, or in Roman garb as the Roman emperors. He is represented as suffering or in humiliation—lords in heaven and earth. It is the Presence of Christ, rather than His mortal deeds and sufferings, that he strives to bring before the spectator.

The early Christian mosaics from the 4th to the 6th cent. at Rome and Ravenna are as great in their illustration of the principles of design as in
their technical excellence and their artistic beauty. They adopt in the main the principle of the world-famous frieze of the Parthenon at Athens, and offer an ideal presentation of actual scenes of which the building they adorned was the theatre. One of the earliest and quite the finest of the mosaics, that in St. Phidias at Rome, is in respect of its main scheme canonical. In the apse of that church the stately form of Christ enshrined as teacher occupies the central position, while on a lower level and on both sides of Him sit the twelve Apostles. The arrangement transferred to the basilica of Ravenna, in which the church in the centre behind the altar, with the attendant priests on the stone bench round the curve of the apse on either side of Him, Christ, behind whom in the mosaic rises a jewelled cross on a hill in the midst of a city, Jerusalem, in the invisible ideal president of the daily assembly; the spirit of the Apostles is ready to inspire the clergy. The work, which may date within the 4th cent., is notable for the classical feeling in the characterization of the Apostles, reminding us of the heads in some of Raphael's cartoons. Equally dignified, equally well chosen, is the scheme for the decoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Ravenna. In the centre of the dome is a noble picture of the ideal consecration to ministry, the Baptism of Our Lord, at whose feet the gaunt but imposing forms of the twelve Apostles are preparing to lay down their crosses. More explicit is the display in St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, where the worshipper on entering sees represented in mosaic, on the side walls of the nave above the arcades, on the one side a portion of Ravenna itself, and on the other the City of Jerusalem, as well as of the Imperial city. From each there issues a procession of saints, male on the right, female on the left, who are represented advancing towards the altar end of the church, bearing crowns which they will lay at the feet of an enthroned Christ and an enthroned Mary with the Child, at the end of the nave. Here again is idealized the bodily movement of the actual worshippers from the door of the church to its altar, or from their city homes to the heavenly mansion for the dead. The spiritual movement of the heart from earthly to celestial preoccupations. Above these processions, between the clerestory windows, stand single figures of white-robed saints, which carry out better than the church organs that could be the idea before noticed of the monumental presentation of heroic forms of epic simplicity and grandeur. Highest of all comes on each side a series of historical pictures in mosaic from the life of Christ—the first example of such representations that Christian art has to show. On the one side there are scenes from the miracles and discourses, very simply but effectively designed, and showing the protagonist of the youthful Apollo-like met with in catacomb art and on the sarcophagi. On the other side the chief periods of his life, the most coeval times a Passion series, but the actual scenes of the final tragedy are as a fact selected on early Christian principles, with a truly classical avoidance of anything painful, or of any situation in which the Lord would be shown as suffering humiliation. Thus there is no scouring, no crowning with thorns, no crucifixion, no taking down from the cross or burial, and the scene in which Christ, a heroic figure, at Ravenna, in the making of the triumphal procession towards Calvary, is followed immediately by that of the Marys at the empty sepulchre. In the pictures of this second series Christ is represented as older and is bearded, and the marked difference in His personality in the two closely related sets of pictures is enough to show that there can have been no authentic tradition of His actual physiognomy.

(b) Historical or symbolic representation.—From this same period of the 5th and 6th centuries we can date the beginning of the most conspicuous but not always the most artistic form of Christian art—the historical or symbolic representation, of an edifying and often a didactic character. There is an often quoted saying based on Quintilian, which occurs in many early Christian writings, to the effect that the pictures are the books of those who cannot read. To the ecclesiastical mind this gave a religious justification for the pictorial embellishment of the walls of public buildings, which had previously been a matter of tradition inherited from classical practice. In the middle of the 5th cent. we find St. Nilus laying down the principle that the inner walls of a church should be covered with scenes from the Old and New Testaments from the hand of a first-rate artist, in order that those who are unable to read may be reminded of the Christian virtues of those who have served aghit the true God, and be inspired to emulate them. In the 6th cent. Gregory the Great recommended the use of paintings in churches in order that the illiterate might have something to look at in what they were not able to read in books. On this idea was based a scheme of decoration which remained in use throughout the medieval period. At the altar end of the church was displayed the figure of Christ enthroned, as teacher or judge, and the faithful were to be inspired by the sight to strive for the joys of Paradise. Along the side walls were exposed historical pictures from OT or NT or from the lives of saints, in which instruction might be conveyed to the unlettered convert. The subjects would be chosen, and the figures, actions, and details as a rule settled not by the artist himself, but by the ecclesiastical authorities. Gregory of Tours gives us a charming picture of the wife of a bishop of Clermont in the 5th cent., sitting with her Bible in her lap in the church, and directing the operations of a company of painters who are frescoing the walls. The western entrance wall was not at first included in the scheme as well as the eastern, but from the 9th cent. onwards it was utilized for a display complementary to that of the glories of Paradise over the altar. This was the Last Judgment, often with the connected scenes of the separation and after-disposition of the monks of earth and of Paradise. In the later medieval period the Inferno was made especially prominent, with the avowed intention of affecting the souls of the worshippers by salutary terror as well as by hope. Of the subject of Christ in glory the finest examples by far are in the early Christian mosaics, but the historical scenes were not displayed in adequate artistic form till the development of the Italian schools of mural painting in the 15th century. The most impressive rendering of the scene of the Last Judgment is to be found in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which used to be ascribed erroneously to Orcagna. The treatment here is truly dramatic and moving, and is marked by a fine reticence. Later representations of the theme, such as the famous ones by Luca Signorelli at Orvieto, offend through their over-insistence on the terror of the scene, and especially on the physical torments inflicted by the demons on the lost spirits who fall into their clutches. The scene may thus be made to convey the idea well thus to damn the sinner and to harass the feelings of the impressionable, but the artistic result is nothing less than deplorable. Both in these scenes, and in the representation which became very popular of Christ suspended in suffering or
the Cross, the painters of the 12th and 13th centuries, especially in Italy, offended against all laws of good taste and of beauty, and prostituted art to the service of a gloomy religiosity.

From these false ideals representative art in the West was saved by certain religious revivals, especially in the person of St. Francis of Assisi, and in Germany in the mystics of the school of Cologne. In both cases pictorial art showed itself responsive to the religious impulse, and the artistic revivals connected with the names of Giotto of Florence and Meister Wilhelm of Cologne, were distinct. In fact, the view they thus adopted about works of art, were not regarding the matter from an aesthetic, but rather from a doctrinal standpoint; but we are fortunate in possessing medieval productions that do not depend for their artistic value on anything that they return us the consciousness of the medieval opinion that are more satisfying to those aesthetically minded.

2. Theophilus on Art.—Among the most interesting documents that have come down to us from the Middle Ages is a treatise, written about the year A.D. 1100, by a German Benedictine monk whose name in religion was Theophilus. The author, a practical expert in line metal-work and other artistic processes and materials, has prefixed to the three books into which his treatise, De Diversis Artibus, is divided, Introductions in which he discourses at large on the whole question of art and the cultivation of the beautiful as a part of the religious life. The view Theophilus advances is that of the Middle Ages in general, and thus gives the modern reader a very pleasing impression of monastic culture, which he will probably have been taught to believe was slavishly narrow and ascetic.

Theophilus bases his apologia for the practice of the arts on the part of those vowed to the religious life on a view of human nature that can be thus paraphrased:

Man was made in the image of God, that is, as Theophilus implies, in the similitude of the Divine image, in the world, and he is bound to make his resemblance to the Divine as real and effective as he can. It is true, that by the machinations of the evil one this Divine image was obscured at the Fall, but it was not so far effaced that man cannot through care and thought win back something of the ancient heritage of art and of learning. Wherefore, he writes, the loss devoted of the faithful should not neglect the knowledge which the prudent will and the skilled person holds for himself and his fellows. For which reason, Theophilus declares, he is ready to offer to all who desire humbly to learn, as freely as he has himself freely received it, all the gift of the Lord, which being the knowledge of the technical processes of the arts which he then goes on to unfold. In addition, he discourses in the same strain, and urges the artist to believe that the spirit of God has filled his heart, and will direct him by the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. Then, he says, the gifts embrace the special qualities of skill and taste and industry which are requisite for the practice of the arts. The spirit of Wisdom teaches that God is present in each gift, and without Him there is nothing,—this is the principal lesson. Next, the spirit of Understanding gives to the mind the capacity for discerning the right order, measure, and distribution of parts which should be applied to the work in hand. The spirit of Counsel teaches us not to hide the talent which has been given us by God, but to display it openly, with all humility, in word and act before those who are desiring to learn. Through the spirit of Might the artisan will throw courage into the weakness of the weaknesses, and will begin his work with vigour and carry it through with all his energy and power to the end. The spirit of Knowledge, which has been granted to him, will multiply his means, and present him with abundant stores, over which he presides, and which he must produce with all boldness before his fellows. By the spirit of Piety he will rightly judge upon what object, for whom, and when, and how much, and in what manner he shall spend his labour, and will guard against that insatiable greed and greed by a most scrupulous moderation in estimating the value of what has been done. Finally, as the great lesson of the whole, the spirit of Justice teaches us that the artisan can do nothing of himself, that all he possesses or desire comes from God, and that he must attribute all the goodness of the Divine mercy all that he knows, or is, or hopes to be.

3. Art in the monasteries.—The existence of artistic practice as an institution of the cloister may in itself surprise, for it seems to us moderns to belong to a side of life from which the ascetic recluse would turn rigidity away. We may, how-
ever, repeat here what was intimated in connexion with the fact, to some almost equally surprising, that artistic practice existed among the earliest Christians. Art, regarded as an element of beauty attaching itself naturally to the works of men, and touching life at every point, the modern cannot really understand, because with us this element of beauty is something artificial and extra, for which we have to make a special effort. This was not the case in old time, when it would have needed a special effort, not to procure, but to exclude this element. The earliest Christians decorated their tombs, the Christians after Constantine their churches, because not to do so would have been a forced act, for which, as we have already seen, there was no real reason. The artistic tradition, thus maintained from the first by the Church at large, was in Eastern Christendom never broken, and the Greek Church, while stereotyping the forms of its expression, has held it continuously in honour. In the West the Teutonic inroads broke up the fabric of antique culture; but though the classical tradition in art was thus in a measure severed, the barbarians were in their own way just as artistic as the Greeks or Romans, and the medieval civilization of the West, partly classical and partly Gothic, derived its beauty from both these sources. Hence, when communities of monks and nuns were formed, alike in the Celtic and the once-Romanized parts of the West, the arts quietly made their appearance within the hallowed enclaves of monastic, collegiate, or religious communities, was in theory self-supporting, and all sorts of operations in harnessy and in the mechanical crafts had perforce to be carried on by the inmates, whose bodily and mental health was greatly improved thereby. Of the Celtic monastery at Bangor, near Chester, Bede tells us that the two thousand inmates all lived by the labour of their hands. The rule of St. Benedict, in the 8th cent., provided that when abbeys entered the Order they were to be allowed to continue working at their crafts, though they were not to take any personal pride in their productions. The quiet and order of a monastery must have been congenial to the artist, and Ordoennis Vitalis tells us that, when the first monks entered a certain hermitage, 1 they gathered about him freely craftsmen both in wood and iron, carvers and goldsmiths, painters and stonemasons, and others skilled in all manner of work. (St Beneict, vii. 27.)

The mere practice of the various crafts, artistic as well as utilitarian, in the medieval convent is, however, one thing, and the religious enthusiasm with which Theophilus seems to regard artistic pursuits is quite another. It is this that constitutes for us the interest of the Schedula. The religion of Christian art was evidently sincere and fervent, and it seems to him to find a natural, even a Divinely ordained, outcome in art. Though he does not always understand the purpose of art as we do now, and indeed he often holds the artist up to the same standard as himself, this is not greater than this simple reminder that the love of what is beautiful is a part of human nature, or, if we take still higher ground, the more august assertion that the creation of what is beautiful is part of the law of the universe at large.

1 Look around you, you can hear Theophilus saying in effect to his brother, ‘and survey the fabric of creation. It is the work of an artist, of the Supreme Artist who has made all things beautiful in their beauty.’ He has given you too with a particular gift of His own nature and has formed you an artist, and you are bound in service to Him to exercise your creative power and make the most of your affinity with what is beautiful. In the name of religion take up the brush and tongs and mallet, and spare no cost or labour till the House of God that you build shall shine like the very fields of Paradise.

These last words are used by Theophilus in a passage in which he forebodes the concrete realization of the promise of the microcosm of an Abbey church, which is an image of the vast microcosm of the universe. The church, he says, must be adorned, not decorated on canvas, where the artist is free to use whatever material his fancy dictates. The ceiling will be flowered with an embroidered role, the wall to resemble a garden, the windows to be filled with coloured light. After the decoration of the fabric will come the provision of fittings and apparatus, including all the vessels for the service of the sanctuary, the ceremonial and embellishment of which he describes in the technical chapters in the body of his treatise. There, the workshop and among the appliances and tools which the monkish craftsman has to build and fashion for himself, we are invited to see the gold and silver and bronze, the coloured earths, the glass stained with metallic oxides, all taking shape in dainty and beautiful forms, till the mire matter, the raw material, has become spiritualized through its consecration, in a shape of beauty, to the service of the Most High. For with Theophilus the preoccupation always is with the technical manipulation of the material so as to combine with it an effect of beauty. From end to end of his treatise there is comparatively little about art as representative. The art he most highly esteems is decorative. It is something that corresponds to the more prosaic visions of the Fathers and bishops, to whom the lessons to be drawn from the presentation of holy persons and scenes make up the chief value of art. Of course, aware that the beautiful forms he conjures into life under a hammer or the glass of the ceiling or the walls of the church are not infrequently used only for the sake of art, and not because the effects thus produced are beautiful, he feels that to the spectator will take help from the thought of the artist’s good action, and be terrified at the remembrance of his sins.

Though Theophilus troubles himself little about symbolism, there was no doubt a symbolic intent in many of the decorative forms employed in medieval art. On this subject a word must be said, because it is one that is often misunderstood. There is no mystery about Christian symbolism, because it is almost entirely based upon Scripture. We are familiar with that type of art in which animals and plants stand for personages and qualities, and know that there is little consistency in the use of these. Thus the lion is at times a type of Christ, as the ‘lion of the tribe of Judah’; but at other times he may represent the evil one, who, ‘as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.’ In plastic or graphic art the lion may conceivably stand either for the ideal of good or the ideal of evil; but there is commonly, too, a third alternative, that the creature is purely ornamental, and may have been copied as a mere decorative motive from some different source, such as an Oriental figured staff. The whole subject of SYMBOLISM is dealt with in another article, and it is mentioned here only for the sake of warning the reader writers who have descended on the praises of art from the moral and religious standpoint, there is a breadth and dignity about the thought of the 11th cent. monk that puts him above them all. There is, indeed, no more effective apology for the cultivation of art than this simple reminder that the love of what is beautiful is a part of human nature, or, if we take still higher ground, the more august assertion that the creation of what is beautiful is part of the law of the universe at large.

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The difference was that, while the theologian saw, in the shape, say, of a dragon, a reference to mystic stream of thought, it was necessary here to emphasize the natural and concrete symbolism of the forms of Gothic architecture, which raises the soul in aspiration, while the sense of mystery, of the beyond, is instilled by its multitudinous eloquent details, its perspectives, its magic of light and shade. Of course, an elaborate symbolic interpretation was given all the parts and fittings of the church and the apparatus of the altar. In this way, too, beast forms in art were credited with moral and religious meanings that were interpreted according to schemes of beast symbolism embodied in the so-called bestiaria. That beast forms in medieval art were commonly symbolical is, however, rendered extremely unlikely by the fact that reforming churchmen of puritanical tendencies are found inveighing against such symbolism as common in 12th and 13th centuries. The word *classicus* occurs in the writings of St. Bernard, in the 12th cent., who protests against the foolish and wasteful display of these monsters on carved capitals and friezes, without any suggestion of their symbolic significance. Significantly later writers draw a distinction between pictures of the sufferings of Christ and the martyrs, which he praises as 'books of the laity,' and animal representations, for 'what have lions to do in a church, or dragons, or all the rest of these beasts?' (Schmitz, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, iv. 272).

These passages draw attention to the fact, which must not be passed over, that within the monastic system itself there was not perfect unanimity in regard to this lavish display of art in connexion with religion. There was a puritan vein in monasticism that led to protests against what was regarded as over-exuberance in the use of the element of beauty in the furnishing forth of sacred structures. The so-called reformed Benedictine Orders, beginning with the Cluniacs of the 10th cent., took, as a rule, this view, and a striking illustration of its working is to be found in the attitude of the Cistercians towards stained glass. The magnificent display of colour and imagery in the windows of the 12th and the 13th centuries, such as those at Chartres, they considered too sumptuous for the House of God, and substituted geometrical patterns in grey and yellow. Figure sculpture on the façades of their churches they also repudiated. It is, however, significant of the hold that art had obtained over the religious community in this advanced medieval period, to note that there was no real opposition to art even among the severest of the reformed Orders, for Cistercian architecture, as the ruined abbeys of England and France prove, though sparsely adorned, is of extreme beauty, and its ornamentation, with conventional foliage, is of utmost delicacy and grace.

4. Gothic Architecture. - We find, then, in the *Scholastica* of Theophilus the conception of Christian art as a display of beautiful things carefully and cunningly wrought, that were offered as the homage of the mortal artist to the great Artist of creation. This conception was actually realized, with a completeness and splendour of which a monk of the 11th cent. could have no idea, in the fabric and fittings of the French Gothic cathedral of the age of St. Louis. This is the most perfect embodiment of Christian art that the world has seen, that representative element, though present and recognized as it was by Theophilus, was subordinate to direct artistic expression, first in the forms of the architecture, and next in the sumptuous display of detail and colour in the stone and wood carvings, the gilt and enamelled shrines, and, above all, in the 'storied windows richly dight' that are the glory of the Gothic fane. The subject of Christian architecture receives this treatment, and it is necessary here only to emphasize the natural and concrete symbolism of the forms of Gothic architecture, which raises the soul in aspiration, while the sense of mystery, of the beyond, is instilled by its multitudinous eloquent details, its perspectives, its magic of light and shade.

In this way, and in the general artistic effect of these vast structures at the time of their glory, when the interiors, often now cold and bare, were glancing with gold and colour, and were hung with gorgeous Eastern stuffs, we can form but an imperfect idea; but it is probable that nothing more artistically beautiful has ever been seen. The spirit of the work was still the spirit of the earlier religious decorative art of which we read in Theophilus; that is to say, it was impersonal work, unmarred by any touch of personal display, a work in art, sincere in intent and execution, and offered in an act of devotion for the service of the sanctuary. The representative element was at the same time present in the art, but it kept its place as on the whole subordinate to the general effect. For that very reason we find in it a charm which more advanced representative work has often lost. It is the charm of naïveté and freshness due to the artist's unsophisticated delight in nature, and at the same time to the clearness of his mental vision, which gives him ease and assurance.

The decorative figure sculpture on the great French cathedrals, such as Chartres, Amiens, and Rheims, is really one of the most perfectly satisfactory forms of Christian art. It is a direct expression of the thought and feeling of the Gothic epoch, as they were embodied in the character and work of St. Louis, the typical man of his age. In St. Louis medieval religion took on a new character, for his was no cloistered saintliness, of what may be termed a professional type, but the saintliness of a man versed in secular affairs though viewing them always from the standpoint of a childlike but cheerful piety. The forms of Christ and of Mary, of the Apostles and prophets, of saints and of angels, that cluster about the spreading portals, or take their station on pinnacles on the upper stages of the buildings, are so fresh in their naturalness, so graceful and elastic in pose, so full of brightness and tenderness in expression, so pure and holy of aspect, that we feel that we never met with a company that seemed to realize better what is meant by 'the body of Christian fellowship.' On the intellectual side we trace in the figures and reliefs the working of ideas beyond the mental horizon of the carvers who actually achieved the work. At Amiens, for example, the subjects in the reliefs of the pinnacles that support the noble figures of the Jewish prophets, on the western front, are drawn from the prophetic writings, and evince a knowledge of the Vulgate text that betokens the trained theologian; but if we take the sculpture as a whole, we cannot doubt that the minds of the carvers were just as alert as their hands, and that the qualities in the work which we most admire are due not to the ecclesiastical directors of the undertaking, but to the devotional feeling, the sense of beauty, and the freshly kindled love of nature, that in the France of that favoured epoch were so widely diffused throughout the community of artists. It needs hardly to be said that the same qualities mark Gothic sculpture in other lands, and they are very apparent in the beautiful recum-
bent effigies in stone or bronze in which English craftsmen of the 14th cent. achieved so much success. The 'Queen Eleanor' of Westminster Abbey and the 'Edward ii.' at Gloucester are among the best of these. English and German churches of the period are adorned with beautiful decorative sculpture, but the displacement of such a display of Gothic sculpture, laid stress on physical suffering. This applies chiefly to Italy, where in the early part of the 13th cent., while French and English Gothic art had unfolded itself in forms so varied and beautiful, little was being produced but unattractive and coarsely executed pictures, on which the historians of Italian painting lavish all the terms of degradation they can muster. The Gothic spirit is one of humanity and brightness, and it was the spread of this from central France to Italy that led to the revival of art in the Peninsula. This Gothic spirit became incorporated in St. Francis of Assisi. As Sabatier puts it:—

'S. Francis is the friend of nature: he is the man who sees in every object a hint, an adumbration of the infinite beauty, the essence of the eternal beauty . . . hence at the voice of the Umbrian reformer Italy began to recover herself; she found again her sense and her good humours; she put away those ideas of pessimism and of death as a healthy organism gets rid of the principles of disease. A lifting himself as by the standard of the wing to the religious life, Francis caused suddenly to shine forth before the eyes of his contemporaries a new ideal, in presence of which there disappeared all those strange and perverted sects, as the birds of night fly before the first rays of the sun' (Life of St. Francis, London, 1807, p. 40).

The beneficent influence of the genial creed of S. Francis, so that Tintoretto in the Italian painting is well understood, and in Giotto and Simone Martini, who at Florence and Siena respectively represent the coming in of the Gothic spirit of humanity and tenderness, we find this influence at work. It is worth noting also that a similar influence at a rather later date was exercised upon painting in Germany, and led to the beautiful art of the early school of Cologne. German representative art has often shown a tendency towards what is grotesque and terrible, and the popular example of Death of the Good Will, or of the dead, are proof of this. In marked contrast to this tendency we find at Cologne in the last part of the 14th and beginning of the 15th cent. a school of painting marked by the most delicate idyllic grace and tenderness by a pure, solemn, dignified, few Italian pictures can match. The art is really inspired by the so-called German mystics or 'Gottesfreunde,' a body of men who without forming any sect or order felt themselves impelled to a religious life of more intense zeal than was shared by their fellows. Still remaining, like the early Franciscans in Italy, true sons of the Church, they sought to make religion consist in a more intimate personal relation between the soul and God. When this religious devotion was established, there was filled with an ecstatic love that was not only the love of God but also the love of one's neighbour, so that the perfectly holy man, it was said, might desire the Kingdom of heaven for his fellow-man even before himself. In this mood the mystics were visited by visions, but visions that presented only forms of beauty. The fantastic and the grim, which have exercised such fascination over the Northern imagination, seldom appeared before the eyes of Heinrich Suso or his fellow-seers, but their dreams were of loving rides on flowery meads, and even of celestial maidens to whom they were fain to offer adoration. Schmauss was perfectly right in connecting with this religious revival of the 'Gottesfreunde' the Cologne school of idyllic religious painting associated with the names of Meister Wilhelm, Hermann Wynrich, and Stephen Lochner, the painter of the famous 'Dombild.'

5. Development of Christian art from the 13th to the 16th cent.—We thus see in Italy and in Germany alike that the artistic revivals of the late 13th and 14th cents. were preceded by and based upon certain religious movements that set in in the direction of humane and tender feeling. The influence was essentially the same as that which formed the inspiration of Gothic art in France in the century before; but whereas Gothic art is mainly decorative, we begin at the end of the 13th cent. to watch the development of painting and sculpture on their representative sides till they become capable of expressing the deeper emotions with dramatic force and verity. Up to this period the artist had never disposed of adequate means for the representation of nature. However pure in feeling, however devotional, had been the art of the catacombs, or of the monastery, or of the Gothic church, however noble the single forms, however lively in action the groups, in the mosaics or in the historical pictures from the lives of Christ or of the Saints, the delineation was always summary, the rendering of light and shade and perspective from the 14th cent. onwards two centuries are occupied with the development of painting and sculpture on the technical side, till they become in a true sense mirrors of nature and clear expressions of artistic thought. This is the epoch of what is called 'excellence' Christian art, and lies between the end of the 13th and the close of the 16th cent. in Italy, between the end of the 14th and the middle of the 16th in Germany and Flanders. From Giotto and Taddeo Gaddi, from Lippo Lippi and Domenico Veneziano to Quinten Massys of Antwerp in the other, painting and sculpture are Christian, in the sense that religious themes are preponderant, and that spiritual ideas are conveyed in a more or less distinct and convincing form. It would be a mistake, however, to use the term 'Christian' of this art in too absolute a sense, for the power which the artist gradually obtained over his materials he exercised on a realistic rendering of nature that resulted in a progressive secularizing of the spirit of the art. While the influence of the religious or of the 15th cent. acted potently in the same direction. All through the periods indicated, however, art that was in a strict sense Christian was being produced, though not by every artist, nor, with certain exceptions, by every feeling at every time.

The lives and works of the leading representatives of art in the periods indicated are so familiarly known that it will be sufficient for the purpose of this article to indicate in a few sentences the most prominent instances in which these artists embodied distinctly Christian ideas in their productions.

(a) Italian Schools.—The artists of the school of Florence, with the exception of one or two of prominent French, such as Simon Marmion and Luca della Robbia, with others like Lorenzo di Credi and Fra Bartolommeo who were directly influenced by the revivalism of Savonarola, took their subjects as a rule from the human side, and are noted for characterization and for the dramatic presentation of scenes of interest rather than for pious preoccupations. These scenes are of a sacred character, but they are generally envisaged in their human aspects, as is notably the case with the greatest of the early Florentines, Giotto and Masaccio. Some of Giottos scenes from the Passion of Christ at Padua, and Masaccios magnificent designs in the Carmine at Florence, are in the truest sense spiritually elevating: but the effect is that of the sublime in art generally, and they are com-
parable with fine scenes in Shakespeare or Aeschylus rather than with religious discourses. The same applies to some of the technically perfect achievements in religious art of the masters of the 16th cent., who bowed before Masaccio's genius in creation through they disposed of far more advanced techniques. The Francia, in its degree, to tend to. The most notable of these works from this ethereal standpoint are Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper' at Milan, Michelangelo's frescoes on the roof of the Sistine Chapel at Rome, some of Raphael's less academic compositions, numerous works by Titian, and the aforementioned Luini's. The largest part of the work of Tintoretto. The single figures by these masters have the epic grandeur of those in the finest Christian mosaics, though we see them no longer in monumental repose, but alert and mobile and actuated by noble passion. The sacred scenes in which they figure are re-constructed on an intelligible scheme, though the deliberate intention of all the actions and details is often so much in evidence that we are chilled by a certain made-up look in the composition. The Venus of Raphael or Titian in giving to these scenes a convincing air of reality, because they see them from the first as a whole instead of building them up piece by piece in conscious fashion. Perhaps the best of all these efforts for itself is Titian's religious impression is Titian's comparatively unpretending picture at Dresden known as the 'Tribute Money.' Christ, tempted with the insidious query about the lawfulness of paying tribute to Caesar, has asked to see the penny, which is brought to Him by His interlocutor, and the painter has emphasized the contrast between the noble, and at the same time tender and sympathetic, lineaments of the Lord and the screw-ed up cynical features of the weather beaten Pharisee, who peers cunningly into His countenance. The Hand of Christ, one of the most beautiful in art, contrasts effectively with the gnarled paw that is holding out the penny at which He points. The realization of the Christ of the Gospels and the creation of the adequate and beautiful type represent one of the triumphs of pictorial art. The imaginative power shown in some of Tintoretto's vast sketches in oil, from religious themes, in the Scuola di San Rocco at Venice, has never been equaled, and Raphael's cartoons are in comparison commonplace. The great 'Crucifixion' of the former artist at San Rocco, and the 'Christ before Pilate' opposite to it, are sublime creations.

The Italian painters of the first rank may be said to transcend the limits of an art that may technically be termed 'Christian,' and to present the sublime of human nature in such a way as insensibly to raise the mind of the spectator to Divine things. There were, however, many artists of the second order whose devout feelings found a more direct expression in works to which the adjective just used may with strictness be applied. The typical artist of this order was Fra Angelico, and the same spirit that animates his holy and beautiful paintings runs through the productions of the early Siennese and early Umbrian schools as a whole. Angelico's religious frescoes in the cells of the dormitory at San Marco, Florence, afford us the most perfect example of an art wholly devoted to the purpose of lifting the soul of the beholder on the wings of aspiration. Every figure, every composition, was a warning to leave the scenes of earth, and to join the celestial company around the Risen Christ, whose visionary form lie constantly present. There is more power, more intensity, in his works in the freshness of the Siennese and early Umbrian painters, who in purity of soul and in simple piety are his counterparts. To match the religious design of Angelico, we must pass over a generation of artistic advance in technique, when we find in the fully accomplished painting of Francia and of Luini a devotion equal to his own, joined with powers of execution to which he could lay no claim. The well-known 'Pieta' by Titian, in the National Gallery, is a perfect piece of religious art, while the fragments of Luini's frescoes have filled the corridor of the Brera with some of the loveliest shapes of virgin and saint and angel that Christian art has to show.

(b) German and Flemish Schools.—Turning now from the religious art of Italy to that of the early German and Flemish schools of the 16th cent., we find the fresh and innocent idyllic design of the early school of Cologne soon beset and overcome by the realism and the ugliness to which northern art has all along been ready to surrender itself. Out of this at the beginning of the 16th cent. Albrecht Dürer with difficulty fought his way, and created an art in which deep feeling and philosophical thought triumphed over the characteristic defects of Teutonic design. Many of Dürer's religious allegories, in which the suffering Christ are profoundly impressive, and were recognized by the Italians of his day as possessing qualities in design superior to those of their own productions. Dürer's finest works, however, such as the 'Lame Youth' of Dürer's first visit to Munich, and the world-famed engravings 'Melancolia' and 'The Knight and Death,' are, like Michelangelo's 'Prophetas in the Sistine chapel, ethically great but not inspired by any sentiment that is distinctly Christian. It is worth notice that though Dürer remained all his life a medi~

ist and a faithful son of the old Church, he held strong views about Papal abuses, and expressed the greatest admiration for Luther and some others of the Reforming party. We find proof of this in his writings as well as in some of his paintings. Once he addresses Erasmus as the 'Knight of Christ,' and bids him 'ride on by the side of the Lord Jesus.' There is a reference here, no doubt, to the figure in his own 'Knight and Death.' We find it hard to imagine Erasmus in mail and on the war-horse, and Luther's would have been a better name to invoke! The 'Four Apostles,' in the exaltation of Paul and John over Peter, betrays Lutheran prepossessions. In much of Dürer's work the German instinction with the weird and terrible interferes with our appreciation of its contemplation, but his woodcuts from the Apocalypse, where these qualities were in place, are charged with imaginative power. The pictures of the early Flemish religious painters, on the other hand, though in artistic rank they do not equal the masterpieces of Dürer, perpetuate in some degree the idyllic charm and tenderness of the early Cologne masters, while in the work of Rogier van der Weyden and some others there is distinct de~

 ногательствование языка в тексте в первоначальном виде.
Before passing on to the subject of Christian art under Protestantism, a few words may be said as to the later developments of religious painting on the older or pre-Reformation lines. We have seen that such painting in the Italy of the culminating period of the art tended to assume the form known as the ‘Biblia pauperum’, in which the scenes and personages are represented in a somewhat ‘made-up’ fashion, and fail to impress us with any sense of reality and power. This form of religious art maintained itself through the 17th and 18th cents., especially, of course, in Catholic countries, but not in these alone. In Spain, though the greatest master of the age, Velazquez, rarely exercised his genius on religious themes, painting of an ecclesiastical kind was necessarily much in evidence, and Murillo (1618-1682) is a very prolific and, on the whole, sympathetic representative of this form of art, on a somewhat popular plane. In the Catholic Netherlands, Vandyke, who is more refined in his characterization than his master Rubens, painted some very good religious pictures of the conventional type, while his contemporary Eustache Le Sueur in France (1617-1655) is one of the best of many artists of the second rank who exercised their talents on the familiar themes. Indeed religious painting was abandoned, and the kind of art which was painted, in the 17th cent. by Isaac Fuller, and in the 18th by Hogarth, who covered some very large canvases with religious compositions, the best of which is the ‘Pope of Bethesda’ on the subject of the greater promiscuity of the soul, was the Church of the Reformation; and this same style in decoration spread to other church interiors of the 17th cent., with a result which visitors to Rome, Ravenna, and other places never cease to deplore.

Anton Springer has well characterized the style as one that ‘brought architecture of its fitting reposes, and by the introduction of figures posed in startling attitudes, aroused or confounded by confusion and confusion, instead of straight lines, of applied upon pillar, substituted a turbulent unrest. Not,’ he says, ‘that the style (called generally Baroque) was with us. It was with us; but by a disposition of detail, a feeling for vastness and pomp, together with an internal decoration which spared neither colour nor costly material to secure an effect of dazzling splendour such are the distinguishing attributes of the Baroque style as in Rome it has been on every hand.’

It is interesting to compare the spirit of ecclesiastical decorative art of this artificial kind with that of the sincere, unpretending, though in its way equally elaborate art offered by the medieval monkish craftsman for the embellishment of his belovéd Church. On a superficial view the motives may be held to be the same, but now the difference! It is this substratum of ethical interest belonging to the history of the arts that gives this subject its importance to the student of the successive phases of human culture. It is noteworthy how much more is made of the evidence of art in historical and sociological studies on the Continent than among ourselves. The British mind is unfortunately possessed with the idea that the arts are merely separable accidents in the ornamental dress of our lives, and not, as was really the case in the past, modes of intimate expression in which the ideas of an age or a community found embodiment.

III. POST-REFORMATION PERIOD.—It was inevitable that the Reformation should bring about a considerable change in the forms and the character of Christian art. Assuming the least possible alteration, let us see what would necessarily follow from the rejection of the Roman ecclesiastical system. We will suppose that the Protestant continued to recognize, as he recognizes to-day, the value of the element of beauty in human life, and the suitableness of art as a form for the expression of religious ideas. The Saints would none the less all disappear from view, and with them would go their altars and altar-pieces, as well as the picturesque and varied scenes which had supplied artists for centuries past with unnumbered themes. In some respects the situation of the iconoclastic period was repeated, and representations, such as that of the crucified Saviour, or the enthroned Madonna, which had attracted something like worship, would be banished at once from the churches. The cessation of any demand for the large scenic paintings of the Last Things may at first sight seem surprising, but the interest in the Church of the Reformation became of far greater relative importance under Protestantism, which refused to recognize the competing claims of Mary and the Saints. As the Bible was freely perused, the literary treasures of the Old Testament were revived, and particularly the works of the Old Testament, and the prospective artist would in this way find ready for him in the bosom of the Reformed Churches a range of noble subjects of an absorbing religious interest. It must be noticed at the same time that, though sacred altar pieces and mural pictures went out of fashion, a new form of religious art grew up in the Germany of the Reformation period and spread to other lands, in the shape of the engraved plates which were abundant in the earliest printed Protestant pamphlets and in pious books of other kinds. Lucas Cranach illustrated Luther’s Bible; and Holbein, who in this aspect of his art was a child of the Reformation, has left us classical examples in the Homes Historic and Writings of Bible illustrations—and plates such as the ‘Christ the True Light,’ of 1527. This was a very cheap and popular form of art, and made up to some extent for the loss of the monumental works. In all these Protestant designs it would be natural, though not inevitable, for the subjects to be approached from the human side. So much had been made of the mystical element in religion in the older system, that the Reformers, though untouched by rationalism, might be disposed to keep the miraculous in the new form.

It follows that under an enlightened Protestant régime there might be as much expenditure in architecture and on decoration as before, and the meeting-house of the Reformed congregation would have just as much right to ‘shine like the fields of Paradise’ as the monastic fane of four centuries earlier, while representative art possessed in the life of Christ upon earth, and in the doings of the Old Testament worthy, a range of subjects the value of which ranks with that of the pictures of Paradise. The words of Luther are in this connexion very significant, when he said that he wished to see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who had created and had granted them to men, and repeated the old arguments in favour of pictures
as more suitable for the instruction of simple folks than discourses. As a fact, however, the alteration brought about at the Reformation was far greater than we have just assumed. In Switzerland, for instance, in Luther's time pictures were condemned and banished as idolatrous; while in Germany, he take another example, the reaction of the Reformation period went so far that under the title 'monuments of superstition' artistic treasures of indescribable beauty and perfect innocence were ruthlessly destroyed. Between the first onslaught upon ecclesiastical property on the side of the Pope and the edicts of the state that tried to put a stop to further vandalism, the loss to art was incalculable, and from this point of view those years of desolation and waste are among the darkest in our national annals. So richly equipped, however, were our English churches, and so well established had been the pre-Reformation tradition of beauty in the apparatus of worship, that, as in doctrine so here, a compromise was arrived at, and Christian art still recognized the Episcopal churches and cathedrals as its own. Here, at any rate, we could dream of peace till the Gothic revival of the early part of the 19th cent. fostered in it a new growth. It was among the non-Episcopal sects in England, and especially in Scotland, that religious art, in the truest sense of the word and as the expression of a true religious consciousness, was brought to the test of the letter of Scripture, and those parts of Scripture that were held at the time in special honour had little to say for it. A Biblical justification for art had always existed in the accounts of the Jewish temple and its ritual, and to these the lovers of art in mediæval days had appealed. Now, to the Presbyterian and the Independent, descriptions of temples and altars and priestly vestments and all the apparatus of worship did not appeal, for all these things they could not away with, while of specially Christian or NT justification of art there was but small trace to be found in the Gospels. Their teaching however broad it may be, ignores almost completely this side of life, which indeed would not naturally appeal to the Founder of Christianity in the temperal conditions under which His life was passed. His justification of the use made of the 'alabaster censer of ointment of spikenard very costly' (Mk 14:3) is in this respect notable, as it can be traced into the service of artistic theory. Some of the recorded sayings of Christ encourage a feeling for the beauty of natural objects, but the only one in the Synoptic Gospels bearing definitely on art is of rather the opposite character. 'And as he went forth out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, behold, what manner of stones and what manner of buildings! And Jesus saith unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? there shall not be left here one stone upon another, which shall not be thrown down ('Mk 13:2').

The going forth from the Temple of the Founder of Christianity is a genuine one, was past the immense and splendid Hellenistic triple portico of Herod—the finest, Josephus says, in the world—and out under the vast substructures of the Temple area; so that the pride of the disciple in these glorious structures must have been not a little disconcerted at the response. It was thus possible at the Reformation to find Scriptural justification of a negative kind for a starred and narrow view of art and beauty, as well as for one contrivingly both narrow and liberal, and it is interesting to note that the following out of the first view led to the extremes of rigid Puritanism, best to be studied in the Scotland of the 17th and 18th centuries; while on the second was based, as we shall see, in Holland, a phase of religious art that is one of the glories of Protestantism.

1. Narrow view of art.—Edicts for the destruction of works, which the early Reformers, like the Byzantine iconoclasts, stigmatized as 'idolatrous,' were not confined to Great Britain, but were necessary consequences everywhere of the revolt from Rome. How far they were in each land actually carried was a matter of degree; but the causes. The destruction has been comparatively thorough in Scotland, but it must be remembered that that of the South, to the fashion, this pulling down and breaking was due quite as much to the constant English ravages as to Scottish iconoclasm.

The views of the First Scottish Reformers may be gathered from the so-called Duke of Discipline of 1560, where under 'The Third Head, touching the Abolishing of Idolatrie,' we read as follows:

'As we require Christ Jesus to be worshipfully preached, and his holie Sacraments to be yeichly ministered; so can we not cease to require Idolatrie, with all monuments and places of the same, as Abbeys, monasteries, freires, nunres, chapells, chan
trea, cathedrall kirkes, channounnresses, colledges, uthers then presentlie are paroche kirkes or Scullia, to be utterlie suppressed in all boundes and places of this Realm. And for Idolatrie may be removed from the presence of all persons of quhal seast or conditions that ther ever be, within this Realm.'

By Idolatrie we understand, the Messe, Invocation of Sanctis, Adorations of Yeas, and the like, and of all such other and allutirlie subvert all moniments of ydolatre, and namelie the odious and blasphemous mess' (Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, i. 556). That this intention was not at the time fully carried out we may judge from the Acts of the General Assembly' under date July 28, 1640, where at a meeting in Aberdeen there was passed an Act anent the demolishing of Idolatrous monuments' that is worded as follows:

'Forasmuch as the Assembly is informed that in divers places of this kingdom, and specially in the North parts of the same, many Idolatrous monuments, erected and made for religious worship, are yet so profusely and inconscionably adorned, that the same, and saints departed, ordaines the said monuments to be taken down, demolished, and destroyed, and that with all convenient diligence' (Acts of the General Assembly, Edinburgh, 1643, p. 44).

It is to be remembered that in Scotland it was not a question merely of the Reformation, but of a long continued and embittered warfare with the Papacy, that everything that savoured of Popery, and in the course of this a good deal that might well have been saved was suffered to perish. Thus, the Ruth
cell Cross was thrown down and broken in 1642.

2. Broad view of art.—It was noticed above that on a broad and liberal Protestantism was based a phase of religious art that is among the glories of Reformed Christianity. The reference is to the Scriptural pictures produced in the Holland of the first half of the 17th cent., especially in Rembrandt and some of his scholars. Holland is the one country that developed a national art as an immediate sequel to its adoption of the principles of the Reformation. Protestant Germany might have done so, but, owing to wars and the impoverish
tment of the country, art after the time of Dürer ceased almost to be cultivated, and Dürer's younger contemporary, Holbein, left his native country for England, which on her part, by her contented utilization of his services, showed her own indifference to the work of the artist. In Holland, a country both wealthy and energetic, art was national and at the same time Protestant, and in the latter aspect it was incorporated in Rembrandt.

A very large number of the drawings, etchings, and pictures by this master are on religious themes,
drawn from both the Old and the New Testaments. Many of these, such as the "Passion" series at Munich, are treated in a cold, almost academic fashion, though by no means on the conventional Italian lines; but, on the other hand, there exists a body of his work on these subjects that is as fresh, as warm, as dramatic as it is rich and masterly in execution. Rembrandt, whose work in this kind, it must be confessed, stands almost alone, has shown us here how it is possible to treat the person and the acts of Christ in a spirit as far removed from mysticism as it is rich and masterly. His Divine majesty is as convincingly apparent as His homely aspect, His friendliness, His intimate sympathy with human joys and sorrows. The writer may be pardoned here to quote a sentence or two from a work of his own on the master.

"It is instructive to take the central figure of the Christian story, and to note the different situations, idiomatic, epic, and dramatic, in which Rembrandt has portrayed Christ in the light of human feeling. He has invested the spirit of an infant or a suffering youth, makes holy by His presence the simple incidents of family life; how He rises to the height of epic dignity when Christ speaks, a nature and heroic form through the acts of earthy ministry; with how intimate a sympathy he withdraws that sense of awe and agog, and displays the Lord Soverign a sublime though pathetically human figure in the tragedy of His Passion; and finally, how he invests the risen Prophet with the grandeur of presence that have been made piercing through weakness and suffering, and completes the picture by embodying the eternal love that Christ revealed, in the father of the Baptist." (Rembrandt, London, 1907, p. 289)

There is no need for any extended description of these masterpieces by Rembrandt, which we must remember as fine in colour or light and shade and in technical execution as they are in the intellectual and ethical qualities of their design. A word may be said on one of the less known pieces, the "Christ and Mary Magdalen" at Brunswick. We all know the "Noli me tangere" by Titian in the National Gallery. It is a fine picture, but how unconvincing! There is no mystery, no appeal to the imagination. The figures, while sympathetically rendered, are posed for purposes of composition; the scene is full of daylight, and there is a glare close by on the hill. In "Christ and Mary Magdalen" at Brunswick in the mysterious garden where the risen Lord meets with Mary amidst the gloom of rocks and trees, a touch of light on the clouds above heralds the coming morn, but the shades of night cling as Christ, whose body emits a faint ghostly radiance. His hand plucks away the robe to which the adoring Magdalen would cling; but the tender though reserved inclination of the head towards the woman, and the sympathetic gesture of the other hand, are loving-kindness embodied. We are there in the garden with the pair, and they both live before us. This, we feel, is how they looked and acted. In the Louvre picture of "Christ at Emmaus," where He is breaking of bread, an equally imaginative treatment invests the figure with an unearthly charm, that drew from the great French critic Fromentin some of the most eloquent sentences he ever penned.

"Has any one ever yet imagined Him thus, as He sits facing us there and breaks the bread as He broke it on the night of the Last Supper, so pale and so thin, in His pilgrim's robe, with those eyes which have suffered, which have left its traces; the large soft brown eyes whose full gaze He has directed upwards...a living, breathing being, but yet one who is above the gates of death. The attitude of this divine visitant with that intense ardour in a face whose features are hardly to be discerned, and displays in the movement of the lips and in the eyes—these traits inspired from what source one knows not, and produced one cannot tell how, and all of value inestimable. No other has produced the like; no one before Rembrandt, no one after him, has made us understand these things" (Matres d' Aurores, Paris, 1890, p. 381).

The homely warmth of feeling in Rembrandt's "Holy Families," and in OT or Apocryphal pieces, such as those from the story of Tobit, of which he was especially fond, is just as satisfying in its way as the imaginative power just illustrated. There is also an intellectual side to his religious art, and we have the sense in looking at some of his pieces that he has thought out the subject and consciously arranged it, though this never results in that academic coldness which is the fault of so many accomplished Italian designs. The chief example is the famous etching called the "100 Florin Plate" or "Christ Healing the Sick." This is one of Rembrandt's greatest masterpieces, and is well known though not always rightly interpreted. Sick persons, it is true, figure in the plate, but Christ is not healing them. The truth is that there is a great deal more in the piece than the descriptive title suggests. It is really an illustration of Mt 19, and brings together a number of distinct persons and incidents, a unity being secured for the whole by the commanding dignity and beauty of the central figure. The words at the beginning of the chapter, 'and great was the disorder followed him; and he healed them there,' are the motive for the introduction on the right of the etching of that wonderful throng of the maimed and feeble and sickly that Rembrandt has rendered with such pathetic and intimate feeling. 'and there came unto him Pharisees, tempting him,' accounts for the company of the well-to-do on the left, whose shrewd and cynical faces and expressions of inquiry suggest the insidious queries with which they have come to beget profit. However, in the centre is attending to neither group, but is holding His hand in encouragement to a woman before Him who clasps a child in her arms, while Peter, by His side, is seeking to thrust her away. This is, 'under the little children, and forbid them not,' of the middle of the chapter; while in the richly clad figure of a youth, who sits musing with his face partly hidden by his hand, we recognize the young man 'that had great possessions.' The justice of the characterization throughout the piece makes it a real commentary on the passages illustrated, and the actual situation is brought before us in the lifelike impression groups.

It may cause surprise to find that Rembrandt's treatment of these sacred themes is so broad and genial, because the Holland of his day was strongly Calvinistic, and religion were generally a garb of austerity. Now, we possess a contemporary notice, according to which Rembrandt had left the religious sect called Mennonites; and as the best of these Mennonites were on the whole Broad Churchmen of the Arminian persuasion, Rembrandt's upbringings may have given him liberal views on theology which will account for the comprehensiveness and charity which breathes from all his scriptural pieces. His very last picture, a large and solemn canvas at St. Petersburg, represents the "Return of the Prodigal Son," and in this glowing presentation of the wanderer as he buried his shame-stricken face in the bosom of the father whose compassion fails not, we read the artist's belief in an all-embracing Divine love. The effacement of the personality of the hapless truant has concentrated all the interest of the scene on the father, who presses him to his heart and gazes down on him with infinite pity and tenderness. He is not only the father of the parable, but the Eternal Love incorporate; and Rembrandt's design in the best sense an embodiment of the higher Christian thought our betrayer.
revived in various experimental but interesting forms nearer our own time.

IV. Modern Times. The 18th and the whole of the 18th cent. produced practically nothing in this style that was not a mere bloodless simulacrum of the academic art of the old Roman schools. An exception may be found at the close of the 18th cent., in the work of William Blake, who had genius enough in art and literature to have achieved true greatness, had that genius been trained and directed aright. Blake was exceptional, in his art a romanticist later welcoming the revivals of the century, of the Coleridge rather than of Pope. Earlier in the same century, it is worth notice that even Hogarth in his religious pieces did not attempt the homely intimate style in which he might have succeeded, but adopted the conventional types of the Italianizing figure painters of the time. The revived religious art of the 19th cent. is the child of the romantic movement. This was a reaction against the predominant classicism of the latter half of the 18th cent., and took the form partly of a return to nature in the Roussian way; and partly in a revived interest in what was medieval, which began in Germany and spread to Great Britain and to France. In Germany medievalism was a natural product, for her traditions of the Middle Ages were not the Middle Ages, and even a classicist like Goethe paid homage to these romantic bygone glories. A curious result in the sphere of religious art of this return to the Middle Ages has made itself seen in our own time in the pictures from the life of Christ by Eduard von Gebhardt, in which the costumes and the scene en scène are taken from the Germany of the 15th century. What we know in our own country by the name of the 'Gothic Revival' —a movement that led to the restoration of medieval features in innumerable English churches and to the establishment of something like a cultus of the romantic in art—was at the basis of the very interesting artistic experiment known as pre-Raphaelism, while the earlier religious painting of the German so-called 'Nazarenes' was founded rather on the national self-consciousness of the German people firmly braced by the struggle against Napoleon; mediævalism, at any rate, played no part in it, for the Nazarenes lived and worked in Rome. Both these and the German Nazarenes were sincere and earnest, even to the extreme of fanaticism, but the aesthetic result was in neither case wholly satisfactory.

1. Nazarenes. — The name 'Nazarenes' was applied in good-humoured banter to a company of young German painters who in the early years of the 19th cent. settled in Rome in an abandoned monastery, where they sought to re-establish the life and work of the painters of the earlier religious schools. They were romanticists of the type that surrenders itself to idealism but recognizes no attraction in nature and the things of the real world. Hence their art draws its motives not directly from nature, but at second hand from the works of the older masters. This secured a certain look of style in the compositions; but, on the other hand, the figures lacked individual character, and the colouring was pale, flat, and conventional. One good piece of work the Nazarenes accomplished early in their career, which has laid modern art under an obligation. In 1817 they re-introduced the technique of fresco painting, which had been abandoned since the death of Raphael Mengs in 1779, and with the aid of one of Mengs's old journeymen executed successfully in the true technique a fresco in a room of the Casa Bartholdi on the Pincian at Rome. These paintings are from the story of Joseph, and have been removed to the National Gallery at Berlin, where they are in a good state of preservation. Cornelius, Overbeck, Schadow, and Veit collaborated, and the works are among the best from an artistic point of view produced by the school. Modern German monumental wall-painting, which has flourished through the whole of the century, began in the early schools of Sienna and of Cologne. 'Art is to me,' he wrote once, 'a harp on which I would fain hear always sounding hymns to the praise of the Lord.' The comparative absence from his works of the qualities of colour, light and shade, and handling, which are essential to the beauty of a modern picture, makes it unnecessary from the point of view of this article to consider them further. Cornelius (1783—1867) was a far stronger artist than Overbeck, and covered vast wall spaces in Munich and other towns with compositions by learning and vigour, but lacking in warmth of feeling or aesthetic charm. His great fresco of the mediæval subject of the 'Last Judgment' in the Ludwigskirche at Munich, painted in 1840, may count as his masterpiece.

On the same plane of art as the Nazarenes are a once esteemed painter of religious themes, the Netherlander Ary Scheffer, and the accomplished Frenchman Hippolyte Flandrin, a pupil of Ingres, who executed beautifully drawn figure compositions on religious themes on the walls of Parisian churches, which are, however, tame in effect and wanting in charm of colour. Of all this set of artists no one had in him so many elements of true greatness as the Aberdeen painter, William Dyce. Had he been born in a time and in surroundings favourable to the development of monumental figure painting, he would have been a great artist, for there is in his design an originality and an intimacy of feeling, in his execution a firmness, that strike us at once as exceptions in this phase of art. Born in 1806, he met and was influenced by Overbeck in Italy, and Richard Muther in his Modern Painting reckons him 'with the Flandrin-Overbeck family,' though he notes that 'where the Nazarenes produce a pallid, corpse-like effect, and deep and luminous quality of colour, there is life in Dyce's pictures.' He is finished in grace, and with this grace he combines the pure and quiet simplicity of the Umbrian masters. ... There is something touching in his madonnas. ... A dreamy loveliness brings these heavenly figures nearer to us' (ill. 5). The 'St. John leading the Madonna to his Home,' in the Tate Gallery in London, is a good specimen of his art.

2. Pre-Raphaelites. — The religious art of the 19th cent. recognizes no attraction in nature and the things of the real world. Hence their art draws its motives not directly from nature, but at second hand from the works of the older masters. This secured a certain look of style in the compositions; but, on the other hand, the figures lacked individual character, and the colouring was pale, flat, and conventional. One good piece of work the Nazarenes accomplished early in their career, which has laid modern art under an obligation. In 1817 they re-introduced the technique of fresco painting, which had been abandoned since the death of Raphael Mengs in 1779, and with the aid of one of Mengs's old journeymen executed successfully in the true technique a fresco in a room of the Casa Bartholdi on the Pincian at Rome. These paintings are from the story of Joseph, and have been

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ultimately included seven members, and the fact that two or three were writers explains the fact that the movement was from the first as much literary as purely artistic. The three original members, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and William Holman Hunt,  were the only ones who need be mentioned here. Their intense earnestness, combined with their study of the early Italian masters, led them to religious themes, though these were not exclusively their objective. Indeed, they were before all things romantics, and may be claimed by the Gothic Revival as its spiritual offspring. They were devoted to the poems, and some of the best things they accomplished in art are the illustrations to Tennyson's Poems published by Moxon in 1857. In Rossetti this tendency was particularly marked, and he ultimately combined himself as a painter to the romantic field, in the cultivation of which he was followed by Edward Burne Jones. This romantic and poetic vein kept their devotion to the facts of nature from falling into mere realism, so that in their pictures we discern a curiously matter-of-fact rendering of accessories, while the whole scene may be a fairyland of a poet's creation.

Of the distinctly religious pictures of the school, the best example of the earliest. In 1849 and 1850 Rossetti exhibited the quaint but fascinating 'Girlhood of the Virgin Mary,' where the figures are portraits of the painter's nearest relatives, and the 'Ecce Ancilla Domini' which has now happily found a home in the permanent collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1850, 'The Child Christ in the Workshop of Joseph,' a far more ambitious piece, is perhaps, artistically speaking, the best religious production of the school; for Millais, as his after career showed, was far more highly endowed as a practitioner than any of his associates. Holman Hunt's universally known 'Light of the World' appeared in 1854, and this artist has maintained throughout his long and honourable artistic career the same religious earnestness possessed with that peculiar fulness in details.

In the whole history of art there are no religious pictures in which uncompromising naturalism has made so remarkable an alliance with a pictorial depth of ideas' (Nutter, Art in England, ii. 129).

From the artistic point of view it should perhaps be pointed out that the plan of copying nature in a picture detail by detail does not really secure the truth aimed at, and with the pre-Raphaelites its adoption was due to intellectual rather than to purely artistic considerations. The experiment was of value in its time as a protest against the vague conventional rendering of nature with no true knowledge behind it, which was then the fashion in England. The non-artistic the principle will always seem attractive because of its ethical sense, but, as Horace says in the Ars Poetica (line 31):

\[ in vitam ducte usque tangis, si carus ars, \]

and the way to represent nature truthfully in the artistic sense is not to copy bit by bit, but to render the general feeling of aspects in their true relations of tone and colour. This is the real difficulty of painting, and an impressionist study that secures absolute truth in these relations is at once far more difficult, and far the most elaborate rendering of individual details with meticulous exactness. An English painter, possessed of a shrewd wit, tried the pre-Raphaelite method about 1850, but gave it up, saying, 'This cannot be right, it is too easy!' Hence it has come about that many a pre-Raphaelite painter who has carried this principle of work has been, as Horace goes on to say:

\[ intellis operis summa, quia ponere totam | Nescis. \]

Moreover, exact piece-by-piece rendering leads too often to a handmade effect. This is a defect of pictorial effect, and when this is combined with crude and inharmonious colouring, the result from an aesthetic point of view may be disastrous. At the same time, though pre-Raphaelite pictures vary greatly in their artistic value, they are always to be respected for their earnestness and sincerity, and some of those on Biblical themes will ever remain prominent and justly-honoured representations of an interesting modern phase of Christian art.

3. Modern experiments. — One last phase of Christian art remains to be noticed, bringing us quite to our own day. The reference is to certain endeavours to secure convincing verisimilitude in the pictorial representation of Biblical scenes by the abandonment of all the time-worn conventions of academic design, and by the use of local types, costumes, accessories, and setting. This experiment has been tried in various forms, and always with sincerity and devout feeling. So far as these qualities are concerned, the work of the German von Gebhardt, whose 'Last Supper,' painted in 1870, is well known in this country, is equal to the best; but his curious convention of a 15th cent. mise en scène gives them a position apart. One form in which this work has taken is to place the events of the life of Christ in an Oriental setting, carefully elaborated from a study of the Palestine of to-day. The idea was first started earlier in the 19th cent., when the attention of artists The early Millass of, 'The Child Christ in the Workshop of Joseph,' a far more ambitious piece, is perhaps, artistically speaking, the best religious production of the school; for Millais, as his after career showed, was far more highly endowed as a practitioner than any of his associates. Holman Hunt's universally known 'Light of the World' appeared in 1854, and this artist has maintained throughout his long and honourable artistic career the same religious earnestness possessed with that peculiar fulness in details. In the whole history of art there are no religious pictures in which uncompromising naturalism has made so remarkable an alliance with a pictorial depth of ideas' (Nutter, Art in England, ii. 129).

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admire in Rembrandt than that of any of the other moderns. There is no attempt here at archaical correctness, and the idea of an Oriental setting never crosses the artist's mind. On the contrary, he takes the actual scenes in town or village or country of the Germany of his own day, and imagines Christ introduced into them, and dealing with those He met with His fellow-countrymen in Palestine. In 'The Sermon on the Mount' Christ is seated on a modern wooden bench in the fields, and is discoursing to a group of German peasant women and children, on the outskirts of which hang the implements with which their workmen make their tools over their shoulders. Suffer little children to come unto me,' at Leipzig, shows us the interior of a modern schoolroom in a small town, where the master stands in the background, while a group of children of all ages are gathered somewhat timidly near the chair on which a stranger, who has just entered, has taken his seat. This stranger is Christ, and we are made to see that He is gradually drawing the little ones to Himself by the magnetism of His personality. In other pieces we see Him entering and leaving a room with His friends, as at the Last Supper; or, again, with a frank acceptance of the mystical, the artist has given us the scenes of the Annunciation or the Nativity. The pictures are always serious, devout, and at the same time very human, and often touched with idyllic charm. Their quality as works of art gives them an equally high place with that which they claim as achievements in religious design.

The name of Rembrandt was mentioned above in connexion with these homely renderings of sacred scenes. Rembrandt, like von Udhe, in the best of his pictures took the setting from his own surroundings, though he indulges not seldom in Oriental vestments and in Jewish types. These surroundings are, however, in the first place, very much generalized, so that they might do for any age and country; and, in the second place, they are as unfamiliar in the eyes of 20th cent. Brion's as if they were genuine Oriental transcripts. Hence the setting of Rembrandt's pictures takes them to that distance from us which is necessary in order to let the imagination have free play. In the paintings of our own time, on the other hand, both the Oriental backgrounds and the modern ones are too real and too familiar, and the appearance of the spirit of Christ could be forced and almost theatrical. If we recognize who the sacred personages are, they do not appear to live in these surroundings, but to have come in a disguise, and we half expect their interlocutors to be finding them out. On the other hand, if we accept them as modern Oriental or modern Europeans, we cannot readily realize their unique character and greatness. They have been brought down too effectively from the ideal to the actual sphere.

Summary.—In the foregoing an attempt has been made to describe and to analyze, from the points of view indicated at the beginning of this article, the chief phases of religious art as they have been the tradition of the Christian centuries. There have been two sides to the activity of Christian artists, each of which may here suitably receive a final word.

(1) On the one hand, their activity has been essentially religious and devotional, and in that sense it has been that of the monkish craftsman of the 11th, the Gothic mason and carver of the 13th centuries; all they could make or do they were zealous to offer on the altar of Christian service. Thiers was they a grateful rendering back of the boon so lavishly bestowed, the gift of skill and care to the Lord of

the inventive brain and cunning hand. How far, we may ask, can we in these modern days enter into the spirit of those medieval craftsmen, and turn any artistic gifts we may possess to this high service! Unlike the men of old, we have in these days almost to justify the bare existence of the art of beauty and of art, for these are not a natural and necessary part of our lives. We have seen how the practice of the arts in early Christian and monastic surroundings followed inevitably from the fact that life without this element of art was in those days impossible. With us it is some sequence challenged to give an account of itself. That idea of an opposition between the life of art and the practical life of service to one's fellows, which underlies Tennyson's 'Palace of Art,' is not justified by the facts of the world. It is perfectly possible, as we can learn by looking around us, to combine the practical with the contemplative life, and to exercise the aesthetic faculties without any withdrawal from the sphere of the actual. It is true that there are those who do so withdraw themselves, but that does not arise by the allurements of the imagination. It may very well be that they are morbid and self-absorbed, and if a field of activity did not offer itself in the aesthetic sphere, their life might decline to a much lower level. The pleasures of art were once enjoyed, and if they do not necessarily ennoble the character, they at least refine the taste.

We saw that the medieval artist-monk exalted the practice of the crafts that produce beautiful things as not only a function of human nature but a law of the universe at large. There is a narrow religiosity that is afraid of a human nature so amply endowed, and would confine its activity within much closer limits. In the churches of to-day, however, this timid creed is already an anachronism, and most of those who have Puritan traditions at their back accept to-day the broader view to which, at any rate, the student of the history of Christian art must feel himself forced. And if this energy of art is not only wholesome, but even in a sense enjoined, in what can it be more fittingly expended than in that service to which we have seen it devoted through the centuries? The time is now past when the square barn-like meeting-house, the bare walls, the homely fittings, could satisfy the cultured worshipper.

It is true, and must never be forgotten, that the outward show is as a mere nothing to the 'truth in the inward parts,' which is demanded as much from churches and congregations as from individuals; and if worship were less sincere in a beautiful and richly adorned fane than in a simple room, it is the art that would have to be sacrificed. It is true also that in parts of our own country a sacred tradition of unsullied piety, of heroic endurance, clings to the walls that for generations past have looked down on the defenders of a creed for which they were ready at any moment to give up their possessions or their lives. The Church at large could ill spare the Puritan spirit, and must strive to retain what is best in this, while contesting some of its negations. The introduction of instrumental music into the act of worship, and of the element of art and beauty into its material apparatus and its spiritual life, is in principle conceded almost everywhere by Christendom, and there is every reason why the medieval tradition should be revived, and these things not merely accepted as a fashion, but embraced with the godly joy and pride of the older days.

(2) On the other hand, the activity of Christian artists has been exercised not merely on the
creation of what is beautiful, but on representations of sacred scenes and personages, or symbolic shows that had a didactic purpose. This work, as we have seen, has taken several different forms. We may distinguish here: (a) the liturgical, devotional, or narrative composition, which began, as we saw, in the catacombs, and flourished greatly, in the form especially of the pictures of the Last Things, in the later medieval period; (b) the devotional picture, represented centrally in the work of Fra Angelico, in which the specially Christian Virtues of humility, devotedness, self-abandonment, are brought to view and their practice inculcated; (c) the historical representation from the life of Christ or of OT or NT worthies—a form of art that we have come across in many shapes, and in which at one time the mystical, at another the human, element is most apparent; and (d) the great work of art in which a supreme master like Michelangelo has created types that are profoundly ethical, though not in the distinctive sense Christian.

How is each of these forms of religious art related to the Christian thought of enlightened Protestantism?

(a) The first kind of picture has ceased for Protestantism to have any didactic or specially religious significance, and is regarded rather from the intellectual point of view as an embodiment of poetic thought. The designs of William Blake are of this kind, and a good modern instance may be found in the expression of the conception of the woman of the Apocalypse. In the strength of faith, in the chastening decorativeness, Mrs. Traquair has executed in the 'Song School' of St. Mary’s Episcopal Cathedral and the Catholic Apostolic Church in Edinburgh, as well as in other buildings. Such works belong more to the domain of the artistic than of the religious, and mysticism than to that of religion in the strict sense of the term. They answer to a special phase of artistic feeling both in the creator of them and in the spectator, and, in fact, they repel some sincere lovers of art just as strongly as they attract others. So long as there are artists and lovers of art, the temperament of some of these will turn them in the direction of works of the kind. This phase of religious art is illustrated also by some of the productions of G. W. Muther, who was meant to be a great painter, but was drawn aside from the direct course by the copiousness and insistence of his intellectual ideas.

(b) The time will never come when we shall consider the devotional works of the High in the latter part of the devotional pictures of the early schools of religious art in Germany and in Italy. So far as they express the specially Christian temper of humility and dependence, and reveal to us innocence and love and the spirit of service embodied in the Virgin mother, in saint, and in angel, they will always have a message for those religiously susceptible. The harsh theological words 'Hagiology,' 'Mariolatry,' and the like need not disturb our contemplative enjoyment of these simple and sincere expressions of a faith in which the great essentials was the same as our own. The works are, at the same time, removed into the historical region by the fact that the whole religious milieu which conditioned them at their forthcoming is so different from ours. We regard them with interest and affection, but recognize them as not belonging to our own time or our own range of religious ideas.

(c) The historical treatment of the life of Christ in the scenes of the OT is a matter that concerns us in these days and in Protestant surroundings far more nearly. It corresponds with the modern interest in the facts of the past, and with the (partly rationalistic) tendency to emphasize the human side of Christianity. Notice has been taken in what has gone before of the many attempts which have been made in art, throughout post-Reformation times, to bring home with convincing force to the spectator the personality, and the significance of the acts, of Christ. The difficulty has always been, on the one hand, to avoid what is mystical, and on the other, the attempt to prevent such a modernizing of the mise en scène as may destroy the air of remoteness from the ordinary world and of ethical supremacy, which should belong to the person of the protagonist. Rembrandt, as we have seen, has succeeded here where many have failed; and when the whole body of his work on religious themes is placed in accessible form before the public, as has been proposed, he will probably be recognized by all as the greatest religious artist of whom the history of painting bears record.

(d) The impression of the Sublime, when conveyed either by the appearances of nature or by those of art, is always in one sense a religious impression, for it implies a chastening, and, in the Aristotelian sense, a purifying, of the individual emotions by the recognition of what is transcendently great. This greatness is not hostile or terrifying, for the aesthete of the Sublime is not so much destroyed as shaken or cowed through fear, but it represents, as it were, a challenge, to which we respond by bracing up the powers, and by measuring ourselves with it in the strength of our intelligence, and with a certain confidence that does not preclude humility. So the human spirit, in the contemplation of the Divine, is not crushed, but raised and strengthened. Now, of all the functions that the arts of form can exercise for the higher service of man, none is greater than that of presenting human nature before us in aspects of such grandeur that we feel in a measure brought into contact with the Divine. The ordinary levels of human greatness are transcended by these exceptional creations of art, and our spirit is uplifted in response. The impression thus produced is religious, but it is quite apart from any particular creed. It takes us into a region where all creeds are merged in the one all-sufficient artist of God, who is in the head, supreme in goodness as in power. It follows from this that all art which rises to this ethical level is religious art, whatever the creed of its creator; and from this point of view the masterpieces of Rembrandt have been brought by the side of the designs of a Michelangelo, or of any other creative artist of the Christian period. The impressiveness of a great work of art depends largely on the simplicity as well as the force of its message, and it is not by inculcating any special doctrines of religion but by raising the whole being into communion with the highest that art may best serve the spiritual needs of mankind.


G. BALDWIN BROWN.
There is no form of Christian pictorial art that has come down to us from the Middle Ages in such abundance, in such variety, and in such a genuine and unaltered condition, as the art of miniature-painting for the illustration and decoration of manuscripts. Isolated examples dating from the 4th cent. to the 6th are found scattered through the vast libraries of Europe, while others from the 9th cent. onwards exist in considerable numbers, not only in public libraries but in many private collections — and this in spite of the enormous destruction that has been subsequently wrought upon them by fire or in the course of time. Yet little can be said for, or liturgically out of date, or the objects of fanatical hatred. There is no doubt that the manuscripts thus destroyed must be numbered by hundreds of thousands. At the same time, it must not be concluded that the majority of these, or even a large percentage, were as attractively written and illustrated as the precious volumes exposed in our museums. A glance at the contents of any considerable medieval library, like those of Hereford Cathedral and some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, shows us that dull and full of tiresome contractions was the everyday scholar's book, and that in nine cases out of ten the loss of them would not be a matter for artistic regret. The richly painted manuscripts on the other hand were usually kept as furniture for lesten and altar, in keeping with the other splendours and adornments of a great church, or for the use of wealthy laymen and ecclesiastics, who sometimes read them as little as a modern student reads his editions of Tasso. The fact that he buys of princes that he has learned to love in a homey setting. St. Jerome, in his preface to Job, makes light of such possessions. ‘Let those who care for them,’ he says, ‘own books that are old, or written with gold and silver on purple skins. All I need is a good text.’ This sentence shows that the spirit of the fastidious book-lover was already abroad in the 4th century. It is perhaps a matter for congratulation that not every one had so austere a taste as St. Jerome.

The earliest examples of painted books that have survived in Europe are two Vergils of the 3rd or 4th cent. in the Vatican Library; but these do not come within the scope of the present article, which deals only with this branch of art in the age of Christianity. Nearly all the earliest Christian manuscripts that exist are either Bibles or portions of Bibles, beginning with the Vienna Genesis of the 5th cent., which contains eighty-eight miniatures, and leading to the Ashburnham Pentateuch, written at Tours in the 7th cent. and adorned with nineteen large pictures. This is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Of the same century is the famous copy of the Gospels known as the Book of Kells at Trinity College, Dublin. This book, which is at once the earliest and the finest of the Celtic manuscripts, was written by a scribe or scribes of the most accomplished, and ornamented with initials and other larger decorations of miraculously interwoven lines. The Irish decorators, however, while gifted with a sureness of hand that is almost beyond belief, were totally lacking in the higher qualities of imagination, and when confronted with a subject like the Crucifixion, showed as lamentable an inability as the vilest savage to draw and combine forms. The work of Cimabue after the Book of Kells the best-known example of this style is the Lindisfarne Gospels at the British Museum (fig. 1, p. 890), which, though not executed in Ireland, belongs to the same Celtic tradition and to approximately the same date. All subsequent examples, which do not owe a new development to external influences, show a falling off from this high standard. There was, in fact, in the system of the Celtic draughtsmen no human element or element of growth, and when once they had achieved the mathematically perfect, only decadence and repetition lay before them. Nevertheless, their consummate skill in ornamentation leaves them a tough and picturesque history of book-decoration, and was not without some effect on later schools in other countries, though always in subdivision to the more emotional impulses derived from Rome and Constantinople.

Pictorially the school exhibited in the paintings of the Cysters, bequeathed but little that we can admire to the book-decorators of the Middle Ages, though as late as the 10th cent. books were illustrated with pictures, usually dead both in colour and expression, that differed scarcely at all from their classical prototypes. The Byzantine pictures in copies of the Greek Gospels and Lives of Saints written at Constantinople, full of Oriental blendings of gold and brilliant colour, and with a seriousness of intention quite absent from nearly all illuminated MSS. in the West, produced a more vivid and more vivifying influence on the art of the West. Under Roman and Byantine influences, either separate or combined, a series of sumptuous books, usually copies of the Latin Gospels, and often entirely in gold and jewels, were produced on the Continent between the 8th and 12th centures. By the latter century, Byzantine art, having reached an academical stage which allowed of no further evolution, was, as it were, frozen and crystallized into forms which in Russia survive unaltered to the present day.

Meanwhile, in England, and especially at Winchester, a notable school of book-decoration had arisen. The most famous example of this school is a Benedictine belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, which was written at Winchester for Bishop Ethelwold between the years 963 and 984. A similar Benedictine, written a few years later for Archbishop Robert of Jumièges, is now in the public library at Rouen. The British Museum is rich in productions of this school beginning with King Edgar's Charter of Hyde Abbey (fig. 2, p. 890), written entirely in gold in 968 and enriched with a beautiful frontispiece, in which the figures are drawn with much animation and clasp in the glittering drapery of the English miniaturists of the 10th and 11th centuries.

During these centuries and for some time longer, it is not too much to say that English book-illustration was the finest in Europe. Until the end of the 13th cent. Italian pictorial art was much less inventive and energetic than that of England and France, while Germany was likewise under a weight of conservative Byzantine tradition, which seems to have prevented its producing more than a trifling number of books of notable merit between the 12th cent. and the invention of printing. In the monasteries of Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, many stately books were written and illuminated, but in the reign of St. Louis the fame of the University of Paris attracted scholars and artists from all Christendom, who thenceforth made Paris the intellectual centre of Europe. In their train came a body of writers and illuminators, independent of the monasteries, who shook off the Byzantine fetters before Giotto had done, and produced work of an extraordinary and almost feminine refinement of execution, which is no less attractive than the manly vigour which is more especially English (fig. 3, p. 891). For a while the two countries ran an even race, but by the middle of the 14th cent. the French illuminators had gone far beyond their English rivals, and in the second half of the 16th

ART IN MSS (Jew.) see p. 872a.
cent. English patrons were so ill-served by their countrymen that they had to send to Bruges and Paris for their painted prayer-books and romances. To the Italian scribes of the 15th cent. belongs the distinction of having discarded the Gothic or book-letter, which by that time had reached a cramped and ugly stage, in favour of the more rounded and legible forms of the 11th and 12th cents., *littera antiqua* as it was called when reintroduced, *Roman letter* as we now call it (figs. 4, 5, pp. 891, 892). This revival was soon seen to be reasonable, and was adopted in all literary countries except Germany, which is only now coming into line with her Western neighbours. It was under the influence of the Renaissance that the finest illuminated books were produced in Italy. These were largely copies of the Latin classics; but many exquisite prayer-books were written, especially in Florence, Naples, Ferrara, and Venice, for members of the great families. Of Spanish illuminated books not many have survived, and these usually owed everything to artistic influences from Naples or Bruges. In the latter city enormous quantities of dainty prayer-books were manufactured towards the end of the 15th century. The chief features of these were the use of natural flowers and foliage in the borders, and the delicacy of the landscape backgrounds to the pictures. Dutch books are remarkable at once for their great dexterity of execution and for a bluntness of conception which prevented their ever being in the first rank as works of art.

And now as to the types of manuscripts that were most frequently illustrated. With few and mostly fragmentary exceptions, all liturgical books earlier than the 13th cent., having been worn out, or cast aside on account of changes of fashion and of textual arrangement. It is certain that none of them were habitually so richly decorated as the early copies of the Gospels already referred to. These were always adorned with four frontispieces, usually representing the Evangelists in the act of writing, opposite the four opening pages of the Gospels, on which the text was written in large ornamental letters within an elaborate border; the principal list of a later date, of which there are many illuminated examples, are Pontificals, Missals, Breviaries, Graduals, and Antiphoners. The great choir-books, such as are shown in the Convent of St. Mark at Florence and in the Duomo at Siena, bountifully illustrated in quantity in Italy and Spain, where they may still be seen in use. These often contain initials painted by artists of note, but they are for the most part not earlier than the 15th century. Choir-books of Northern origin, especially those of the fine period, are exceedingly rare. The best that exists is an Antiphoner in three volumes written in 1290 for the nunns of the Cistercian Abbey of Beaupré near Gramont (fig. 6, p. 892). This formerly belonged to John Butkin, and is now (1908) in the collection of Mr. John Thomson.

The Vulgate Bibles that have survived from the 12th cent. are usually large folios in two or three volumes, with historiated initials at the beginning of each book, and decorative initials to the numerous prologues. One of the finest examples, a book of natural surpassing beauty, is in the library of Winchester Cathedral. In the 13th cent., the size of Bibles was reduced, and they were written in enormous numbers and with astonishing skill in *voce commune* from the 12th cent. and In. (fig. 11, p. 894). The entire Bible, including the Apocrypha and perhaps a hundred and fifty painted initials, was often on so small a scale and on vellum of such astonishing thinness as to fit comfortably into the pock

ERS OF THE DAY. SO GREAT WERE THE OUTPUT AT THIS
time, that it seems almost to have sufficed until the invention of printing, as Bibles written in the 14th and 15th cents. are comparatively rare. Besides plain texts, portions of the Bible with extensive marginal commentaries were often finely written and illuminated for purposes of monastic study; and in England especially there were produced in the 13th cent. a number of splendidly illustrated copies of the Apocalypse, either in Latin or in French, and usually with an Exposition taken from the Morimond text of the Epistulae. It is easy to see how the strange visions of St. John kindled the imaginations of the creative artists of this time, and with what zest they sought to interpret them (fig. 8, p. 893). In France, at the same period, a type of sumptuous picture-book was evolved, known as the *Bible moralisée*, in which the text is altogether subordinate to the almost countless illustrations. Two copies are in the Imperial Library at Vienna, while a third is divided between the Bodleian Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Museum (fig. 9, p. 894).

From an early period the chief book of private devotion was the Psalter. In the 12th and 13th cents., every rich and devout layman seems to have owned one of these books. The Psalters which were invariably added certain Canticles, the Athanassian Creed, the Litany, and a small number of Collects, sometimes followed by the Office of the Dead. It was on these books that the miniaturists, in what was certainly the most elaborate period of their art, lavished their utmost skill. To the more elaborate copies it was usual to prefix a series of illustrations of the Old Testament, from the creation of the world to the coronation of Solomon, and of the New Testament, beginning with the Last Judgment, which series varied in length according to the wishes and purse of the individual who gave the commission; while the initials of certain Psalms—in early Psalters only Psalms 1, 51, and 101, marking the three divisions into fifty Psalms, and in later Psalters also Psalms 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, and 97, being (with Psalm 1) the first Psalms of the Office of Matins on the seven days of the week, and Psalm 109, being the first of the Psalms for Sunday Vespers. The other Psalms were generally omitted, and the rest, and usually historiated with a more or less fixed sequence of subjects. Early in the 14th cent., Psalters of great size and magnificence were written in England. Among these must be named the Psalter of Robert of Holmby (fig. 10, p. 895), now in the Bodleian Library, and two superb Psalters, both connected with Gorleston, near Yarmouth, one in the Public Library at Douai, and one in the library of Mr. Dyson Perrins.

As early as the 11th cent., certain private offices, the most important being the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Trinity, and the Hours of the Passion, were added to a few Psalters. Later, these accretions came to be written separately, probably in the first instance for the use of women. Their portability and general character, which this detached form led to their being adopted in place of the Psalter as the devotional book of the literate layfolk; and although there are but few separate Books of Hours of the 13th cent., and not many of the 14th cent., they were produced in enormous numbers in the 15th cent., and copiously illuminated with pictures which in the main illustrate the text (fig. 11, p. 894), but not seldom seem to have been calculated to withdraw the thoughts of the owner from the contemplation of heavenly things. The popularity of these painted prayer-books, of which the greatest number were written in Bruges, Paris, and Florence, was so great that they continued to be produced until long after the invention of printing.

SYDNEY C. Cockerell.
ART (Egyptian).—The religious aspect of art in Egypt includes almost all that is known of it. The earliest sculptures are tombstones and tables of offerings for the benefit of a deceased person; the earliest statuary is of figures in which the soul of the deceased might reside, made as lifelike as possible, in order to give him satisfaction; the hawks with outstretched wings, which or else of serpents, cultivate the ground, were for service in the next world; the whole of the tomb sculptures, paintings, and furniture—carved coffins, canopic jars, tableaux, and all else—resulted from the religious aspect expected from them. The buildings that remain to us are nearly all temples; the colossal which stand in these were habitations for the many *ka*-souls of the king; and even the battle scenes on the walls are all part of the display of religious fervour, and culminate in the triumphal processions of captives dedicated to the god, or led by the god as his appanage to be entrusted to the king's administration. The civil life of the lay Egyptian has almost vanished, the palaces and towns are nearly all below the plain of Nile, but it is only the sepulchral and religious remains that—being placed on the desert—have thus been preserved to us. Here we must notice only the main principles and examples of religious ceremonies. The page of examples given (p. 891) will illustrate the more important points.

1. Symbolism. This begins with the rise of art, as seen on the slate palettes. The various tribes engaged in the conquest of the country are designated by their emblems, the hawk, lion, scorpion, jackal, or pelican. The actions of the tribes are represented by the animal holding a stick and digging through the walls of a town, or by a human arm projecting from the standard on which the animal is, and clutching a cord or grasping a bound captive. The king is represented as a strong bull—as he is called in later times—trampling down his enemies; or the figure of a fish, used to write the name of a king, has two arms grasping a stick to smite his enemies; or the royal hawk has a band which holds a cord put through the lips of the captive. In these instances it is seen how early symbolism was established and an elaborate means of historic expression. It is not surprising that in the subsequent times it should be commonly used. The kings are shown adored by the gods, who also teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight; standing behind the king and holding his arm in drawing the arrow; the gods place the crown on the king's head, and pour purifying water or blessings over him (see figure of Rameses IV.); the goddess Hat-hor, as a woman or as a cow, is shown suckling the young king; and Sethket-abu, the goddess of literature, writes the king's name on the leaves of the Pease tree. The limits between symbolism and sigma pass the critical stage altogether in the Tombs of the Catherines. In these instances it is reached in the other world in which there is no distinction possible.

Special emblems of ideas became so common that they were used almost mechanically, like the cross in Europe. The sun and wings are noticed under Architecture (Egyptian). *Decoration.* And groups of hieroglyphs, such as the ankh for life, the was for power, the sad for stability, the girdle of Isis, and other emblems, were carved as freestones to stiffen furniture or form a trellis to windows.

2. Divine forms. — The compound theology of sacred animals and deities resulted in a variety of strange combinations. The animal element is always the head, placed upon a human body for a deity; a human head upon an animal body is used only for a sphinx, emblem of a king, and for the ba-bird, emblem of a soul. The combination of animal heads on human bodies is found in the second dynasty (Set, on seals of Perabesen) and the fourth dynasty (Thoth, on scene of Khufu); and it became very usual in later times. The combination is skilfully arranged, so that it scarcely seems monstrous; see the scene given (p. 896) of Horus and Thoth, which appears almost as expected from them. The building forms best known are the ram-headed Khnum and Hershefi, lion-headed Sekhmet, cat-headed Bastet, jackal-headed Anubis, crocodile-headed Sebek, ibis-headed Thoth, and hawk-headed Horus and Mentu. Besides these, there were many compounded divinities in Ptolemaic and Roman times, formed of a deity and three or four animal parts; usually it is Ptah-Sokar who is thus elaborated. These combinations have none of the convincing dignity of the early animal-headed gods.

3. Dress. — The gods are usually clad in the oldest form of close-fitting waist-cloth; it is always older forms of dress that are thought appropriate for religious or artistic purposes, and in Babylonia the oldest figures of worshippers are entirely nude. The gods never wear the projecting peaked waistcloth common in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Another primitive piece of costume was the animal's tail, hung at the back from the belt. This is shown as a bushy tail, like a fox's, on the archers, hunters, carved on a slate palette. It appears on all kings from the first dynasty onward (see the figure of Rameses IV. [fig. 2, p. 896], and the kneeling Hathshepsut, where it is brought forward). And it gradually becomes almost universal for gods after the early ages. Here it can be seen on the figures of Horus and Thoth, in the long form, and thinner than usual.

The principal religious dress was the leopard skin, as on the priest in the scene of sacrifice (fig. 1, p. 896). It was worn from before the first dynasty (Narmer), and is seen not only on scenes, but also on statues in the nineteenth dynasty. It is shown on the priests when seated, or standing giving directions, or making offerings; it might be worn over a short kilt or over a long muslin dress.

4. Ceremonies. — Four ceremonies selected for illustration (p. 896) are Sacrifice, Offering, Laying on of Hands, and Purification.

(a) Sacrifice, as among the Semites, was the ceremonial killing of an animal for food; but there is no trace of the burning of the fat, or of the other form of whole burnt-sacrifice. In the early sculptured tombs the sons of the deceased are shown as trapping the birds, and sacrificing the ox, for the festival in their father's honour. It is rare to find representations of sacrifice later, such as this example of the thirteenth dynasty. Burnt-sacrifice was a foreign importation, and is only known in picture at Tell el-Amarna (eighteenth dynasty), and in description at the Ramesseum (twentieth dynasty).

(b) Offering is the most usual religious subject. The offerings are heaped together on a mat, a slab on the ground, or a pillar-table; in this case a mat is represented, bound with thread at the middle and the two ends, a form which originates in the third dynasty or earlier. Upon the mat is a layer of round thin cakes, much like the flap bread, with two circles of seeds stuck in each. A layer of joints of meat (?) follows; then three wild ducks; above, a row of gazelle haunches, upon which are three plucked geese. The whole is covered with a bundle of lotus flowers and a bunch
of grapes. The queen is pouring out a drink-offering from a small spouted vase in the right hand. Such drink-offerings were of a great variety of wines and beers, as also milk, and water. In her left hand she holds an incense-burner. The Egyptian never burnt incense on an altar, but always in a metal censer held in the hand. It was a long metal rod, with a hand holding a cup for the burning incense at one end, and a hawk's head at the other end; in the middle of the length was a pan or box in which the pellets of incense were kept ready for burning. The heat requisite to light it was obtained by using a hot saucer of pottery placed in the cup, on which the resin fused. When the incense was burnt, the saucer was removed and thrown away, and thus no cleaning was required for the metal cup.

c) Laying on of hands was represented as being done by the gods, in order to impart the _sa_. This was a divine essence which the gods drank from the heavenly 'lake of the _sa_,' and which the earthly images of the gods were painted with and to priests who knelt before them. The benefit was not ceaseless, but required renewal from time to time. The same form of laying on of hands was used, as in our illustration, for conferring the _ke_ or inscription. This giving of the kingship of both banks of the river, the complete office, to his daughter, Maat-ka-ra' (Hathepsut).

(d) Purification was a very important idea to the Egyptian. A whole class of priests were devoted to the purification of persons and things; and it was always represented by a stream poured out. Personal cleanliness was strictly observed by the priests; and the purifying of the king was performed symbolically by the gods, as shown on p. 896. A model of a half sunk vessel on which pours a stream over the king. It is stated that Ramesu 'is purified with life and power.'

5. Furniture. The main object in a temple was the sacred boat of the god, one of the best examples of which is shown on p. 896. The boat was a model intended to be carried on the shoulders of the priests; it rested, therefore, on two long poles, and when stationary was placed upon a square stand, so as to allow of the priests taking their seats under the shade. [The _Egyptian_, § 5, where the boat and shrine are described.] This boat was probably made of wood, plated over with sheets of electrum or gold. The extent to which gold was used is hardly credible to those who know the cost of gold and the trouble required for gilding. Even in the 11th cent. the Countess of Sicily had the mast of her ship covered with pure gold; and the Egyptian often describes large objects as covered with gold, which was usually of considerable thickness. The reliefs were usually worked in hard stucco and then thickly gilded and burnished. The art of high burnishing upon a stucco base was kept up till Roman times. The sets of vases for the purification ceremonies and further libations of wine, kept in stands, as shown below the boat. At the side of them is a stand with water jars, covered with lotus flowers, and with bunches of grapes placed below it. On another stand at the extreme left is a figure of the king kneeling, offering a large _s母公司_ or sign of life; this is crowned with flowers, and has convolvulus and vine growing up beneath it. Another stand at the extreme right has a figure of the king offering a large bouquet of flowers. A main part of the religious art was spent on things of this inscription trade. Goods of all kinds have been accumulated upon ramparts, hills, and terraces, and the objects left on them are of all kinds. For life—cereals, baunka, or dog food; for the soul—a great variety of offerings. Unhappily all this wealth of figures has perished, and only a few fragments remain to give reality to the innumerable pictures of the temple riches shown upon the walls.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

ART AND ARCHITECTURE (Etruscan and Early Italian)—One can hardly speak of Italian art in connexion with the rude products of the Stone Age, even though some of the Neolithic weapons and implements in polished stone show a high degree of perfection in their way; the beginnings of a higher civilization appear more or less simultaneously in the whole country, varying in type according to the different races that inhabited the peninsula. The chief types are as follows:

1. The ‘terramare’ of northern Italy. These are villages built upon platforms supported by wooden poles sunk into the muddy earth, a type of dwelling created for marshy districts, and frequent upon the shores of the lakes of Central Europe. From there the type spread not only down the marshy valley of the Po and its tributary rivers, but also farther south to the confines of the Emilia, and even, if we may judge by an isolated example, as far as Tarentum. What had originally been a method of building called for the conditions of the soil was preserved and followed with religious care even in dry and mountainous regions. An invariable rule, evidently sanctioned by the religion of these ‘terramarici,’ in whom we may see the first Italian race on Italian soil, regulated the shape and disposition of these villages. A rampart was formed by a rampart of earth and a moat, carefully orientated, accessible by a single bridge; the round huts inside were disposed in blocks, intersected by two main paths running at right angles to each other and to the main wall, while, on the eastern side of the village, a rectangular space was reserved, evidently for the dwelling of the chief and the sanctuary or altar of the gods. The close resemblance of these arrangements to the shape and orientation of the settlements of the Dorian race is evident, and speaks for community of race; but the ‘terramare’ are many centuries older. The refuse accumulated under the huts contains rude pottery, numerous stone and bone implements, but only a few rare objects of bronze, which was evidently far from common at that time. The bronze fibulae, found occasionally, allow us to assign to these primitive villages, roughly speaking, a date between 1500 and 1000 B.C. The tombs and cemeteries are the peculiar characteristics of the living tribe’s dwelling—miniature villages guarded by moat and rampart—ruddy earthen jars filled with the ashes of the dead taking the place of the huts. We find abundant traces of agriculture, a little commerce, and—perhaps a touch of irrigation. All this is really akin to the northern settlements, evidence of relations with the _Egean_, in the shape of Mycenaean sherds and clay idols. No trace of writing has been discovered.

2. At about the same time, a more highly developed civilization was spreading through _Sicily and southern Italy_. We know these tribes, the Sikels, chiefly through their tombs, which are usually small chambers cut into the living rock. They often repay one word on their dwelling, either round or oval huts or square houses of wood or bricks and stone. Remains of some stone houses and even of a large building, evidently the seat of some powerful chief (at Pantalica west of Syracuse), have been discovered; and as the tombs were abundantly furnished with the necessities of life—clay vases often delicately painted, weapons and implements of stone and bronze, and even some ornaments and jewellery of bronze, silver, gold, and ivory—we are able to re-construct, to a certain extent, the picture of the life of the people through several periods of its development. The presence of Mycenaean vases in some of the tombs fixes their date approximately. But the Sikels have no connexion with the contemporary, very much ruder, civilization of the ‘terramare.’ The
advent of the Greek colonists, after the decline of the Mycenaean sway, early in the first millennium b.c., almost stifled the local art of southern Italy and Sicily, which may be considered, after the 8th cent., simply as a province of Greek civilization.

3. An analogous development of local handiwork appears in the rock-cut tombs of Sardinia. One of these gravevaults, at Nuraxi, near Codrongianu, has been reached by Sardinia always retains one distinctive feature of architecture, the ‘nuraghe,’ curious buildings of bee-hive shape, made of roughly hewn stones, sometimes fortified and walled, and often crowned with internal rooms and winding passages in several storeys. The date of these buildings has never been sufficiently cleared up, nor is it decided whether they served as dwellings or tombs, or perhaps for both uses. It is, however, undoubted that the older ‘nuraghe’ must be placed rather early in the first millennium b.c.

4. In northern and central Italy the ‘termarame’ do not disappear towards the beginning of the first millennium b.c., and are replaced by villages of rude huts, which have been called the civilization of this period merely by its cemeteries, the first of which was excavated at Villanová near Bologna, and has given its name to this civilization. The ashes are buried in clay vases, as in the tumulus at Sickell, but not hewn with their incised geometric ornaments, far more elaborate than the rude pots of the ‘termarame’; they also contain, besides smaller vases, a number of weapons, implements, and ornaments far in advance of anything yet known in those parts of the country. Stone implements disappear; iron is used besides bronze—an immense step forward on the path of technical development; amber and ivory ornaments proclaim commercial relations with the north and east. Instead of the usual ossuaries, we often find the ashes of the dead buried in small clay imitations of the living men’s huts, which appear to be considerably larger and better built than the primitive dwellings of the ‘termarame.’

But, in the older Villanová period, there is not yet any trace of writing, of stone buildings, or of Greek vases. These appear among the natives a few generations later, with the advent of the first really developed civilization in Italy, the Etruscan.

5. The origin of the Etruscan is shrouded in mystery. Fulfilling almost universally accepted by ancient authors and corroborated by the archaeological evidence, we assume them to have reached Italy by sea, about the 9th cent. B.C., subduing the native races of central Italy, especially the Umbrians, and founding a number of fortified towns, whose confederacy formed a powerful State. An entirely new era begins with them. The villages of rude huts are superseded by strongholds on the hills, protected by strong walls of polygonal or isodome masonry, which are still standing in many places in Etruria. The mighty walls of Caere, Cosa, Vetulonia, Volterra, Perugia, and other towns, belong to different periods, the oldest dating back as far as the 5th–6th cent. B.C. They have been constantly repaired in the course of ages, and a later date have occasionally, as at Volterra and Perugia, been provided with vaulted gates adorned with sculptured heads or the figures of tutelary deities in relief. Within the walls, the houses were built much more solidly and we have therefore preserved them. But the tombs give us a faithful representation of the household during the first century or two of Etruscan sway in central Italy, the ancient shape of the round hut still forms one prototype of the tombs. But, like the Etruscan ‘bee-hive’ tombs, whose influence they seem to show, these Etruscan sepulchres are spacious cupolas of stone, provided, not for the ashes of a pea-soup like the rude Villanová (Umbrian) ossuaries, but for families of wealthy warriors and merchants, whose corpses were buried in state, unburnt and surrounded by all they needed in the under world. The finest of these cupolas are found at Vetulonia, south of Pisa—some of the oldest and richest Etruscan cemeteries — at Volterra, and one specially good specimen at Quinto Fiorentino. Other tombs of the same period, instead of the cupola, consist of rectangular vaulted chambers, either built of huge stones or cut out of the living rock. The most famous of these is the tomb of the Necropoli Regia, at Veii, near Caere, whose astonishing wealth of gold jewellery, precious vases and implements, is in the Vatican Museum. A fine example of the rock-hewn tomb was discovered near Veii; it is adorned with the oldest frescoes we know in Italy. These graves are doubtless important. They are the earliest monuments that we can prove by their inscriptions to be undoubtedly Etruscan; by the Egyptian and Phoenician and Greek objects found in them, their date is fixed in the 5th–6th cent. B.C. The rectangular chamber is also seen in the house of wood or sun-baked brick, a slightly younger type (7th–6th cent.) introduces us to roomy mansions. These latter tombs are always cut into the rock, and their central hall and side-chambers, with their ossuaries, are surrounded by doorways, with couches and chairs hewn out of the rock, give a vivid conception of what an elegant Etruscan dwelling of the time looked like. Nay, in some cases, at Caere, for instance, we find two storeys above each other. The tombs built of stone blocks are simpler in design, consisting of one, rarely of two rooms, and occasionally, as at Orvieto, grouped in streets and blocks, just like real towns. The architectural forms and mouldings are of the simplest, and betray the imitation of wooden houses in stone. One detail—the doorways narrowing towards the top and surrounded by a rectangular moulding—seems to denote Egyptian influence.

These tombs are without sculptured decoration inside, except in the outer lintels and gates upon the doors or the ceiling (chiefly at Corneto, the reliefs showing animals, fabulous creatures and hunters; and some funereal statues in a tomb at Vetulonia); but the mound or tumulus which covers the grave usually bears either a sculptured ornament or a stone stele with the image of the deceased (standing upright in armour or reclining at a banquet), mostly accompanied by an inscription. Lions carved in stone often guard the entrance to the tomb. The walls of the sepulchral chambers are often gaily painted, and these frescoes demonstrate the development of Etruscan art, from the 6th to the 2nd cent. B.C. They and the sculptured sarcophagi also show the preponderant influence of Greek art over Etruscan; for the commercial relations between the two nations were continuous, and the Etruscans, who do not seem to have possessed a strong individual artistic genius, not only bought Greek vases and bronzes by the thousand, so that no tomb, however poor, is without its Greek objects, but also copied these imported works, more or less freely and successfully. Thus, the frescoes of the oldest painted tomb of Veii, mentioned above, show the meaningless medley of animals, fabulous creatures, and human beings which the Greek vase-painters of the 7th cent., especially in Corinth, had borrowed from the contemporary carpets and tapestries. The 6th cent. frescoes of Cere and Corneto show banqueting and hunting scenes, with an occasional marine monster and once a mythological scene, conceived in the style of Ionic art. The same art, debased by provincial Etruscan painters, appears...
upon some terra-cotta slabs with paintings of sacrificial and funeral rites, which adorned the walls of a tomb at Cære. Occasionally, towards the end of the 6th cent., the banquet (they are the Etruscan banquet of the happy dead) are replaced by frescoes showing funeral rites, dances, mourners, games, and figures, in which local Etruscan customs are rendered in a debased Greek style. These frescoes, especially those of a tomb at Chiuse, are full of interesting details—wrestlers and acrobats, dwarfs and tame animals. Early in the 5th cent., Attic models take the place of the Ionic or Corinthian ones; Attic vases of the red-figured style illustrate this new fashion in Etruscan painting. Banqueting and funeral scenes continue to be in vogue. In the 4th cent., still under Attic influence, the frescoes take more religious subjects. A tomb of Corneto shows us the trembling soul in Hades, amid the terrific images of the famous sinners of Greek mythology, bearing their eternal torments. The kinder artist of a tomb of the 4th cent., in a rapid and hunter, of a sumptuous banquet in the very palace of Hades, who presides with Persephone, before a sideboard laden with golden vessels. The gods and heroes are Greek, even to their names, which can easily be recognized in Greek to the 3rd cent.; the style is wholly Greek, and it is only in certain ritual details, in the winged Pates (Lasa) who call the dead to Hades, in the curious monstrosity of Charun (=Charon), the infernal boatman, that the Etruscan artists have abandoned their slavish imitation of Hellenic imagery. The same dependence is apparent in the sarcophagi which contain the corpses, where these are not simply stretched upon rock-hewn benches. In one tomb, the sarcophagus of a man and his wife reclining together on their couch at dinner, according to Attic custom, and in a style copying the Ionic. A century later, upon a stone sarcophagus from the Chiusi district (in the Florentine Museum), we see the same couple, Attic in style, the wife sitting at the feet of her reclining husband, as was the custom for a proper Attic lady. The old Umbrian custom of burning the dead, which lasted, hence, the whole of the Etruscan period, entirely, during the first five centuries of Etruscan sway, again became nearly universal with the end of the 4th cent.; the long sarcophagi for the outstretched corpse are replaced by short square urns, very like the large funerary urns of Athens, and while the figures reclining upon these urns are merely hideously deformed pieces of provincial work, the reliefs which adorn the front copy Attic paintings, of which little sketches must have been brought to Etruria in great numbers; this explains the contrast between the fine composition and the rough execution, so noticeable in the reliefs of these urns, and also the preference for Greek mythological scenes, some of them local Attic in flavour, but whether the native art or his clients can have understood. The painted tomb of a noble Etruscan man, in his later life, in the manner of a Carpeaux, with his shield and bow in the Saracen style, was found in the Roman tomb of the 5th cent., Etruscan bronze, attracted considerable interest in the 19th cent., and the tomb of the Etruscan merchant who traded with Etruria hailed from the Ionia colonies of Asia Minor, and their intimate connexion with the Phoenicians explains the presence of numerous Syro-Phoenician objects—vases, ornaments,
and scarabs—in the oldest Etruscan tombs, since no direct connexion between Phoenicia and Etruria has been proved. In the later period, Attic influence again predominates, and is especially noticeable in the very numerous engraved mirrors and circular cists (toilet boxes) of bronze, some of them very beautiful, which are most neatly akin, in the style to the later styles of the later cinerary urns, though superior to these. Etruscan jewellery, at least in its older stages, is a great deal more independent. In fact, Greece offers nothing comparable, in technical skill and delicacy, to the work of the Etruscans, the gossamer-like filigree work, the microscopic granulations, of the bracelets, necklaces, ear-rings, and fibule of the oldest Etruscan tombs. The more recent ornaments show a stronger Hellenic influence, and a less perfect workmanship. Ceramic art is always more or less subservient to the more valuable metal vessels. Thus, the shapes of Etruscan clay vessels reproduce bronze models, and as these models are more or less copied from Greek originals, the same imitation is apparent in the cheaper terra-cotta ware. Of these vases we may be certain that they are independent; they are fashioned in black clay, called bucchero, adorned with incised or relief ornaments or figures; and though this technique is not infrequent in Greece, and again more especially in the colonies of Asia Minor, yet its predominance in Etruria is so great that only a slight Greek influence upon a strong local industry may here be granted. Painted vases are rare in Etruria, and are no more than poor copies of Ionic originals, or Attic originals; but bucchero will be credited with many an achievement.

Very little can be said of decorative work in ivory, or of engraved gems. Here again foreign, and chiefly Oriental, influence predominates, and the Etruscan artists have added little of their own. Even the types of their coins are merely derivatives from the superior Hellenic art.

Etruscan art and science were paramount during the earlier centuries of Roman history, throughout the whole of Latium, and even as far south as Campania. When the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia grew strong enough to hold their own, and the Etruscans were driven from Campania, towards the end of the 5th cent. B.C., their intellectual sway over Rome diminished steadily as they declined. After the losses of the Etruscan cities had been subjected to Rome, their peculiar civilization winded and disappeared rapidly, and it would be difficult to find a characteristically Etruscan work of art later than the 1st cent. B.C.


V. "VILLANOVAS OR UMBRIAN CIVILIZATION: a series of articles by Balduzzi, the discoverer of Villanovas; the results collected by Montelius, op. cit. (1894), and by Di Cesare, Rome, 1893, p. 221, where this civilization is claimed for the Etruscans (erroneously, in the opinion of the present writer).

VI. "CIVILIZATION:" a series of articles by P. Giardina, in La Civilisation, the discovery of Villanovas; the results collected by Montelius, op. cit. (1894), and by Di Cesare, Rome, 1893, p. 221, where this civilization is claimed for the Etruscans (erroneously, in the opinion of the present writer).


ART (Greek and Roman).—The history of Greek art, in relation to religion, passes through three phases which correspond more or less to its three periods of rise, perfection, and decadence. During the first period, art is subjected to religious influences, and frequently tampered with by religious conservatism; during the second, art is independent, and art, drawing its highest inspiration from religion, and itself contributing to the dignity of religious ideals, so that it was said of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias, "cuius pulchritudo adiciase aliquod etiam receptam religione videtur"; during the third, religion supplies numerous themes to the artist; but these often tend to be regarded, mainly or in part, as affording an opportunity for his skill in characterization or execution; and even when this is not the case, he often repeats the conventionalities of earlier artists rather than the religious idea. It follows that the history of art in Greece is, throughout the course of its development, closely bound up with the history of religious thought—more so, perhaps, than in the case of any other nation, but the relations of the two vary considerably at different periods.

1. Pre-Hellenic Art.—Before dealing with Hellenic art, it is necessary to say something of the art which preceded it in Greek lands, and which is conveniently named Aegean, so as to include Crete and the Archipelago, as well as the mainland of Greece. Our knowledge of the Aegean religion (q.v.) is gained almost entirely from the remains of early art in these regions. The chief branches of this art consist of gem-cutting, the art of the gold and silver smith; painting on terra-cotta collars and vases, and in fresco on the walls of houses and palaces; and sculpture, or rather modelling in terra-cotta and other materials, including life-sized coloured reliefs in gesso duro. Early Aegean art in all these branches shows a strong and characteristic native development, though it owes something also to foreign influences, notably to that of Egypt. It is marked by much naturalism in detail, especially in plant and animal forms, together with a curious conventionalism, especially in the treatment of the human figure, with its unusually slim waist and elongated limbs. The article AEgeAN RELIGION shows what subjects are treated in the art of the time. We find representations of shrines and altars, and of aniconic symbols of worship, such as the double axe and the horns of consecration, and an almost realistic rendering of landscape in the representations of sacred mountains and trees. Grotesque animal forms and monstrous combinations are a favourite subject, especially in gems, and have, for instance, been found by L. Pigorini in the caves of Paestum. AEgeAN art shows that the skill of the artist is not sufficient to indicate any difference between these and human figures, except by signs or attributes. Rudely-fashioned images of terra-cottas, which are almost certainly to be regarded as figures of deities, are found in Crete, and are also common at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece.

2. The 'Dark Ages.'—Art in Homer.—Between this early AEgean art and the rise of the arts which we properly hold to be the art of classical antiquity, there is an interval of time; nor is it possible, except in a limited degree, to trace any direct connexion between the two. The two chief qualities of the earlier work are beauty of decorative design and a close observation of nature, within certain limits. In both these respects its facile and even decadent
quality, in its later examples, offers the strongest contrast to the uncouth but promising beginnings of Hellenic art. Without discussing the complicated question of the racial changes that had taken place in the interval, we may admit that the innate artistic genius, of which we see the products in early Egyptian art, may, after long dormancy for a time, have contributed its part to the later development, but in conjunction with new elements which entirely transformed its character. In this connexion it must be remembered that the first and earlier stages of the development of early art in Crete and the Aegean islands go back to at least the third millennium before our era, and that the flourishing period of Cretan art ends with the destruction of the palace at Knossos about b.c. 1400, though at Mycenae and elsewhere on the mainland of Greece a kindred art survived for two more centuries in vigorous condition, and considerably longer in a decadent stage. The rise of a strong and independent Hellenic art cannot be dated earlier than about the 7th cent. B.C. The five centuries or so which intervened are sometimes called the 'dark ages' of Greece—a time of invasions and migrations, when the old civilizations were overwhelmed, and the country was for a time a barbarous barbarism, so far as the external surroundings of life were concerned. It was during this time that the Homeric poems were composed; and in them there is no certain reference to any work of sculpture in the round, or to any figure or relief in stone or wood, with the exception of a doubtful passage in Iliad, vi, 92 and 303, where the Trojan matrons place a robe 'upon the knees of Athene.' Some authorities regard this as implying the existence of statues; others, that it refers to purely metaphorical one, it is the only example of any such thing in the Homeric poems. Though temples are often mentioned, no images of the gods are referred to. Art in Homer is purely decorative, and is not distinctively Hellenic; many of the objects of finest workmanship are attributed to the Phoenicians. When scenes of an elaborate nature are described, as on the shield of Achilles, there are none of religious significance among them, though they do represent war as appearing in a battle scene. Here, however, it is the gods themselves that are thought of, rather than artistic representations of them.

3. Beginnings of sculpture. Many primitive images were in the Hellenic age ; an example is the Palladium stolen by Odysseus and Diomed from Troy—a tale told in the 'Little Iliad,' of about the 7th cent. B.C. Some of these may have been survivals from pre-Hellenic times; others were probably wrongly assigned to so early a date. Some of them were attributed to Dedalus, an artist whose historical existence is doubtful, but whose reputed attainments summarize the sudden advance in the art of sculpture which seems to have taken place about B.C. 550. Dedalus is said to have invented the image of the gods, sometimes, apparently, as a new departure, sometimes to replace a primitive or aniconic object of worship. Such families of artists existed in Chios (Melas, Micceidas, Arachermus) as workers of marble, and in Samos (Rheneus, Theodorus) as workers in bronze. In the Peloponnesse, many statues of the gods were made by Diphæus and Scyilla, Cretan 'Dedalids,' and by their countrymen, known as 'jailed Amazons,' who were almost as much as statues of the goddess Hera at Samos was replaced by an image made by Smilis of Ægina; the Apollo of Delos was made by Tecteus and Angelion, said to be pupils of Diphæus and Scyilla; and probably most of the other early images of the gods in human form were made in this period. From this time on we hear of numerous statues of the gods, made by almost all the chief sculptors; some of these were intended to replace more primitive images as objects of worship, others merely for decoration. In the former case the artist would in most cases be bound by religious conservatism, not to depart too far from the accepted type. An example is the Black Demeter of Phigalia, whose primitive image, with a horse's head, had been destroyed; the sculptor Onatas of Ægina is said to have replaced it with remarkable fidelity, with the help of copies, and even of a vision. This is an extreme instance, but in many other cases the artists had to satisfy the religious scruples of priests and others, as well as the growing desire for a more artistic representation of the deity. In the case of dedicated statues he would naturally have a freer hand. Here the limitations would be imposed by his art. We have many statues of early Greek workmanship preserved, and these show that sculpture was confined to a small number of clearly marked types, which served for representations alike of deities and of human beings. The commonest of these types represented a fully draped seated figure, a nude standing male figure, or a female figure; these were used alike for figures of the dead set up over graves, for figures of worshippers dedicated in sacred places, and for images of the gods. The artist devoted his skill to perfecting these types, to getting more natural expression on the face, to improving the shape of limbs and hands and feet, to observing and recording correctly the position of bones and muscles in the body. He was too much taken up with these matters to give much attention to the Individuation, much less of a worthy ideal of the god, though he was by his work that the tradition was being built up which enabled the masters of the 5th cent. to progress in this direction. Some other early types, however, offered an opportunity for a more direct and simple expression of divine energy. Sometimes swiftness was shown by wings, usually borrowed from decorative Oriental models, and by a position which looks like kneeling, but is meant to represent running or sitting; but the god or goddess was shown striding forward rapidly, with an attribute of power—if Zeus, a thunderbolt; if Poseidon, a trident; if Athene, a spear—in the raised right hand. Such purely external expressions of the divine essence have been derived from primitive images, which were incapable of expressing it in any subtler manner; and although some examples of this type were made, usually to carry on a religious tradition, even in the 5th cent., it gradually became obsolete as the artist acquired facility in expressing the character and power of the god under an intellectual and moral rather than a merely physical aspect. When this change had come about, the relations of art and religion were revolutionized. The sculptor no longer found himself confronted with the technical problem of providing a statue suitable in age, sex, and attributes to the requirements prescribed by religion, but was himself able to contribute something to the ideal conception of the deity.

4. Decorative and minor arts. So far we have considered only sculpture in the round, having as its province the making of independent statues. Minor works in bronze and terra-cotta, which were abundant on all Greek sites, naturally followed the course of the development had served, perhaps, even anticipated it; but what is said of sculpture applies to them also. It is otherwise with reliefs and other decorative works, whether in wood, stone, marble, terra-cotta, bronze, or other metals. So far as their religious signif-
cance is concerned, this group of objects goes with painting, especially vase-painting; it deals with the same kind of subjects, and treats them in the same manner. This decorative art affords a link, such as is missing in the case of sculpture, with the earlier periods; for it continued to be practised to a large extent during the dark ages between Mycenaean and Hellenic art; it transmitted some inherited types, and it borrowed many others from Oriental or other foreign sources. It is also of considerable importance for the study of religion and mythology, since the means at its disposal enables it both to represent the gods and heroes, to record or to illustrate stories about them, or scenes connected with their ritual. It is to be observed that descriptions of decorative reliefs in the Homeric poems—notably that of the shield of Achilles, which, even if later than the rest of the Iliad, is earlier in date than the rise of Hellenic art—do not refer to mythological scenes, but to incidents of daily life. On the other hand, the Hesiodic 'shield of Hercules' has a whole series of illustrations of mythical tales, such as the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths (from the Gorgons). In this respect it resembles actual works of decorative art that are recorded for us by ancient writers, such as the throne made by Bathycles of Magnesia for the Apollo at Aegina, 'the chest of Thyestes' (from Cephalus, dedicated in the Heaenum at Olympia. And the subjects recorded both on the imaginary and on the actual reliefs are just the same as we constantly find upon extant early works of decorative art—both reliefs in marble or stone or bronze or terra-cotta, and paintings upon vases. It appears, therefore, that, while the art referred to in the Homeric poems has nothing Hellenic about it except the poet's imagination, the references to works of art in Hesiodic poems and in later literature are closely in touch with the actual development of art in Greece.

The relation of art to popular belief and to literature, in its treatment of religious or other mythological subjects, is somewhat complicated. The decorative artist was extremely conservative and imaginative in the use of his available répertoire of groups and figures. Free invention was hardly ever resorted to, except in cases where no already familiar type could be borrowed or adapted. For the judgment of form is an inherent part of art, a theme for invention, and we find it so treated on later vases; but in early art it always takes the form of a procession, with the figures more or less differentiated; and this form is borrowed almost without modification from the procession of dancing women, headed by a musician, which is a common subject on the most primitive vases. Such mechanical repetitions may appear at first sight to preclude any strong influence of art on mythology; but in some ways their cumulative effect was greater than any that could have been due to originality of treatment, for it became almost impossible for people to figure these scenes or events to themselves in any other way than the conventionally accepted. And, moreover, the same conditions tended towards the assimilation and even identification of legends originally distinct, and so facilitated the systematization of Greek mythology. Again, the tendency of early Greek art to adopt rather than to invent led to many mistaken identifications that had great influence, not only on later art, but even on later belief. Thus the gorgon, the sirens, the sphinx, and other such monsters probably had no distinctive form in the eyes of those who first told tales of them; certainly the distinctive form is indicated in the Homeric poems. But the early decorative artists borrowed from the East many monstrous forms of winged and human-headed beasts and birds which had probably no particular importance to those who first adopted them as decorative elements; and these forms came to be identified with the creatures of Greek myth so completely and so finally that we at the present day cannot think of them as separate in their form. The fact that both these fantastic figures appear as symbols of death upon tombs in Greece, in Lycia, and possibly elsewhere also, has further complicated the influence of the borrowed type, so that, in these cases and in others like them, it is now almost impossible to disentangle the relations of art and of myth to the common conception.

5. Vase-painting.—The more technical side of the early development of decorative art in Greece concerns us here mainly as it affects the gradual acquisition of greater power of expression. In this matter sculpture in relief has much the same history as sculpture in the round, so far as the execution of individual figures is concerned. Vase-painting, on the other hand, has an independent development. It is impossible here even to sketch the development of vase-painting; it is possible only to mention those classes of vases which are of most importance for the representation of mythological scenes. (1) The geometrical class, which succeeds the Mycenaean in Greece, frequently reproduces scenes of Mycenaean origin; these vases are of the kind of Lacedaemonian and of those from the Dipylon vases of Athens, on which we see elaborate funeral processions, scenes of seafaring and combat, and classic dances; but few, if any, of these can be given any mythological significance. (2) The geometric period is succeeded by that of oriental influence in various parts of the Greek world. On the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, especially in Ionia, Samos, and Rhodes, we find various classes of vases, which have certain characteristics in common, as well as clearly-marked local variations; and about the same time we find a similar development in some of the chief manufacturing centres in continental Greece, mainly at Corinth and Chalcis; and colonies such as Daphne and Naucratis in Egypt, and Cyrene in Libya, have early vases that are Hellenic in evidence. Athens also has its own pottery at this time, in succession to the Dipylon ware. The technical development varies considerably, but in all alike the tendency is towards an improvement both in the quality of the ground and in the pigment in which the figures are drawn. As a rule the ground is buff, brownish or white, and the pigment is of a dark brown colour, varying from red to dull black. In late examples, and, above all, in Attic pottery, the ground tends to assume the beautiful reddish terra-cotta colour which is characteristic of Greek vases of the best period, and the pigment to take the form of lustrous black varnish. The monstrous forms, many of them winged, and the other fantastic beings or their characteristic parts, become gradually to be replaced by scenes of some mythological meaning, or, if retained, to acquire a mythological significance; and the human figure, at first introduced as a decorative type like the rest, gradually assumes its supremacy in interest. The treatment of myths upon early vases becomes, so to speak, stereotyped along certain lines, the same figures or compositions being repeated again and again with slight variations to illustrate the same myth, or adapted to the rendering of another myth that lends itself to a similar treatment. In this way the vasa-painter contributed in no small degree to the uniformity and systematization of mythology. (3) About the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. the Attic potters, assisted by the excellent clay of the Attic ceramics, surpassed all rivals. This is the age of what is called black-figured.
ware, the figures being drawn in black silhouette, and details added in incised lines, with touches of purple or white. We have many vases signed by potters of this period, as well as of the next, which begins in the latter part of the 6th cent., and continues until the date of the Persian wars and a little later. (4) This next period, which overlaps the preceding, is known as the early red-figured style, the same pigments being used, but the figures being reserved in the terra-cotta colour of the clay, and the background filled in with the black silhouetted outline of the subject. We find in the works of Praxiteles and Scopas, who came to Athens and decorated the Painted Stoa and other buildings about this time.

In Athens the work of Polygnotus consisted partly of historical paintings, such as the battle of Marathon; at Delphi his most famous works were the Charioteer of Troezen and the 'Land of the Dead,' and by these he probably exercised great influence on his contemporaries and successors. He was specially noted for the ethical character of his subjects. His paintings have not been preserved, but from imitations on vases and from descriptions of ancient writers, we can infer that they consisted of simply-grouped figures, arranged without perspective, and probably conventional in colouring. But the grandeur and nobility of his conception probably contributed to an unusual degree to the ideals of Greek art in the 5th century.

6. Sculpture of the 5th century.—The development of sculpture was at this time very rapid. The great struggle between Greece and Persia led to a new consciousness of Hellenic unity and a new pride in the superiority of Greek over barbarian; and at the same time, the spoils of victory and the offerings to the gods in thanksgiving for the great deliverance afforded both opportunities and themes for the influence on copies of the great works of Persia. The full effect of these influences was hardly felt at once, and they were combined, in their most splendid manifestations, with the glory of Athens, which, taking the lead at the time of the Persian wars, became the leading part of Persia and the majority of all that was best in Greece. The immediate predecessors of Phidias, though they produced works which were admired by posterity, seem still to have been mainly occupied with the study of the type and the perfection of technique and mastery over material. A statue like the 'Discobolus' of Myron is characteristic of this age; and however great the skill of the artist in dealing with a difficult subject, it is to be noted that he does not go beyond the expression of physical life to the expression of the character of the Polemarch; or of a wounded man, and of a wounded Amazon; he also made the portrait of Pericles, of which copies survive, and which is a typical example of the early portraiture which treats its subject as the individual. In all these works we can see the character of the art of the 5th cent., which expressed, as ancient critics tell us, σωφροσύνη rather than νομική, fixed type of character rather than varying passions and emotions.

7. The 4th cent. justified the assurance that he went beyond his contemporaries. It was reserved for Phidias to fill the forms that had already reached so high a degree of perfection, with an inner life and meaning. His colossal gold and ivory statues have not survived, but we have some copies of them, and probably of others of his statues, and the descriptions of ancient writers; and we can also see the reflexion of his influence in all contemporary and later work. From this evidence we can infer that his statues of the gods did not merely represent the perfection of the human form in face and figure, but embodied all that was noblest in the Hellenic conception of the gods. He is even said to have gone beyond this, and to have added somewhat to the received religion in his statue of Zeus, which was so worthy of the gods he represented that he was burdened in soul, who has experienced many misfortunes and sorrows in his life, and from whom sweet sleep has fled, even he, I think, if he stood before this image, would forget all the calamities and troubles that befall in human life' (Dio Chrys. Or. xii. 51, tr. Adam). The Zeus at Olympia was the father of gods and men, full of power and benignity, the common god of the Hellenes. The Athené Parthenos at Athens represented the more intellectual conception of the goddess of Athens, the embodiment of the artistic and literary genius of the people. Statues like these doubtless transcended the ordinary notions of the gods; but they were no mere allegories or personifications; they had the conceptions of the ideas of beauty and perfection and contributed in no small degree to purify and ennoble these ideals. This new influence of art upon religion came just at the time when the accepted views about the gods and the tales that were told about them were being questioned, and Phidias and Pericles were in sympathy with the most enlightened views; it can hardly be doubted that both artist and statesman had it as their aim to represent the gods to the people as they should be worshipped, with the beauty and majesty that characterized the temples of this period, above all from the sculpture of the Parthenon, we can learn the beauty and nobility of type and the unrivalled skill in execution that supplied the means whereby such an artist as Phidias could express his ideas.

In the latter part of the 5th cent. B.C. there were several other sculptors who followed more or less closely the tradition of Phidias, and made statues of the gods, which, like his work, had a great influence on their successors. The full effect of these influences was hardly felt at once, and they were combined, in their most splendid manifestations, with the glory of Athens, which, taking the lead at the time of the Persian wars, became the leading part of Persia and the majority of all that was best in Greece. The immediate predecessors of Phidias, though they produced works which were admired by posterity, seem still to have been mainly occupied with the study of the type and the perfection of technique and mastery over material. A statue like the 'Discobolus' of Myron is characteristic of this age; and however great the skill of the artist in dealing with a difficult subject, it is to be noted that he does not go beyond the expression of physical life to the expression of the character of the Polemarch; or of a wounded man, and of a wounded Amazon; he also made the portrait of Pericles, of which copies survive, and which is a typical example of the early portraiture which treats its subject as the individual. In all these works we can see the character of the art of the 5th cent., which expressed, as ancient critics tell us, σωφροσύνη rather than νομική, fixed type of character rather than varying passions and emotions.

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may in some cases have brought the character of the gods home to men by an intense and vivid realization of their personality; but in making them so human these sculptors may have made them less divine, and have opened the way for successors who regarded even statues of the gods as a mere theme for the exhibition of their artistic skill. In the 4th cent., however, the assistance from a considerable example of a tendency of which traces may be seen earlier—that to personification. A group by Cephisodotus represented Peace nursing the infant Wealth; and later on allegorical figures such as these were adopted by sculptors. The imagination seems to have usurped much of the worship that formerly belonged to the Olympian gods. But the statues of Scopas and Praxiteles were for the most part taken from accepted mythology, though the subjects selected were no less characteristic of the time than the manner in which they were treated.

The most famous works of Praxiteles represented Aphrodite and Eros; and he set the goddess before mortals with her beauty entirely unveiled; her nudity is not natural and unconscious like that of many of the Greek and Roman statues, for it was exalted by water supplied in preparation for the bath. He was also famous for his representation of Dionysus and his attendant satyrs; and from extant copies we can estimate the skill with which he characterized the soulless, half-human creatures of the woods. In the Hermes of Praxiteles, of which the original is happily preserved, we can see the mythological conception of Hermes as the protector of youthful life in a genial and individual embodiment. The marble was said to have been dug up on the spot, and sculptors of this kind followed Praxiteles. Scopas, and a number of other sculptors, were also noted for their figures of gods and heroes, as for their portraits of the family of Philip and Alexander in gold and ivory for the Philopappos at Olympia—works which exemplify the tendency to represent men in a manner hitherto reserved for the gods.

The great painters of the 4th cent. are known to us only by literary records; and in this case we cannot, as in the earlier age of Polygnotus, expect direct evidence from the works of art. From the descriptions of the poets we learn that the painters of this age often chose dramatic or sensational subjects, and their power of rendering individual character and passion was probably comparable with that of contemporary sculpture. Of all the painters of the 4th cent., Apelles was, like Lysippus, noted for his portrait of Alexander; and he was also fond of allegorical subjects, such as his group of Calumny, of which a detailed description is left us.

5. Hellenistic art.—In the Hellenistic age Greek art followed the conquests of Alexander to new centres in the East; it is no longer to Athens or Argos or Sicyon, but to Alexandria and Antioch and Pergamos that we look for its most characteristic products. The beginning of the Hellenistic age is marked by the defeat of Philip, and by the fact that Hellenistic art had changed the relations of East and West, and Greek civilization was henceforth the prevalent influence in western Asia. His career, which might well seem more than human, induced the Greeks to accept the Oriental custom of the deification of kings; and his features came to be repeated in the types of the gods. His head, too, was placed upon coins—an honour hitherto reserved for the gods alone. And his successors, with a less justifiable arrogance, claimed even higher privileges. But the old types and conventions were mostly repeated, either in mere repetition or in eclectic imitation. Certain schools, inspired by the dramatic power of Scopas, infused some new life into the old forms, notably the school of Pergamos. On the great altar in that city was a frieze with a representation of the procession of the gods 'Demeter and Ceres', and on which the sculptures were devoted to a complete representation of the Greek Pantheon in action against their wild adversaries. But the extraordinary dramatic power of the sculptors, and the fact that it is more or less an artificial creation, not a spontaneous embodiment of the people's belief, while philosophers turned to a more or less abstract and monothetic conception of the deity, which was out of touch with art, the people often turned to a more direct and intelligible worship, such as that accorded to the 'Fortune' of Antioch, embodied in a graceful representation of the city, seated on a rock with a river-god at her feet, which was made by Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippus. The representations of rustic subjects showed a reaction against the artificiality of city life, parallel to the literary development of the pastoral. Statues of the gods were still made, but were mostly mere repetitions of established types, though occasionally we find examples of great dignity and beauty, such as the Aphrodite of Melos or the colossal works made by Damophon in Messene and Arcadia. In the inadequacy of contemporary art, we find, often in an age of decadence, return to the character and even to the mannerisms of early art; in extreme cases this leads to an affected archaistic work which is easily distinguished from that of the early sculptors whom it imitates. The same time, dramatic vigour and scientific study were still kept up in some schools; and in Rhodes, in the middle of the
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1st cent. B.C., there were still sculptors capable of producing such a masterpiece as the 'Lacoon.'

9. Graeco-Roman art.—Graeco-Roman art—that is to say, the work produced for the Roman market by Greek artists—belongs for the most part to the more conventional and less powerful survivals of the art of Greece. There was an immense demand in Rome for the decoration of public buildings and of private houses, gardens, and libraries with the products of Greek art; and this was met partly by the spoliation of Greek shrines, partly by the gods follow or new work past the old nearly enough to please the taste of the patron. Even the statue of 'Venus Genetrix,' set up by Julius Caesar in his forum and made by Aesopus, the most famous sculptor of the day, was a mere repetition of a type which goes back to one of the masters of the 5th century. Under such conditions there was not much scope for originality or for a fruitful relation between religion and art.

10. Roman art.—Roman art had more originality, and made some technical advances even on the Greek models; but, from the religious point of view, these do not much concern us. They are best seen in portrait, historical reliefs, and decorative work. The old Italian gods did not as a rule resemble themselves in artistic treatment. There were, indeed, old terra-cotta images of the gods, made in Rome under Etruscan influence, which Caton and other conservatives regarded with veneration, and preferred to the imported products of Greek art. These may have had a certain vigour of individuality and realism which affected later art in Rome, and more especially portraiture. But in the art of Rome, as known to us in Imperial times, there presentations of the gods were of the types and conventions borrowed from Greece. There were indeed certain figures, above all that of Rome herself, which were new creations; but these followed the lines of impersonation common in Hellenistic art.

The art of the Augustan age, though characterized by an austere beauty, was academic and classical in character. Perhaps the finest extant figures of the gods in Roman art are those on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum, which are beautiful and dignified, but not so lifelike as in the earlier art. They presuppose an interest in the action portrayed as to seem full of life. In the deification of the Emperors we also find an incentive to ideal portraiture which did something to counteract the realistic tendencies of Roman art. The types thus acquired thus suppleness to the general history of art, and even to the transmission of religious ideas. In historical reliefs on columns and arches—above all, in the Trajan and Antonine columns—we find a continuous method of narration which lent itself admirably to the records of chronicle or story; and this method was continued, for didactic purposes, into early Christian and medieval art. In the sarcophagi we also find a great wealth and variety of resource in the renderings of mythology, often combined with historical allusion; and the types and patterns thus adopted and handed on the classical traditions to later art. Types, such as that of Orpheus, also acquired a new significance in Christian art. The Greek traditions, in varying form, survived both in Rome and in Asia Minor, and through them were transmitted to the modern world. The relation and the spheres of influence of the Eastern and Western branches constitute one of the most difficult and disputed problems of modern archaeology.


E. A. GARDNER.

ART (Jewish).—1. The arts in which the ancient Hebrews excelled were poetry and music. There are no remains, whether in literary sources or in the actual results of excavation, to vary the belief that there was in any real sense a native Hebrew painting or sculpture. There are extensive stores of Hebrew pottery, but the shapes and styles are derived from Phoenician and Egyptian types, and show an oriental artistic influence. Thus, again, the same imitativeness appears. Phoenician and Hebrew seals are much alike in shape, script, and ornamentation (Benzienger). The Phoenicians, too, excelled in metal-working; and the Hebrews, while they do not seem to have early acquired the art of metal-casting, were skilful adepts in the process of overlaying wood with metal plates. This skill presupposes some aptitude for wood-carving, but sculpture as such was not one of the Hebrews. It is remarkable how few inscribed stones of Hebrew provenance have thus far been discovered. Religion, which is usually the most powerful aid and stimulant of art, had the very opposite effect in Judaism. The prophetic attack on idolatry carried with it an objection to images, and the representation of any form of animal life was forbidden in the Decalogue. Thus, on the one hand artistic incapacity, and on the other pietistic asceticism, were combined to nullify with an interest in the art portrayed as to seem full of life. In the deification of the Emperors we also find an incentive to ideal portraiture which did something to counteract the realistic tendencies of Roman art. The types combined thus suppleness to the general history of art, and even to the transmission of religious ideas. In historical reliefs on columns and arches—above all, in the Trajan and Antonine columns—we find a continuous method of narration which lent itself admirably to the records of chronicle or story; and this method was continued, for didactic purposes, into early Christian and medieval art. In the sarcophagi we also find a great wealth and variety of resource in the renderings of mythology, often combined with historical allusion; and the types and patterns thus adopted and handed on the classical traditions to later art. Types, such as that of Orpheus, also acquired a new significance in Christian art. The Greek traditions, in varying form, survived both in Rome and in Asia Minor, and through them were transmitted to the modern world. The relation and the spheres of influence of the Eastern and Western branches constitute one of the most difficult and disputed problems of modern archaeology.


Artists of the Bible:

1. Type of Art:

- Hebrew:
  - Poetry
  - Music
  - Pottery
  - Seals
- Greek:
  - Pottery
  - Metal-working
  - Wood-carving
  - Sculpture

2. Influence:

- Phoenician and Egyptian influences

3. Prophetic Influence:

- Opposed to representation of animal life
- Opposed to idolatry
- Combined with pietistic asceticism

4. Religious Art:

- Hebrew art was not influenced by the arts of the biblical period
- Greek art influenced the Hebrews, but the Hebrews did not seem to have early acquired the art of metal-casting

5. Transmission:

- Greek traditions survived in Rome and Asia Minor
- Transmitted to the modern world

6. Cultural Influence:

- Mediterranean influence on early Christian and medieval art

7. Future Studies:

- Further investigation of the cultural influence of the Bible on art

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The text discusses the arts in ancient Hebrew society, contrasting with those of ancient Greece, highlighting the primary focus on poetry and music, and the influence of Mediterranean art on Early Christian and Medieval art.
3. But in some directions a specific Jewish art was developed. In mediaeval times the Jews acquired great repute as silk-dyers, as embroiderers, and as masters of the gold- and silver-smith's art. The worship of the synagogue and the home required the use of many objects in which artistic taste could be displayed. The Ark, or receptacle of the Law, the mantles in which the scrolls were wrapped, the crowns and bells with which they were adorned, the lamps for Sabbath and Hanukkah, the cups for the sanctification over the wine, the spice-boxes (mostly of a cestellated shape) are among the articles, to which the artist has taken delight in multiplying the folds of the scrolls could and of the Law, the manuscripts, which are displayed. At the close of the Sabbath, the Seder-dishes which were used in the home on the Passover Eve—these are among the most important of the articles which the Jews loved to ornament. Beautiful embroideries were also required as curtains for the Ark. Many fine specimens of all these were exhibited at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887, and the Catalogue of that Exhibition remains a valuable source of information on all these matters. An édition de luxe of the same Catalogue was illustrated by photographs by Mr. Frank Hara. Throughout the volumes of the JE will also be found many pictures of the objects briefly described here, as well as of another branch of art in which Jews excelled.

4. This branch is the illumination of manuscripts. As writing was carried on in the western world, in which Jews were highly skilled, and in the illumination of initial letters and the painting of marginal ornament and grotesques, they acquired considerable proficiency. Though there is no specific Jewish art in manuscript illumination, there are original Jewish elements; as Mr. G. Margoliouth well puts it, the Jewish spirit makes itself perceptible to the eye. In classifying the Jewish illuminated MSS, Mr. Margoliouth takes first the Bible, with its marginal illuminations, in form of designs, and (b) pictorial and marginal illuminations. Of course all these ornaments are confined to codices or MSS in the form of books; in the form of the scroll (except in the case of the Roll of Esther) the Bible was never illuminated. The treatment of the use of an ornament, which does not cover the face, of punctuated or ornamented scrolls. The illuminated Esther rolls were hardly meant for use in Divine worship. The usual Hebrew book for illumination was the Passover Service, or Haggadah. This is of course a book without miniatures, initials, and full-page pictures. Less common are illuminated Prayer-Books. But all Hebrew books might be illuminated. The Code of Maimonides exists in many beautiful specimens. A very common object for illumination was the Kethubah, or Marriage Contract.

It must be added that in recent times many Jewish artists have attained to fame.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to in the course of the preceding article, see: the publications of the Gesellschaft für Sammlung von Kunstdenkmäler des Judentums (Vienna, 1897 ff.); die Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunst (Frankfort, 1900 ff.); Die Umgangsgeschichte von Sarajevo, ed. Müller and Schlosser (Vienna, 1886); Glanz und Staat der Ornamentik Hibern (Berlin, 1906); E. J. Solomon, 'Art and Judaism' in JQR xxii. 655; G. Margoliouth, 'Hebrew Illuminated MSS' in JQR xx. 118; and D. Kauffman, Gesammte Schriften, vol. i. 1938.

I. ABBRAMS.

ART (Mithraic).—Oriental monuments of the worship of Mithra are as yet almost entirely wanting. The beautiful sculptures discovered at Sidon (1869, ci., fig. 21) of some of them iv. (Marquand, 1906, No. 46 ff.) date from the 3rd cent. of our era, and cannot throw any light on the first productions of the devotees of the Persian god. We must, accordingly, confine ourselves to studying Mithraic art in the Latin-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire, where a very considerable number of its remains have been discovered. In time they range over about two and a half centuries. The most ancient monument, which is now in the British Museum, dates from A.D. 104 (Cumont, Mon. myst. Mithra, No. 65; cf. vol. ii. 546; CIL vi. 30725), and the last of them belong to the middle of the 4th century. These constitute a group whose limits in space and time are small, and whose character can be accurately described. It must be admitted that their artistic merit is much less than their archeological interest, and that their chief value is not aesthetic but religious. These works are, however, precious, in that they destroy all hope of finding in them the expression of real creative power or of tracing the stages of an original development. It would, however, be unfair, acting under the impulse of a narrow Atticism, to confound them all in a common depreciation. Some of the groups in high and low relief (for the mosaics and the paintings which have been preserved are so few and so mediocre that they may be disregarded) hold a very honourable rank in the multitude of sculptures which the age of the Empire so splendidly bequeathed to posterity.

The bull-slaying Mithra.—The group most frequently reproduced is the image of the bull-slaying Mithra, which invariably stood at the background of the temples (see art. ARCHITECTURE (Mithraic)), and specimens of which are to be found in all the museums. The sacrifice of the bull recalled to the initiated the history of the creation and the promise of a future resurrection. It can be proved (Cumont, op. cit. ii. 180 ff.) that these representations of Mithra, whose sacred type was fixed before the spread of the Persian mysteries into the Latin-speaking world, are replicas of an original created by a sculptor of the school of Pergamos, in imitation of the sacrificing goddess Victory which adorned the baustrade of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis (Kekule, Die Reliefs des Tempels der Athena Nike, 1881, pl. vi.). The Asiatic adapt has merely clothed the Persian god in the half-conventional Phrygian costume which was associated with a number of Oriental personages (e.g. Paris, Attis, Pelops, etc.), and has given the face an expression which more nearly resembles that of the celebrated 'dying Alexander.' 'The emotion that pervades the features of Mithras is rendered with almost Skopian power' (Strong, Rom. Sculp. p. 311).

Certain sculptures discovered at Rome and at Ostia, dating from the beginning of the 2nd cent., still reflect the splendour of that powerful work of Hellenistic art. After an eager pursuit, the god, whose mantle flutters in the wind, has just reached the sinking bull. Placing one knee on its crupper and one foot on one of its hoofs, he leans on it to keep it down, and, grasping it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunges a knife into its side. The vigour of this animated conception shows to advantage the agility and strength of the invincible hero. Once the bull has been pierced, the suffering of the victim breathing its last gasps, with its limbs contracted in a dying paroxysm, and the strange mixture of exultation and remorse depicted in the countenance of its slayer, throw into relief the pathetic side of this sacred drama, and even to-day arouse in the spectator an emotion which must have been keenly felt by the worshippers.

This work of the Alexandrian period lies, moreover, been affected by the Roman schools of art. In Rome, as often is the case, the balance was in a more or less felicitous manner the care for details which is characteristic of the works of the Antonine period, e.g. in a group from Ostia (Cumont, op. cit. p. 79, fig. 67) which dates from the reign of Commodus, and a bas-relief from the Villa Albani (id. p. 55, fig. 45). The artist has taken delight in multiplying the folds of
the garments and in rendering more intricate the curls of the hair, merely to show his skill in overcoming the difficulties which he himself had created. A small piece of sculpture discovered at Aquileia (ib. p. 116, pl. iii.) is distinguished in this respect by a bewildering cleverness of technique. The deliberately carved figures are almost completely detached from their massive block base, to which they are connected only by very slender supports. It is a piece of bravura in which the sculptor displays his skill in producing a brittle substance the same effects as the chaser obtains in metal. But these comparatively perfect works are rare even in Italy, and it must be acknowledged that the great majority of these remains are of discouraging mediocrity, which becomes more and more widespread towards the 4th century.

The Dadothori.—The group of the bull-slaying Mithra is almost always flanked by two torch-bearers, or dadothori, who were called Cauti and Castopat. Dressed in the same Oriental garb as Mithra, one of them holds an uplifted, and the other an inverted, torch; they doubtless personify the sun at the equinoxes. The original of these two youths can be traced back, like that of the bull-slaying god, to an unknown sculptor of the Early Roman period who had already adopted the still more ancient models (Cumont, op. cit. i. 208 ff.); but this hieratic work, which did not afford scope for the expression of keen emotions, is of much less artistic worth. Yet, in the better specimens at least, one may notice, which the artist has been able to derive from the Phrygian dress, and the way in which he has been able to emphasize the different emotions of hope and sadness depicted on the faces of the two youths who are mutually contrasted, is a most remarkable reproduction of which we possess this divine pair: one statue found near the Tiber, one of which has been taken to the British Museum, while the other is in the Vatican. They certainly date from the time of Hadrian (ib. 57 and pl. ii.).

The Mithraic Kronos.—The origin of the subjects just mentioned is to be found in ancient Greek art, but there is another Mithraic work which is certainly derived from an Oriental archetypal: the world god, who is a serpent, and who personifies Eternity—the Zoroastrian Akrana of the Persians (see art. MITHRAISM), to whom the adherents of the sect used to give the Greek name Kronos, or the Latin Saturnus. The most striking type is in the Vatican (Cumont, op. cit. 80, fig. 68). Like the majority of his compere, this animal-headed monster is an exotic creation. His genealogy would carry us back to Assyrian sculpture (ib. I. 74 ff.). But the artists of the West, having to represent a deity entirely strange to the Greek pantheon, and being untrammelled by the traditions of any school, gave free course to their imagination. The various transformations which this figure has undergone at their hands were actuated, on the one hand, by religious reasons, which explains the symbolism of this deified abstraction and to multiply his attributes; and, on the other hand, by an aesthetic solicitude which tended to modify as much as possible the grotesqueness of this barbarous figure, and to humanize it. Ultimately they did away with the lion's head, and contented themselves with representing the animal at the feet of the god, or with placing the head of the beast on his breast. This lion-headed god of Euraspilo, who had originally been of Oriental stock, is in the Vatican. The animal of Mithra is often represented in the guise of a divine bull, with the head of a bear or a wild boar, or the horse-headed god of Egypt, as appears from the representations of the Roman period, or even from the most ancient. But if it is entirely destitute of charm, the grotesqueness of its appearance and the suggestive accumulation of its attributes arouse curiosity and provoke reflection.

We have, so far, confined our attention to the remains found in Rome and Italy, the artistic finish of which surpasses the average of the Mithraic ex-votos. But when we pass to the provinces of the Empire, we find there elaborate works of a very different kind. It is generally agreed that, during the Empire, a great number of the sculptures intended for the provincial cities were made at Rome, or by artists who had come from Rome (Friedländer, Sittengeschichte*, iii. 280 f.). This is probably the case with certain of the sculptures we are considering: they come from distant studios, either those of the capital or even of Asia Minor or some other province. There is no doubt that certain tablets discovered in Germany were brought from quarries in Pannonia (Cumont, op. cit. i. 216). Nevertheless, the great majority of Mithraic remains were undoubtedly executed on the spot. This is obvious in the case of those which were sculptured on the surface of rocks, which had been smoothened for the purpose; but with regard to many, local workmanship is proved from the nature of the stone employed. Moreover, the style of these fragments clearly reveals their local personify. The discovery of so many Mithraic works has thus great importance for the study of provincial art under the Empire. The most remarkable of these works is to be found, both in Gaul, or, more precisely, on the Rhine frontier. It seems that the whole of this group of monuments must be ascribed to that interesting school of sculpture which flourished in Belgium in the 2nd and 3rd cents AD, and which advantage which the artist has been able to derive from the Phrygian dress, and the way in which he has been able to emphasize the different emotions of hope and sadness depicted on the faces of the two youths who are directly contrasted, is a most remarkable reproduction of which we possess this divine pair: one statue found near the Tiber, one of which has been taken to the British Museum, while the other is in the Vatican. They certainly date from the time of Hadrian (ib. 57 and pl. ii.).

If we subject all these scenes and symbols to an analysis in detail, we can show that the majority of them are modifications or adaptations of old Greek subjects. Thus, Ahura Mazda destroying the demons is the prototype of Osiris destroying the monstrous Typhon, in the British Museum (ib. i. 157). The poverty of the new conceptions which Mithraic iconography introduces is in startling contrast to the importance of the religious movement that inspired them. At the period when the Persian mysteries overspread the West, the art of sculpture was too decayed to be revived. Whereas, during the Hellenistic period, sculptors were able to conceive novel forms for the Egyptian divinities (Isis, Serapis, etc.), happily harmonizing with their chase to complaisance with these gods, in spite of their strong-marked nature, were obliged to assume, whether appropriate or not, the form and dress of the Olympian deities to which they were assimilated. The art, accustomed to live by plagiarism, had become incapable of original invention. But if, without analyzing each scene and personage in detail, we contemplate the total effect of the work, we receive an impression of something entirely new to the world. The art of Mithraic art; and if it is entirely destitute of charm, the grotesqueness of its appearance and the suggestive accumulation of its attributes arouse curiosity and provoke reflection.

We have, so far, confined our attention to the sculptures that have been brought to light in Rome, not only all the deities of the Mithraic pantheon; but the history of the world and of Mithra as creator and saviour, was a truly sublime idea. Even before this time, especially on the sarcophagi, we find a method employed which consists in representing...
the successive moments of an action by pictures superimposed on one another or drawn on parallel surfaces; but we cannot mention any pagan monument which can be compared in this respect with the great Mithraic bas-reliefs, especially those of Neuenheim, Hedderenheim, and, above all, Osterburken (C. 185, 295). To find a single attempt we have to come down to the long series of subjects with which Christian artists in mosaic adorned the walls of churches.

If we wished to criticize the details of these sculptures, it would be easy to censure in them the composition of certain combinations of some movements, the stiffness of some attitudes, and, above all, the confused impression arising from the superabundance of personages and groups. This last fault of overloaded composition is one which the Mithraic monuments share with the contemporaneous sarcophagi.

But in criticizing these remains, it must not be forgotten that painting came to the aid of sculpture. The strong contrast of colours emphasized the principal outlines, and threw accessory parts into prominence. Often the face was, in addition, indicated by the brush, and gilding was used to set off some subsidiary parts. Without such a brilliant combination of colours the piece of statuary would have been almost invisible in the deep shadow of the subterranean cave. Such, moreover, was one of the traditions of Oriental art, and Lucian (Jup. trog. 8) had already contrasted the simple and graceful forms of the Greek deities with the startling gorgeousness of those imported from Asia.

In spite of the numerous suggestions which it has borrowed from the treasury of types created by Greek sculpture, Mithraic art, like the mysteries of which it is the expression, remains essentially Asiatic. The idea with which it is mainly concerned is not to produce an aesthetic impression; it aims principally at arousing religious emotion, not through the perception of beauty, but rather by recalling to the mind sacred legends and teachings. Faithful to this point of view, the ancient East, it confines itself to relating and instructing. The medley of personages and groups with which some bas-reliefs are thronged, the host of attributes with which the figure of Eternity (see above) is overloaded, show us that a new ideal was born with the new religion. These ungraceful and pretentious symbols, the actuality of which is attested by the monuments, did not charm, their elegance or their dignity; they fascinated the mind by the disturbing attraction of the Unknown, and aroused in the neophyte a reverential fear in face of a tremendous mystery. They were, as St. Jerome says (Epist. 107 ad Letaem), "portentosa simulacra."

Here, above all, is to be found the explanation why this art, extremely refined as it was, in spite of all its imperfections, has exercised a permanent influence. It was linked to Christian art by the natural affinity, and the symbolism which it had helped to make popular in the West did not perish with it. Even the allegorical figures of the cosmic cycle, which the devotees of the Persian god had reproduced with such abundance (for they regarded the whole of nature as divine), were adopted by Christianity, although really opposed to its spirit. Such were the images of the earth, the sky, and the ocean; the sun, the moon, the planets, and the signs of the zodiac; the winds, the seasons, and the elements; which occur so frequently on the sarcophagi, the mosaics, and the miniatures. Even the mediocre compositions which the artists had conceived to represent the incidents of the Mithraic legend were able to inspire Christian artists. Thus the figure of the sun raising Mithra out of the ocean served to express the ascension of Elijah in the chariot of fire; and, down to the Middle Ages, the figure of the bull-slaying Mithra was perpetuated in the representations of Samson rending the lion.

**Litterature.** — F. Cumont, Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, Brussels 1909, p. 213-220 and passim; E. Strong, Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine, 1907, p. 398 f.

**ART (Muhammadan).** — 1. Introduction. — Our researches into Muhammadan art are as yet entirely in their infancy. So far, the historical inscriptions are only being collected, and this understanding, upon the whole, is only just beginning. It is, however, necessary that we should have some notion of the nature of the art which we are studying. The worship of Allah, homosexual in its devotion, and the absolute truth of his teachings, is in itself a condition of all historical study in this field. It is much to be desired that, by way of supplementing this, some one would group together the literary sources which bear upon graphic art in Islam. The bibliography at the end will show that, although we possess several comprehensive writings in this department, we have very few such treatises upon Muhammadan works of art as are serviceable for scientific investigation. The present position of our researches is consequently that of an attempt to make himself proficient in the department of graphic art, while the three or four historians of art who deal with Islam at all, have only the most meagre acquaintance with the language and culture of its adherents. In the circumstances, it is expected that the present article should do more than acquaint the reader with the outstanding facts of the subject in their relation to religion and ethics. The writer, indeed, feels more inclined to point out the lacunae than able to fill them up. His purpose is not so much to supply adequate information upon the subject proposed, as to provide the reader with a general conspectus of Muslim art.

2. Pre-Muhammadan Data. — The most important of these is the action which forms the inevitable adjunct of the Muslim's every prayer, viz., the turning towards Mecca. It does not fall to the historian of art to establish the origin of this custom of turning in a certain direction, or to decide whether it was not simply a transference of the practice of orientation by the sun, as was observed also by the Christians, to the new religious centre. So long as Muhammad had regard to Jews and Christians, it was towards Jerusalem that he turned; it was only at a later stage that he made Mecca the cynosure. We speak of Mecca therefore as pre-Muhammadan only when having been a religious centre, and not because the Muslim turns his face towards it during prayer.

Mecca can hardly be said to have any further significance in regard to graphic art. As the Ka'ba lies in the centre of the temple-enclosure, viz., and has not, like the mosque, a definite direction at one side, it naturally dropped aside as a pattern for the mosque. On the other hand, we may surmise that in this most important focus of pilgrimage in Arabia, some kind of monumental relic must have existed from the earliest times, even before Muhammad's day. We may imagine it to have been something analogous to the Qubbat as-Sahra in Jerusalem, i.e. a centrally situated cupola-shaped building. At the present day the temple appears as a quadrangular open court, in the middle of which stands the 'Cub' with the Black Stone. Around this there has been laid out a circular area in the court, which may indicate the form of the earlier cupola-shaped structure. The Qubbat as-Sahra is surrounded by a surrounding quadrangle.

3. Muhammad. — Had Muhammad not been forced to flee from his native city, it is probable that the mosque would have taken a form somewhat different from that which prevailed before the emergence of the madrasas, and apart from the influence of Christian architecture as applied to
churches. As Muhammad, however, established
his place of prayer in Medina, and was also buried
there, this most unpretentious beginning gave the
initiative to the architecture not only of places
of worship, but also to some extent of tombs. Sam-
hual, in his History of the City of Medina (ed.
zu Göttingen, ix. [1860] 60), tells first of all how
Muhammad obtained the site for his mosque, and
proceeds as follows: 'Upon this the edifice
of bricks was built, palms were used as columns,
and a wooden roof was fixed above.' This mosque
had three entrances—one at the back, which was built
up when Muhammad began the practice of turning
to Mecca instead of Jerusalem, the others being the
Gate of Mercy and the prophet's private door.
After the conquest of Kairbar the mosque was
entirely re-built, being enlarged to twice its former
size. Some idea of the interior is given by the
position of the column beside which Muhammad
prayed: it 'was the central column of the mosque,
the third forward from the minbar, the third from
Muhammad's tomb, the third from the south side,
the third from the main road before (as Ibn Zubára
states) this was widened by the space of two pillars'
(Wüstenfeld, 65). The columns fell into a state of
decay after the murder of St. John, who was killed,
and it was they had them replaced by fresh palm trunks. The
most
notable restoration—or re-construction—was that
made by Walid I., who was supplied by the
Emperor of Greece with Greek and Coptic artisans,
as he was building a new mosque. The columns
and capitals were built with hewn stones of equal
size, and cemented with gypsum; decorations of
shell-work and marble were introduced, while the
roof was constructed of palm and coated with
gold-colour. When Walid inspected the com-
pleted work in 93 A.H., he exclaimed, 'What a
contrast between our style of building (i.e. in
Damascus) and yours! ' to which the reply was,
'We build in the style of the mosques, you in
that of the churches.' Beyond this single reference
we have nothing from which to form an idea of
the mosque of Muhammad as a whole, or of its
imitations. We shall presently return to this.
Of the sacred accessories belonging to the interior
of the mosque, of which we speak, as the mihrab,
the platform (dikka), etc., the only one which we
can trace to Muhammad himself is the minbar, or
pulpit (Becker, in Orientalische Studien Nöddecke
gewidm. 381 f.). In ancient Arabia the minbar
had been the throne, but as it was removed from
the position of judge to that of ruler, this
originally very simple piece of furniture with its
two steps became more and more of a throne.
A fresco on the inner front wall of Qasair 'Amra
represents one of the first Khalifs, or perhaps
Muhammad himself, seated on a throne. As this,
in view of the command against images, may well
give rise to fruitful discussion, we give a reproduc-
tion of it (fig. 1, p. 897). Over the enthroned
illusion is laid a caricature of the Khalif, which is
unfortunately so much abraded that only the
'coning words are now legible: 'May God
grant him his reward, and have compassion
upon him!' The personage thus pictured—with red
beard, and the saint's nimbus about his head—
must accordingly have been dead, and cannot have
been, as one might naturally think, the Khalif then
reigning. The figure beside the throne holds the
lance—a recognized emblem in Islam to the present
day; a woman with the nimbus is represented on
the left, and another from which no such emblazoning.
This may be traced to the Christos-Pantokrator;
in this case it will then be the Qurán, not the
Gospels, upon which the left hand is placed.
Beneath the great throne is seen the barge of the
dead. At the time when this fresco was introduced,
art (Muhammadan)
of this, extends the entrance wall, beside which large chandeliers are suspended between the columns, the mid-passage running thence to the qibla. The arches run parallel to the line of this passage; in this instance they are rounded, though as a general rule they are pointed, and disproportionately high. The various moulded capitals are linked together by arches while a wooden roof is placed over the whole. Such was the prevalent type of the Muslim place of worship in early times.

From the 1st cent. A.H. come other two buildings. One of these, situated in Jerusalem, has long been known to have been recently discovered by a Austrian research party. The first, the Qubbat as-Sahra upon the Temple hill, is not a mosque, but a memorial edifice. Above the rock with its caves rises a dome supported by four pillars, between every two of which stand three columns. Two circular passages with eight pillars, and two columns between each pair of these, lead over to the octagonal surrounding wall. Of the original fabric erected by ‘Abd al-Malik in A.H. 72 (A.D. 691) very little remains; the columns still retain vestiges of the Carolingian capitals, and have been taken from some Christian building, while the exceedingly valuable mosaics of the passage are of Persian origin.

On the other hand, the second monument referred to in a.d., which has been known as Qasr ‘Amra, and situated in the desert adjoining Moab, is pure Syrian in character. Attached to a small bath is a hall roofed with three parallel tunnel-vaults, and showing on the south two apsidal chambers, the niche between them, having a straight front, not directly opposite the entrance. The structure as a whole recalls the type of tunnel-vaulted churches indigenous to the interior of Asia Minor. The paintings are most instructive, as has already been shown in the case of the fresco of the enthroned figure illustrated in fig. 1 (p. 897). They exhibit the Umayyad art in the full current of the Hellenistic style; the frescoes of the bath-chambers might well be counted as ancient. The pictures in the hall are of far-reaching significance, furnishing the best exemplification of the tendency which, while opposed to all worship of images, was again adopted by the image-breakers in Constantineople, and which, after the example of the Assyrian relief, became associated rather with the portrayal of hunting and fishing scenes, instances of these being found likewise in the early Christian art of Syria and its offshoots.

We must now call attention to the fact that in ‘Amra, among scenes of hunting, fishing, and bathing, there have been introduced two pictures which, from the standpoint of religion and ethics, may well evoke much controversy in the future. Upon the front wall of the niche, opposite the entrance, appears the figure of the man seated on a throne. But it is the other picture which calls for especial attention. At the top of the arch, decorating its subject is the princes overthrown by Islam, viz., the Emperor of Byzantium, Chosroes of Persia, the Negus of Abyssinia, and Roderick of Spain. How are these pictures to be brought into accordance with the interdict against graphic representation, and in what sense are we to interpret them? The picture of the Khalif upon the throne undoubtedly gives the impression of its being a devotional piece, but that of the conquered princes can scarcely be excluded in a similar way.

The Umayyads have also in recent times been spoken of as the builders of a number of large and beautiful castles in the desert, situated in the neighbourhood of ‘Amra, but more towards the inhabited country. These have been made known chiefly by the large Moshiit façade which the Emperor of Germany received as a gift from the Sultan and placed in the Berlin Museum. This publication illustrates the present writer discerns structures so unmistakably of a Persian character as to suggest conditions which would allow of a closer connexion with Hira or North Mesopotamia. Both Mesihiyy and Qasr-at-Tuba are immense fortified royal seats, surrounded by groups of plots, and resembling those found in the Sasanian fabrics of Mesopotamia. Both are unfinished, and their respective porticoes bear the same kind of decorations, amongst which the Persian wing-palmette amid vine-tendrils characteristically recurs.

5. The Abbasids.—The shifting of the centre of the Muslim world from Damascus to Baghdad had very important consequences for the development of graphic art, as the Syrian, i.e. the Hellenistic-Christian, factor now fell into the background, while the Oriental came to the front. In the latter, it is true, there is always a double strain: on the one hand the Assyro-Sasanian tradition, and on the other a drift in part still older, which may possibly have come in with the Parthians, and certainly found a channel in the immigration of some of the offshoots of Turks from Central Asia to Persia and Baghdad.

For the remote part of Western Asia this drift has all the significance of a barbarian invasion of a long established civilization, such as was experienced by Rome at the hands of the Germans. The Turks and the Germans were in fact the emissaries of an inchoate ‘Hinterland’ culture, which had been quite overshadowed by the hothouse growth of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek art, but which, when the representatives of the older refinement began to flag, came once more into the foreground. We must likewise bear in mind the gradually weakening influence of early Christian art, as also the growing potency of the Chinese factor.

(a) Persian elements. A wholly unique type of mosque is found in Mesopotamia. Here again, indeed, we have the arcaded court, with the open hall lying towards Mecca, but, in keeping with the nature of the country, the supports are formed of columns instead of pillars, and are ornamented with vine-tendrils. The walls are covered with an latticework, the mosque assumes a most characteristic appearance, known to us until recently only from a mosque in Luxor erected by the Emperor Théodoric, who came from Baghdad to Egypt. It has lately been shown, however, that the mosque of Ibn Tulun was built upon the model of the mosque of Samarra, as had been stated by early Arabic writers. Moreover, in Abu-Dilif, 16 km. to the north of Samarra, there still stands a mosque which agrees with that of Ibn Tulun even in the number of its supports. Of this example of the unique character of Mesopotamian mosques we give an illustration from the survey of General de Beylié, which shows the eastern facade of this mosque, which is surrounded by pillars. Here we see pillars composed of brick, with hewn-out ornamental niches, and united by arches, the springers of which still remain. The side arches leave the view open towards the surrounding wall of the mosque, and through the central arch appears the spindly-like minaret.

Even this peculiar and fantastic minaret at Samarra has been copied in the mosque of Ibn Tulun at Cairo by the erection of a winding staircase on the outside. Elsewhere the stair is for the most part on the inside, which is used for calling to prayer, is outwardly smooth, whether rounded or quadrangular. In the period of the Fatimids, buildings were constructed not only in the older style prevalent along the Mediterranean seaboard, i.e. with columns (al-
The minbar has always been constructed of wood, essays in marble or other substance being of the rarest occurrence. By 132 A.H., when all the provincial mosques received their minbars, it can hardly have been a primitively formed type. We were richly endowed with ornamentation. The oldest surviving minbar, that of the great mosque at Kairwan, is of plane-tree, brought from Baghdad by Ibrahim Ibn al-Aghlab in 242 A.H. (fig. 4, p. 899). In the minbar a different form of the art of decoration as practised by the Abbasids in Mesopotamia could achieve, we give an illustration of the façade of the al-Aqmar mosque in Cairo, as discovered in recent years and restored (Ar. Jahrb., p. 900). According to the inscriptions, it dates from A.D. 1125. Here we already see the arrangement which also prevailed among the Seljuks of Asia Minor—a central risalit which stands in front of the two wings, and derives its principal emphasis from the platform and steps which really do not as yet know the source of this design. It is all the more striking as we have before us only a false façade, which has no inner apartment corresponding to it, but which is simply a high wall of stone. On this, though, the greater interest is the ornamentation upon the wall-surface. This contains designs which in all probability were originally naturalized in the Orient as stucco-work, but which are here, in Egypt, transferred to the stone in common use. The portal-niche is connected with two smaller niches on a level with the ground-floor; all three display in their arches shell-like tori of luxuriant outline. Here too appears, fully developed, one of the main elements in Moorish decoration, theunnah, and the risalit. We find stucco-work upon the side portals, taking the place of mussel-panelling, and also as a surface-decoration above the little niches beside the main porch, while they appear in their proper and original function on the corners of the building, where in two rows of niches one above the other they form a beak. In the design of the niche with inserted columns is often applied to the upper wall; the little columns on the central risalit already show the bell-form which has retained its primitive form and was brought from Persia to Egypt. Along the upper extremity of the façade, which is filled out with ornaments of rosettes and lozenges, runs an inscription-frieze.

The present writer regards these stuccoites as a characteristic deposit of Muslim ethics in the field of graphic art. In them constructive restraint, i.e. the best and obligatory design, is surrendered in favour of a freakishness capable of endless variation, which becomes all the more interesting by reason of the limitations laid down by the spatial form. The stuccoite, rightly regarded, is of purely constructive origin. It served originally, as a single niche, the same purpose for which the Byzantines used the so-called pendente, i.e. the filling-out of the corner which remains open when a round cupola is placed upon a square substructure. For this later Hellenistic architecture had a definite, mathematically accurate, solution in the sector of the vault of the circumscribed circle; in Persia, on the other hand, the custom was to place a niche in the angle. Instead of the single niche, however, we occasionally find three, combined as already noticed in the case of the al-Aqmar mosque, or, more frequently, in the inverse position, one below and two above. Next a further row, of three, came to be added, thus making a group of six; then a row of four, making ten, and so on. This embellishment of the cupula-wedge was transferred to portal-niches, then to surfaces, and in this way was obtained an ornamentation which always indicates a terminal line or a transition (cf. on this point the Stiburtus) which is certain in the present case—certain elements are grouped by the imagination to imitate nature, and for this end new themes are introduced, with which, as with conventional numbers, endless combinations may be made. As to the date of the minbar, we refer to the Jahrb. d. preuss. Künstlervereinigung, xxv. (1904), p. 327 ff., the arabesque takes its inception from the Hellenistic vine-branch. In the later period of ancient art this became the most popular pattern for stuccoed or superficial decoration. The development towards the arabesque begins when the artist divests the vine-leaf of its natural form by superimposing other leaves, or a triad of globules, upon the diverging point of the ribs, or when, further, he makes it into a three-lobed or five-lobed. But the actual transformation consists in the application to the vine-leaf of the lobate form which may really be described as the artificial flower of West-Asiatic art, i.e. the palmette. The vine-tendril motif and the five-lobed arabesque. The development proceeds in virtue of the fact that the palmette can be split up either into halves or into single lobes; while each of these lobes again may be expanded, and give rise to new ramifications. The façade of A.D. 1125, in its details, furnishes illustrations of the initial stage of this whole development: here the branch shows more of the Persian than of the Arabian form. On the other hand, fig. 6 (p. 900), representing a wooden minbar in the K. Frieden, is attributed to A.D. 1188; it is imposed to date from A.D. 1125, exhibits all the stages side by side—the five-lobed vine-leaf with and without the grape-cluster, the trifolium, all kinds of ramifying palmettes, and also the palmette itself with ornamental branching. In this tablet the divided palmette in the centre is surrounded by a ten-pointed star which obtrudes itself into the marginal bands both above and beneath. This brings us to the third class of specifically Muhammadan ornament, viz., polygonal lace-work. It is a development from the burnt sponge ornament of the Cairo façade of A.D. 1125—appearing as stiariated decorations in the lozenges of the surface-niches, above to the left; but here they show rather the older double-stripe design which was common also in ancient and Christian art. The
distinctively Muslim variety, as we think, shows in its origin the influence of the development of Muslim art by religion and ethics. We find, in fact, that the ornamentation of sacred buildings embraces no representation of living objects. The wondrous Mesopotamian type of decoration consists in over-laying the walls, pillars, and arches with stucco ornamentation, which hardly instance anything whatever in which this architectural decoration contains the figure of man, animal, or bird. The mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo; the Church of Abbot Moses of Nisibis in the Syrian monastery of the Nizir desert, which was stuccoed by Mesopotamian artists; Maqâm 'Ali itself, on the Euphrates; Samarra—in none of these have we a trace of a living creature figured as an ornament. In this period, therefore, the commandment against the use of figures in sacred buildings would seem to have been fully complied with. The ornaments are composed of half or whole palmettes, which are connected with one another by spiral designs, and thrown out by indentations so as to form independent configurations. To these again are added designs which are traceable in the main to the stucco-technique in its capacity to suggest the dark effects of depth. Symbolical figures, such as were favoured by Sassanian and Christian art—the crescent, the star, the wing, etc.—are entirely absent so far as religious art is concerned. If we would adequately appreciate the authority thus attaching to the precepts of religion in the sphere of graphic art, we must keep before us the delight which the Orient has always found in the mystical and symbolical use of animal forms, as is in fact exemplified by the extreme frequency with which such figures are employed in the secular art of Islam itself.

(b) Turkish elements.—One of the most singular notions still current, and one to be explained only on the ground that our vision has been deranged by our immemorial habit of seeing everything in the light of Greco-Roman institutions, is that the migratory races, whether Germans or Turks, were destitute of art. This is to forget that the Turks, when they came to Italy a highly-developed culture, acquired upon the Greek coast of the Black Sea; and the like holds good of the peoples who forced their way from Central Asia into Persia, and who had thus passed through, or temporarily settled in, the long-civilized region beyond the Caspian Sea. Think of the discoveries in Hungary, telling of the time when the Magyars took possession of the country. This equestrian people came from the territories lying between the Altai and the Ural without coming into contact with the Roman people, and yet the ornamentation was well developed. How much more are we entitled to look for aesthetic proficiency amongst the peoples who had not only lived at close quarters with the Samanids or the Ghaznivids, but whose own culture was highly as well as themselves masters of their lands before they conquered Persia and Asia Minor. In Egypt the new conditions were ushered in under Saladin, and continued during the period of the Turkoman and Mongol Turks, until 1517, the Turks proper gained the upper hand.

It is worthy of remark that with the advent of the Turkish tribes the four main types of building of which there are no surviving examples from the Abbasid times; the large cupola-domed mausoleum and a new type of mosque—school, the madrasa. As regards the mausoleum, there is no doubt that it had already been rooted—by Constantine or even before his day—with cupola. But a gigantic fabric of brick, such as the tomb of the Sultan Sanjar in Merv, dating from 552 A.H. (A.D. 1157), is, of course, hardly to be compared with the finely articulated edifices of Abbasid times. We must not forget, however, that the tombs of the Umayyad caliphs were decorated by the fanaticism of the Abbâsids, or that the only tomb known to exist in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, that of Zubalâda, the favourite wife of Harûn al-Rashid, bears a curious niche-pyramid, of which no comparison can be made with the tombs of the Umayyads. It is true that pyramids are found also upon the mausoleums erected in A.D. 1162 and 1186 by Seljuq Atabeks in Nakhshvan, on the Perso-Armenian frontier, but these are supported by a dome-shaped vault, the walls of which are embellished with polygonal ornaments of mosaic work in stucco bricks. One of the far-famed sights of Cairo is the Necropolis, the so-called Tombs of the Khalifs and Manûlîks (fig. 7, p. 901), which in their picturesque construction invite comparison with the massive forms of Egyptian and Coptic pyramids. The ornaments are composed of half or whole palmettes, which are connected with one another by spiral designs, and thrown out by indentations so as to form independent configurations. To these again are added designs which are traceable in the main to the stucco-technique in its capacity to suggest the dark effects of depth. Symbolical figures, such as were favoured by Sassanian and Christian art—the crescent, the star, the wing, etc.—are entirely absent so far as religious art is concerned. If we would adequately appreciate the authority thus attaching to the precepts of religion in the sphere of graphic art, we must keep before us the delight which the Orient has always found in the mystical and symbolical use of animal forms, as is in fact exemplified by the extreme frequency with which such figures are employed in the secular art of Islam itself.
This remarkable construction impresses the native of the West as being more decidedly Oriental than even the mosque. Picture these huge tunnels, vaulted mostly in the pointed style, and strengthened by the schools built into the corners like immense supports, and yet without anything to sustain; it is the spirit of the stalactite without architectonic motive, and of the vine-branch without the link with nature. Further, in Egypt at all events, there is something which must cause the utmost amazement, viz. the façade already by partially touched. The niche of the mosque of Sultan Hasan in Cairo, built in A.D. 1356-1359, c. 26 metres in height, has been cut out of a wall which rises 37.70 metres above the level of the street, and is not accommodated to the main feature of the edifice as a whole, i.e. it does not correspond with the gibla, but has a relation to the line of the street, being placed in a corner obliquely to the longitudinal wall, so that any one entering the vestibule can reach the central court only by way of various narrow passages. We might make all the more expect to find an axial design in the main ornament, viz. that of the porch, as the immense dome of the builder of the mausoleum towers aloft exactly in the axis behind the minbar. This work is peculiar to Egypt, and is not found, so far as the present writer knows, in other Muslim lands, while, especially in Asia Minor, the madrasa is always arranged symmetrically about the central axis.

Moreover, in lectures regarding other innovations, which make their appearance subsequently to the ascendency of the Central Asiatic element in the Muslim world. The astonishing growth in the popular use of polygonal ornament, only a few decades before this time, may possibly be attributed to the preference for geometrical decoration which is characteristic of nomads. Even upon the minbar of Kairwan, constructed probably in Baghdad in 242 A.H. (fig. 4, p. 899), the double-striped lace-work in straight or curved lines so largely predominates that we can scarcely reconcile its vogue with our wonted conceptions of Sassanian and early Muslim art, in which it is rather the palette that prevails. But, by the time when the Chinese re-emergence is in which it had been embedded for centuries, Hellenistic art must already have returned, more decisively than ever, to the style of the geometrical lace-work. This reversion to the primitive, then, finds ample and early development among the Perso-Muslim breeds of Central Asia, whose taste was still in thrall to the lace-work, as to the material generally, and to caprice.

Since, in the art ancilliary to the cultus, lace-work takes the place of animal ornament, it demands some notice at this point. As an illustrative example, we reproduce a detail of the minbar (A.D. 1168-1169) of the al-Aqṣā Mosque in Jerusalem (fig. 9, p. 902). Here we have a piece of work in wood and ivory, by an artisan from Aleppo, so complete and its contents so intelligible to Europeans. We perceive arabesques of ivory in the middle of both the vertical moldings. On either side are polygonal decorations, composed of purled moldings in wood and fillings of ivory. From the corners which form the foci of the main lines we may be able to infer the class of polygon upon which any particular play of lines is designed — whether it is the hexagon, the one mainly resorted to, or some other fundamental figure. The distinction is this: every motif gives us the key; the endlessly varied ways in which the purled fillers intertwine and intersect, leaving, in ordered repetition, free spaces, which in turn are filled up with relief arabesques or coloured inlaid work, can scarcely be resolved. All this is an expression of the same exultation in elaborating designs obtained mathematically or fortuitously as was to be seen in the case of the stalactite. The fly-leaves of the Qur‘ān exhibit first-rate examples of such arabesque. Here, indeed, they are in their right place, as in them and in the calligraphic amplification of the writing is the compensation had to be found for the absence of the human form.

(c) Chinese elements. — We are not accustomed to regard China as the source of a contribution to Muslim art. This is a mistake, for we already have found admission in Syria, as they certainly did, more powerfully, in Persia, and finally, in all probability, through the influence of the on-coming Turks. From early notices of silk as a Chinese product, and of silk materials in Egypt and in mediæval Europe, it is easy to show that in the late ancient and the Christian period there was commercial intercourse between Syria and China. In Persia during the Abbāsid dynasty the influence of China begins to be felt even in architecture, and unmistakable evidences of this influence are seen in the Talisman Gate of Baghdad, completed in 618 A.H., as well as in two reliefs of winged figures dating from about the same time.

There are both religious and other motives for these works of fact which were afterwards made plain by the Oriental carpet. Thus both the examples just cited as bearing upon the field of architecture and their immediate explanation in the enormous Oriental carpet now in the possession of the Emperor of Austria and known as the 'Vienna Hunting Carpet.' The illustration of this (fig. 10, p. 902) shows, in the borders, winged genii, and, in the angles of the inner field, the Chinese dragon struggling with the phoenix, or, rather, in which the plant-designs and the Chinese cloud-design are worked out leave us in no doubt regarding their origin. Yet the carpet was manufactured in Persia, as is evinced, to say nothing of the workmanship, by the hunting scenes in the inner field, where Persians with turbans and hero-feathers are shown on horseback engaged in the chase. Chinese traits are visible also in the drawing of the figures.

This brings us to the most interesting fact of all in the Chinese contribution to the re-assertion of the representation of the human form, the resurrection of figure-representation as a result of Chinese influence. Reference has already been made to the illumination of Qur‘ān manuscripts, from which figures are entirely absent. This does not entitle us, of course, to an argument based upon other classes of literature. There exist, however, a few miniature manuscripts which are decorated in the style usual in Armenian and Coptic writings. But the great majority of Persian illuminated manuscripts, and precisely those which are most valuable in an artistic sense, display alike in landscape and in figure the identical type of representation which, judging from the earliest Japanese and Chinese works of art of the class that imitates nature, we recognize as belonging specifically to the Far East. Most of its content is intelligible to Europeans. We recognize arabesques of ivory as motifs in the Middle of the vertical moldings. On either side are polygonal decorations, composed of purled moldings in wood and fillings of ivory. From the corners which form the foci of the main lines we may be able to infer the class of polygon upon which any particular play of lines is designed — whether it is the hexagon, the one mainly resorted to, or some other fundamental figure. The distinction is this: every motif gives us the key; the endlessly varied ways in which the purled fillers intertwine and intersect, leaving, in ordered repetition, free spaces, which in turn are filled up with relief arabesques or coloured inlaid work, can scarcely be resolved. All this is an expression of the same exultation in elaborating designs obtained mathematically or fortuitously as was to be seen in the case of the stalactite. The fly-leaves of the Qur‘ān exhibit first-rate examples of such arabesques. Here, indeed, they are in their right place, as in them and in the calligraphic amplification of the writing is the compensation had to be found for the absence of the human form.

The case is somewhat different in regard to the portrayal of animals and animal fights, hunting
ART (Muhammadan)

and drinking scenes, planets, Alexander upon the dragon-chariot, and the like, as seen upon the so-called Mossul-bronzes, from the middle of the 12th cent. and onwards. It is possible that the technique seen in those vessels derived its inspiration from Central Asia, while Chinese designs like the dragon, the phoenix, and the like, the design of the apartments of Muslim princes. Consequently, the figures portrayed must be interpreted, not in the ethical spirit of Hellenic-Christian symbolism, but as decorative. The primitive Oriental interpretation of the animal figure, as symptomatic of the conflict between good and evil, is simply lost.

6. Later developments.—The great mass of the Muslim memorials of art emanates from the period after the Turkish tribes gained the absolute lordship of the civilized regions originally permeated by Persia, is a parkian spirit more devoted than ever to purposes of representation and embellishment. It is therefore very remarkable that what have come down to us from this relatively late epoch are mainly mosques and mausoleums, not, as in the case of so many other features of Muslim art, transoxiana. There, in Samarcand and Bokhara, the most marvellous erections of the Mongols are found standing to this day.

An altogether peculiar position in Muslim art was taken by the Ottomans, from the time that they obtained possession of Constantinople, which was the Church of St. Sophia that roused them to rivalry, so that in Stamboul we meet for the second time with mosques of Christian design, as Damascus furnished us with the earliest examples. The Ottomans, in fact, bring to completion what had been aspired to by the great architects of Asia Minor in the inception of antique art at Constantinople, viz. the construction of edifices on a scale of ambition hitherto unknown. We feel unable to ascribe all of the later intensity of religious emotion that gave the incentive to the stupendous domes in Stamboul, rising above enclosures that yield a total impression of such magnificence as is unparalleled in the Renaissance and Barocco structures of the West. We may assert without misgiving that the mosques associated with the Church of St. Sophia exhibit that ideal form which, since Bramante’s time, has been sought in the all-round effect of stately interiors. The fatih at length achieved what lay originally far beyond its reach; it gave the crowning touch to the development of the art of architecture which had evolved its designs from a Hellenistic foundation.

A second triumph was won for Islam by the too little known memorials of art in India. Here again Muslim art accommodated itself to the indigenous forms—a process rendered all the more easy as the ground-plan and elevation of the mosque, and even the fantastic play of ornamentation, had already been fully evolved in pre-Muhammadan India, though, naturally, in a style different from that of Western Asia. The magnificence of the plan arrangement in the Indian mosques is almost without parallel. It is also in India that we find palaces of vast configuration dating from Muhammadan times, and thus furnishing the necessary supplement to the secular art so sienderly represented in the Mediterranean region.

The Alhambra of the Moors, the Europeans the Alhambra represents the sun and substance of Muslim art, and, in point of fact, it is really such, so far as the province of secular art is concerned. There is one thing, however, which we must not forget—a fact of decisive import for the ethical value of the whole structure, viz. that the Alhambra must be regarded, not as an independent work of architecture, but as a component part of the natural environment, which is always taken into account in the secular art of Islam, and which, in the case before us, forms probably the whole of the picture except the main hill. We may gain an idea of the wide expanse sometimes given to such enclosures from the Conca d’oro beside Palermo, where the palace-gounds embrace the chateaux of Zisa, Badia, Favarà, not alone or only one of its class. It would appear that at this time places of worship alone were built for eternity, i.e. of durable material. In the Seljuk kingdom of Konia in Asia Minor this material was principally stone. The mosques and madrasas of Konia and Sivas have magnificent facades of the same, or of an incomparably richer, style than the facade of the al-Aqmar mosque given in fig. 5 (p. 900). The madrasa approximates more to the type of the arcaded court. In Persia the predominant building material was brick. The result was that every variety of the art of facing was resorted to, the walls being veneered with stucco or many-coloured bricks, or covered with faience mosaics. The native soil of such things was not Mesopotamia or Iran alone, but, as in the case of so many other features of Muslim art, transoxiana. There, in Samarqand and Bokhara, the most marvellous erections of the Mongols are found standing to this day.

The inscriptions of the Alhambra reveal a surprisingly intimate relation between spectator and ornament. Just as the Turks had the faculty of giving individuality to each one of a long series of fountains, so the Moors must have had a fine sense of the last intensity of ornamental expression, in inscriptions pertaining to the various portions of the great fabric, as well as to the various ornaments, furnish suggestive introductions to these. Thus, for example, upon a niche at the entrance to the Hall of the Ambassadors appear the words which Schack has translated thus: 1


Und mir das Diadem besetzt mit blitzennden Geschmucke; So wie der Thron der jungen Braut strahlt ich in hellem Schimmer.

Doch bringe höhres Glück als er, es weicht und wechselt zimmer.

Such facts of observation prompt the inquiry whether the ethical significance of Muhammadan decorative art is not of a higher order than we commonly suppose. It is our hope that the scientific research which is now being vigorously applied to the field of Muslim art in general,
may in course of time yield fuller information on
the subject than we have been able to give here.

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have published a collection of materials for a bibliography
of Muslim architecture, St. Petersburg (1898).

J. STRZYGOWSKI.

ART (Persian).—Persian art has developed more on
the utilitarian side in connexion with the manufacture of
rugs, draperies, embroideries, pottery, brass-work, and decorative tiles, than along the
more purely aesthetic lines of sculpture and painting.
Sculpture, in fact, had no chance to develop
further in Persia after the Muhammadan conquest,
for the teachings of the Prophet, even as modified by the Shi’ite views, to which the Iranians adhere,
are adverse to representing objects that have ani-
mal or plant forms. The Quran expressly forbids the
making of graven images (cf., however, preceding art., esp. p. 875 f.). In respect to sculpture, therefore,
the Arab invasion marks a sharp line of division between the old regime and the new; but whether we entertain the hope that Persian art may be traced with a fair degree of continuity
for nearly twenty-five centuries.

The chief era in the national history of the country, which it is found convenient to follow in
this article, is to pass already before us in the characteristic article ARCHITECTURE (Persian) as: Early
Iranian and Median period (before B.C. 550), Achaemenian (B.C. 550-330), Seljuk and Parthian
(B.C. 530-A.D. 224), Sassanian (A.D. 224-651), and
Muhammadan (A.D. 661 to the present day). As sculpture practically died out with the Muslim
conquest, it may be appropriate to treat its history first, and then take up metal-work, the fictile or
ceramic arts, arts in textile fabrics, decorative painting and pictorial representation.

1. Sculpture and carving.—(a) We know nothing definite in regard to sculpture or the state of the
plastic art during the Early Iranian period, that is to say, prior to the 7th cent. B.C. Even if it was
true that the Avesta is a manner representation of such that antiquity, we shall not be able to
find in it no specific allusions to sculpture, unless we are to accept the theory, which has been advanced by some scholars, that images of the
divine beings Yahu Manah (the Zoroastrian arch-
angel of Good Thought) and Ardv Satra Anahita,
or Anaitis (goddess of the heavenly waters), may possibly be referred to in Vendidad, xix. 20-25,
descriptive of cleansing, and Yazdât, v. 126-129,
describing the appearance of the divinity. Such an interpretation was approached of trepang (especially in the former of the two passages), is more than doubtful, even if we concede that images of these divinities were known in Strabo’s time (Geog. xv.
114). It is indeed possible that some of the bronze
figurines and small terra-cotta images that are now and then found in primitive burial-places, and
unearthed in such excavations as those by Dian-
lafroy and de Morgan at Susa (J. de Morgan, Mémoires—Recherches archéologiques, i., viii., Paris,
1903), have not completely disappeared from the Early Iranian age, but no truly authentic sculpture of any sort has yet been found.

(b) A similar uncertainty prevails with regard to kindred objects attributed to the Median
age, and also with regard to the huge stone lion at Hamadan. This statue is executed in the
round, like the bull at Babylon and the teo-
Its age is a matter of debate. A thousand years ago Mas’ûd (d. 951 A.D.) ascribed its origin to Alexander the Great, while Yaqût (c. 1250 A.D.) placed it much earlier; and a number of modern
scholars are inclined to assign the statue to the
Median period (Jackson, Persia Past and Present,

(c) The oldest identified sculpture of the Ache-
menian period is the bas-relief figure of Cyrus the
Great at Murgab, the ancient Pasargadæ. This image (which Weissbach claims to be a representa-
tion of Cyrus the Younger) must certainly have been prior to B.C. 500, when Darius succeeded
Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, and transferred the
royal capital to Persepolis. The figure is carved in
low relief upon a large monolith slab, and is
conspicuous both by reason of the curious crown,
with Egyptian affinities, that surmounts the mon-
arch’s head, and because of the four magnificent
wings that rise and drop from the king’s shoulders
—a feature borrowed from Assyro-Babylonian art.
The image of Darius sculptured above his own
inscription at Bistân, or Behistun, may be dated to
some time before B.C. 500, and the panel on which it is
it is carved likewise represents figures of the
king’s two chief retainers, together with portraits of
Gomates, or the pseudo-Smerdis, and the other
eight pretenders to the throne. Above the head of
Darius floats an image of the Aryan goddess (Ormazd)
representing him with the circle of sove-
reignty, or the guardian spirit of the king, as the
modern Parsis prefer to interpret the image.
The god is represented as a bearded figure, wearing a
gigantic cylindrical head-dress, with horns, surmounting the
the disc of the sun, and as swinging in a huge
circle from which proceed rays of light (King and
The whole device shows the influence of Babylonian and
Assyria. Of similar character are the carvings
around the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam, and
and upon the palace walls at Persepolis and Susa.
In several of these the king is represented in the
attitude of adoring Anbarmesh, or Anahita, but he is
supported by subject nations; but the most spirited of the bas-reliefs are those which portray Darius
in combat with real or mythical monsters—a motif
borrowed, in like manner, from Assyro-Babylonian
art. The same departure from the standard type of
the hero with a bow and sword is seen in the
artxerses i., ii., iii., and Darius ii., iii. (so far as we
can identify them); but the finest of all the speci-
mens of the sculptor’s art under the Achaemenians
is the frieze of the stylobate of Xerxes’ audience-
hall at Persepolis, representing the vassal nations
bearing tribute to the Great King. Of imposing
grandeur, likewise, are the gigantic winged bulls
with human faces, in Assyrian style, guarding the
Portal of Xerxes through which his audience-hall
was reached (Jordan, vi., pl. i.). The influence that was exercised in general upon
Persian art by Assyria and Babylonia during the
Achemenian period may be seen at a glance by
looking over the illustrations in the standard works
on Persepolis and Susa mentioned at the end of
this article.

(d) In the interregnum, or Seljuk period, that
followed after Alexander’s invasion (B.C. 330-260)
and during the Parthian period, little progress was made in sculpture, save that the Greek impress
supplanted the Assyro-Babylonian, and the panel on which it is
is evident from the Greco-Roman tendency seen in the
bas-relief heads on the pilasters of the palace-
temple at Hatra, and in certain characteristics of the
carved bases of the columns at Kangavar, if that
temple be ascribed to the Parthian age—a

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matter that is doubtful. The principal piece of Parthian sculpture, however, belongs to the middle of the period, and is that chiselled on the panel of king Gotzarzes (A.D. 48–51) at the base of the Behistun Rock. Its mutilated condition, due to the fact that at some time in the first half of the 19th. cent. a battle between the behistunians and Parthenians occurred, renders it difficult to judge of the workmanship, but the style and execution appear to show distinct traces of Roman art.

4. Under the Sasanian dynasty (A.D. 224–651), Persian sculpture received further inspiration from Hellenistic and Parthian art, through the Byzantine craftsmen, and gave no mean promise of higher development; but this was abruptly cut short by the iconoclastic Arabs when they swept over the land with their Muslim hosts. In style, Sasanian art is bold, thorough, like that of its predecessors, and is marked by a superabundance of decorative motive's, especially in the form of cramped streamers floating from the shoulders of some of the figures, or hanging from chaplets held in the hand. The examples of Sasanian sculpture are very numerous, and the best are found in the series of seven massive bas-reliefs carved below the Achemenian tombs at Nakh-i-Rustam, or again at Nakh-i-Rajab near Persepolis, at Shapur in the south of Persia, at Susa in the south-west, and at Taq-i-Bustan in the plain of Salmias in the north-west. The finest among them are the carvings in the grottoes at Taq-i-Bustan, near Kermanshah. They represent scenes from the life of Khosru Parviz, or Chosroes II. (A.D. 590–628), and are ascribed by popular tradition to the hand of Parhad, the royal sculptor, whose love for Shirin, the king's beautiful favourite, brought ruin upon the gifted artist. At Taq-i-Bustan and in two of the Persepolitan Sasanian sculptures, it is thought that the figure of the god Ormazd, or possibly of the female divinity Anahita, is represented.

(f) From the middle of the 7th cent., when the Sasanian power fell before Islam, Persia produced no more sculpture, although there was an attempt at a revival of it in the beginning of the 19th cent., when Path Ali Shah (1790–1835) caused himself to be immortalized in stone at Rai (near Teheran) and elsewhere. His sculptures show certain survivals of the style of Sasanian times, but they are thoroughly modern tracts. One of the two panels at Rai shows the king in the act of spearing a lion, and is spirited in execution. Unfortunately, it was carved over the space occupied by an old Sasanian sculpture, which was destroyed to make room for it.

2. Seals, gems, and coins.—Closely connected with the glyptic art in its larger application is the more minute skill shown in the cutting of seals and gems or the sinking of dies for coins. The use of seals and cylinders from the earliest times is unknown, and is sufficiently shown by the archaic finds made at Susa by de Morgan (op. cit. viii. 1–27); but if we are insufficiently supplied with evidence for the Early Iranian and Median eras, there are enough Achemenian seals and carved gems to show the height to which artistic execution in small carvings was carried in ancient days. The art has never been lost, for we can trace its development all the way through the Parthian and Sasanian ages, and no Persian to-day is without his signature handsomely engraved on a seal for ordinary use. A peculiar form of skill was needed in the cutting of dies for coins, as illustrated in the Achemenian period by the darics from the mint of Darius. The coins that were current under the Parthian rulers indicate to what an extent Greek influence affected Iranian art, and from that time onward the various changes may be traced by the issues from the mint of each successive ruler down to the present day, when the nickel shah (worth less than a halfpenny), inscribed on one side with the Lion and the Sun, as the national emblem of Persia, and on the other with a device in Perso-Arabic script giving its denomination, was very much in use. Its appearance as if it had been made in a European mint.

3. Metal-work.—Owing to the mineral resources of the kingdom, the art of the metal-worker may be regarded as one of the oldest in Persia (cf. Geiger, Ostasiatische Kultur im Altertum, Erlangen, 1862, pp. 145–148, 388–390). Many specimens have been preserved in sufficient number to show the development of this phase of art from Achemenian times, illustrated, for example, by the discoveries at Susa and the finds on the Oxus, down to the present day, when the brass-workers of Isfahan and the copper-smiths of Kashan turn out some of the finest examples of artistic workmanship in the form of lamps, trays, dishes, bowls, pitchers, or damascened armour, that can be found anywhere. The various pieces of Achemenian jewellery to be seen in the British Museum, are of hilted Parthian helmet, two beautiful cups of the Sasanian king Chosroes II. in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, one of them embossed in silver, the other enamelled with a very beautiful and coherent Persian-Sasanian metal-work of various ages to be found in the Hermitage at St. Petersburgh, may be cited as typical of the range and scope which Persia had in this branch of artistic production.

4. Fictile arts, porcelain, earthenware, and ceramics.—The artistic sense which Persia developed from the earliest times in fashioning and decorating earthenware objects, and in the making of beautiful tiles for practical and ornamental purposes, is worthy of high praise. In fact, it would be impossible to cite any rival for the wonderful frieze of archers, and the lion-frieze discovered by Dieulafoy at Susa, which show the height to which art in the making and colouring of tiles had been developed even in earlier Achemenian times. If kindred specimens of Parthian and Sasanian tiles are missing, it is only because they have not been preserved; for the art was not lost, as is proved by the beautiful turquoise tiles on the domes of the mosques from the beginning of the Muhammadan era down to the present time. Both the Achemenian and the Sasanian Persians possessed in imparting to their tiles and plaques a metallic glint or lustrous sheen, known as the réflet métallique, has unfortunately been lost, since it died out some time during the 18th cent., and attempts to restore it have thus far met with the poorest success. For that reason good old tiles and plaques that display the metallic lustre are rare, even though broken fragments are still being dug up in the ruins of Rai, the city which seems most of all to have developed this peculiar product.

With reference to the early development of the ceramic art in pottery and earthenware, it may be said that some of the crude jars and bowls exhumed from the ash-hills at Urumia (see Jackson, Persia, pp. 90–93), like those found by Henri de Morgan in archaic burying-grounds in Gilan and Talish (see J. de Morgan, Mémo. viii. 351–352), may date from the Early Iranian or Median period, or even earlier. The potter's art, moreover, is mentioned in the tablets of the Old Babylonian period. The jugs and fragments of earthenware vases, with coloured traçeries as a decorative design, have been found in abundance as specimens of fictile art in the Achemenian period. The same is true of the Parthian remains discovered at Warka; and noteworthy among these are the Parthian so-called ‘slipper-coffins,’ made
of a beautiful green glazed ware, and decorated with a somewhat stiff small human figure, repeated a number of times. The Sassanian fondness for elaborate decoration, as evidenced in the intricate designs and flower patterns on capitals of columns and in the ornamentations at Taq-i-Bustan, was shown also in their ceramic work; for it is still possible to pick up among ruins like those of the Sassanian fire-temple, or atash-Kadah, near Isfahan, pieces of jars and bricks with decorative markings that show an artistic sense; and the potter's art, well known to all through Omar Khayyam, is actively practised to-day.

During the earlier centuries after the Muslim occupation, Persia's art in faience (for, strictly speaking, there is no true Persian porcelain) is believed to have received considerable impetus through importations brought from China and through Chinese artisans settling in Iran. But, whatever may have been the extent of that influence — and the influence was not without reciprocity — Persian faience never lost its marked national characteristics in shape, colour, and design. In regard to glass, we know that the glass-worker's trade is referred to in the Avesta (Vend. viii. 85, yimad-pacicas), and specimens of glass, dating from a comparatively early period of Persia's history, have been found. Glass vials, thought to have been lachrymatories, were found among the Parthian ruins at Warka, and the glass portions of the gold-camelled cup of Chosroes II. show that the same uses of glass were known to the Sassanians; while the employment of tiny facets of mirror glass in the interior decorations of sumptuous houses has long been a favourite means of ornamentation in Persia. Glass bottles, vases, jars, and otherwise but mediocrité, are found in almost every age down to the present, although the glass that is used in Persia to-day is almost wholly imported from Europe.

5. Textile fabrics: rugs, draperies, and embroideries. — The art by which Persia is best known in modern times is the manufacture of beautiful textile fabrics — rugs, carpets, draperies, and embroideries. We may presume that the art of rug-making was fully developed in the Median and Achaemenian times, and is referred to in Themistocles (Themist. xxi. 3), when first presented before Xerxes or Artaxerxes, illustrated his meaning by a simile drawn from the intricate patterns of a Persian carpet; and there is little reason to doubt that rugs and carpets were of the court in ancient times, and that they were used in the carpet industry is to-day widely spread throughout Persia, and among the places that are thought to produce the best rugs, both in quality and style, are the districts of Kurdistan, Khurasan, and Kerman. Aside from Persia, the patterned designs of the national styles and designs are unfortunately finding their way in to corrupt the purity of this Oriental art, but a strong endeavour is being made to preserve its native integrity and ancient prestige — a prestige recognized in all the numerous works published in the West on the subject of Oriental rugs. Among Persia's textile arts is the weaving by hand of soft white and brown felts (Mod. Pers. namad) for mats, cloaks, and saddle-cloths. The art is as old as the time of the Buddha, and the people still carry on the weaving in many parts of the country, more especially at Hamadan, Isfahan, and Yazd. Mention should also be made of richly embroidered Persian shawls, delicate fabrics with elaborate designs in needlework, heavily embroidered brocades, ornamental draperies and hangings, and silks of various colours and fineness of texture.

Among the oldest specimens of such fabrics are the examples of Sassanian textile work in the Archbishops' Museum in Cologne, Germany, and in the temple of Horigata, near Kito, Japan (cf. Münsterberg, Japanische Kunstgewerke, Brunswick, 1907, p. 118, pl. 14). The introduction and development of the textile arts as well as other arts of Persia were ascribed by Ford abundantly to the legendary king Jamshid, who lived in the golden age of Iran (see Heyd, voll. 

6. Painting, decorating, designing, and the art of penmanship. — Although painting cannot be called one of Persia's special arts, the wonderful effects in colour and decorative design that were obtained by the Achaemenian artists, as shown by the tile-work discovered in ancient Susa, prove conclusively how highly developed in early times were their aesthetic sense and their productive skill. Allusion has already been made several times to the artistic manner in which they still know how to employ colour and ornamental patterns even in the decoration of ordinary objects, and that was perhaps, their aesthetic sense and their productive skill.

How far the painter's art had advanced in Sassanian times among the Manicheans (for Mani was a painter as well as the founder of a great religious sect) has recently been illustrated by the remarkable finds made in Turkestan by the expedition sent out from Berlin by the German Emperor William II. As a rule, the Persians do their best work when painting portraits and flowers, while their landscape work and perspective composition are mediocre to the best pictures, but on the small scale, like the miniature portraits on papier mache' writing-cases and lacquered boxes, or on the enamelled porcelain tops of tobacco pipes; or, again, in decorative designs of roses on book-covers, for the making of which they are especially noted.

One art, however, is carried to perfection in Persia; it is calligraphy, or the art of beautiful handwriting. Originally this accomplishment was an art that might owe to Plutarch's treatise on the Penatres, nowhere else are to be found such beautiful specimens of chirography, whether minute or large, as in Persia; and no other people are so skilled in using their alphabet for decorative purposes, as make the badges and floral ornamental hangings in the royal palaces at Persepolis and Susa. The employment, moreover, of archaic designs, handed down by tradition in the rug-maker's conservative art (for example, conventionalized forms of the tree of life), points back to the greatest antiquity. The carpet industry is to-day widely spread throughout Persia, and among the places that are thought to produce the best rugs, both in quality and style, are the districts of Kurdistan, Khurasan, and Kerman. Amidst the countries of Europe and Central Asia patterns and designs are unfortunately finding their way in to corrupt the purity of this Oriental art, but a strong endeavour is being made to preserve its native integrity and ancient prestige — a prestige recognized in all the numerous works published in the West on the subject of Oriental rugs. Among Persia's textile arts is the weaving by hand of soft white and brown felts (Mod. Pers. namad) for mats, cloaks, and saddle-cloths. The art is as old as the time of the Buddha, and the people still carry on the weaving in many parts of the country, more especially at Hamadan, Isfahan, and Yazd. Mention should also be made of richly embroidered Persian shawls, delicate fabrics with elaborate designs in needlework, heavily embroidered brocades, ornamental draperies and hangings, and silks of various colours and fineness of texture. Among the oldest specimens of such fabrics are the examples of Sassanian textile work in the Archbishops' Museum in Cologne, Germany, and in the temple of Horigata, near Kito, Japan (cf. Münsterberg, Japanische Kunstgewerke, Brunswick, 1907, p. 118, pl. 14). The introduction and development of the textile arts as well as other arts of Persia were ascribed by Ford (A.D. 1000) to the legendary king Jamshid, who lived in the golden age of Iran (see Heyd, voll. ...
she imparted to them in Central Asia much from her artistic taste, in the same manner as her art penetrated deep into Northern India. In the Europe of Chaucer’s time Persian blue in textile fabrics was sufficiently well known to be referred to as ‘pers,’ and the West-to-day acknowledges Persian blue as the basis of its art of rugs and carpets. In minor matters Persian art still exercises an influence on the Occident, but not without receiving some influence in return, and this gradual infusion of Western elements will doubtless tend to grow greater as time goes on.


**ART (Phoenician).**—To express the deity with the symbols of his majesty, as conceived by the worshipers in their own country, is the highest aim of religion, and it was apparently this that animated the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, all of whom have produced specimens of their skill worthy of the highest admiration. The Phoenicians, the other Semitic race, worshiped Baalim and Baalat, did not possess any deities sufficiently distinctive in their nature to lend themselves to representation in sculpture and painting. El, Adon, and Melek were in the same case with Baal and Baalat, as terms of much too general a nature. The Babylonian Tammuz, winged god, who became with the Greeks a simple hunter in Syria, and Ashtoreth, the Istar of the Babylonians, spouse of Tammuz, and goddess of the moon and of the planet Venus, form exceptions, and these, however, though they were not the chief divinities of the Phoenicians. When, therefore, they wished to represent the divinity, the emblem which they chose was in the form of a cone, of which numerous examples exist, not only in Phoenicia, but also in the countries that fell under its influence. The two Phoenicians of Malta, Abdoir and Osiramar, did not attempt a beautiful statue of their great national god Melqart, but contented themselves with a cone-crowned pylon which the first stone-cutter they met with was able to make.

Whether the Phoenicians felt that something better was expected, and even needed, than the commonplace, though mystical, emblem which they had adopted, is uncertain. Knowing, however, the art of Babylon from old time, they turned to the Egyptians for their artistic education. And here it is worthy of note that they did not borrow from them, as they might have done, the gods with the birds and all kinds of beasts, in which the Egyptians delighted, but also that these were taken from the human form. From every point of view this was an improvement, for they made their deities as frankly manlike as those of the Greeks.

The cone representative of the divinity is seen in the picture of Eblis (Beelzebub), towering high above the entrance of the great courtyard. This cone, though found in Carthage more often than in Phoenicia itself, must have been at one time very common as a symbol in that country. From regard it as phallic origin, but that seems to be doubtful. It is not impossible that it had some connexion with the small *cippi* with an ovoid top found at Sidon. These also recall the objects with pyramidal or hemispherical tops found at Tharros, one of which, adorned with the sun and the crescent moon reversed above it, is flanked by two truncated cones with mouldings at the top. In connexion with these cones, it is noteworthy that Esarhaddon possessed a large clay seal, formed like half an egg, upon the flat face of which the sun was surmounted by a globe, recalling the similar objects set up in the temples of Aphrodite at Cyprus. This, whilst showing a connexion between the cone and the hemisphere, at the same time suggests that they are of different origin.

Esarhaddon’s half-egg seal, besides giving the cone with the dove on it, has, on one side of that emblem, the sun as an eight-rayed star, and, on the other, the moon and seven globular objects, emblematic of the seven planetary bodies, which, in all probability, corresponded with the seven deities whom the Assyro-Babylonians called the Igi. As the sun and the moon are often represented on the votive inscriptions of Carthage, it is probable that these emblems also occurred very frequently in the art of the Phoenicians in their own country. Moreover, accom-pany them—the triangle emblematic of the cone, the top finished with arms (bent at the elbow and directed upwards), and a circle at the top of the cone representing a head; the raised right hand, the palm outwards, the oblong hands of Baalim and Baalat; the pyramid; the staff with a globe at the top surmounted by the broken ring emblematic of the crescent moon when a mere broken circle of light; the plinth with the three truncated cones (apparently simplified forms of the two with cornices, flanking as a pyramid on the top, already described). Such are the simple representations of the divine which the Phoenicians, apparently when uninfluenced by the nations around, produced. It is possibly an augmentation of the feeling of powerlessness in representing the deity which made their relatives and near neighbours, the Jews, go a step further, and seek to discard every image which might seem to recall idol-worship. Even a symbol derived from a living creature was to be avoided.

As a type of a male divinity more or less Phoenician in character may be mentioned Baal Hammon, who, in a terra-cotta figure belonging to the Barre collection, appears as a man in the flower of his age, with ram’s horns on either side of his head, his hands resting on the rams which form the supports of the arms of his throne. A terra-cotta figure seated on a throne seems to show Tanit, his consort, the Astarte of Carthage, holding a dove in her left hand. This is very roughly formed, and was apparently one of the little statues made in great numbers for exportation. A strange creation on the part of the Phoenicians was the pigmy-god—a little man with exceedingly short body and legs and a very large head; he was a thing to be avoided, a shield of curious shape. These are said to be the dwarf-gods which became the pigmys of the Greeks.

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*Perrot-Chipiez, Phénicie, figs. 172 and 173.† Ib. fig. 174.


† CJS, pars I. tom. ii. tab. ii. 450, 468, lv. 630, 546, etc.; Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, fig. 64, p. 30.

† CJS, pars I. passim; Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, figs. 14, 29, 192.

† CJS, pars I. passim; Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, figs. 14, 192. On Babylonian cylinder-seals of 2000 B.C., the god has seven fingers, including the thumb (Peake, *Tablets*, pp. 64, 66).

† Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, fig. 323 (from Lycibus).

† Ib. fig. 56.

† Ib. fig. 56. Sometimes she is represented standing, wearing a pointed head-dress with thick plaits of hair descending to her shoulders, holding her robe with her right hand and the dove in her left (ib. fig. 142).

† Ib. fig. 55.
The inventive powers of the Phoenicians therefore tended towards the grotesque rather than the dignified and serious, and they were at their best as copyists. The upper part of the stele of Yehaw-melek, notwithstanding its weathered state, is a noteworthy specimen of their skill. It shows Yehaw-melek, clothed in a Persean costume, standing before Baalat Gebal, the 'Lady of Gebal,' offering a dish probably containing the precious things which he presented to her. The 'Lady of Gebal,' however, is in Egyptian form and dress, seated and holding a lotus-leaf. In her attributes she closely resembles the Egyptian Isis, and the style of the carving (relief within a sunken outline) shows Egyptian influence. At the top of the stele a mortice-hole indicates where the Egyptian disc with uraeus-serpents was placed (probably carved in metal), and from this point curved wings sweep down on each side, like a canopy over the god and the king. A very fine specimen of Phoenician bronze-work reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez\(^1\) seems to show the same goddess; the style differing somewhat from that of true Egyptian work. There is the disc, with the horns of the moon strangely shaped, surmounting her head, and the uraeus rises upon her forehead. Perrot points out that, just as the infant Ptah of the Egyptians was by the Phoenicians to represent their Khibres and pigmies, so they borrowed Isis-Hathor to represent Astarte.

The pigmy-god already referred to seems to be simply an exaggeration of the Egyptian Bes, which the Phoenicians had also adopted.\(^2\) A very fine piece of glazed earthenware is that figured by Perrot and Chipiez in their monumental work (p. 408); \(^3\) and if it really be Phoenician (it is found in Cyprus) it is probably a favourite subject, as the Phoenician artist might envy. Bes, with feathered head-dress, precisely as found in Egypt, is sitting astride upon a woman's shoulders. The latter, who holds him by the feet, stands upon a little lotus-pedestal, suggesting that the whole formed the top of a staff in the Egyptian style. In the opinion of Perrot, it is the woman's figure—naked, short, and broad—that stamps this work of art as being Phoenician rather than Egyptian.

But in all probability one of the finest efforts on the part of a Phoenician sculptor to produce the type of a divinity is preserved on the Stele of Amrit, in the de Clercq collection.\(^4\) The owner called it the 'Pheneico-Hittite Stele of Amrit,' on account of the group's likeness to certain rock-sculptures at Phinum, where a goddess is shown traversing the mountains while standing on the back of a lion. In this case it is a god wearing the crown of Upper Egypt with the ostrich feathers, and a close-fitting tunic in the Egyptian style, with a knotted girdle. In its left hand he holds by its hind legs a lion-cub, and in his right he raises a curved weapon like the so-called 'boomerang,' which the Assyrian hero of the sculptures of Khor-sabad, who grasps in his arm a lion, likewise carries. In the Greek art we often find, as in the Assyrian sculptures, and one foot is placed upon the head, and the other upon the curved tail, of the lion upon which he stands. The animal in question is represented walking over rocky ground, also indicated much in the Assyrian manner. Immediately above the deity's head is the crescent moon with the sun within; and forming an arch above his head, conforming to the shape of the stele, are the drooping plumes of the Egyptian winged disc. Except for the thickness of the legs and the shortness of the body, the human form is

\[\text{CATALOGUE MÉTODIQUE ET RATIONNEL, publié par M. de Clercq, tom. ii. pl. xxvii. Perrot-Chipiez, ib. pl. 283.}\]

well-proportioned, and the lion also is fairly good. It is therefore a good piece of work, and, whilst illustrating the art of the Phoenicians, is at the same time a symbol of their religion—a Phoenician idea on an Assyro-Babylonian foundation, and a Hittite design in an Egyptian dress. There is nothing Greek about it—perhaps it was before contact with that nation, as the early style of the Phoenician inscription which it bears seems to imply. According to Philippe Berger, the deity mentioned in the dedication is probably Shôrêbî—"a reading which is justified by the Ormuzdian, and the name admits as possible, although he himself is rather inclined to read Shadrapha (Satrape).

There is naturally some doubt as to how far the Phoenicians, when they came into contact with the Greeks, imitated their art. That there are objects in the Greek style which are due to Phoenicians is undoubted, but they may have been merely ordered from Greek sculptors. This is well illustrated by the coin figured by Donaldson in *Architectura Numismatica* (No. 20),\(^5\) where, in a Greek temple, a strangely un-Greek fan-shaped pediment, a winged Victory in purely Greek style, mounted on a pedestal, crowned with laurel a princely conqueror, equally Greek, holding a crozier. In fact, the whole coin may possibly have been by a Greek engraver. A votive stele representing a shrub,\(^6\) which was found at Carthage, and is now in the museum at Turin, is regarded as being purely Greek work. The goddess is Persephone Hera, veiling herself as a bride, and holding a bunch of pomegranates. In the pediment above is the panther of Dionysus. Though dedicated by Mekhiathon the Suffete, not only the art, but also the subject, is Greek. In Cyprus the story of Hercules was repeated with considerable artistic skill, but the statues are inferior, though some are not without merit.

The statuettes representing the worship of the power of reproduction are, as usual in the East, not in the best style of art. The mother goddess, as Perrot calls her, whether holding an infant or not,\(^7\) is usually represented as thick and hulking, pressing her breasts\(^8\)—"reproductions, perhaps of votaries of Astarte—are far from being equal to some of the figures of a similar nature found in Babylonia. Certain figures thought to be Phoenician prototypes of the Venus de Medici are regarded as ladies that the Greeks adopted, and therefore due to Greek influence. They show a female pressing one breast and hiding with the other hand the part which, in real Phoenician work, the artist intended to show openly. The best specimen\(^9\) is from Livadia, near Larnaca, and wears an Egyptian head-dress. In the purely Semitic figures, there is a direct and naively brutal allusion, as Perrot says, to the mysteries of fecundation and generation, but the thought which lies behind the latter wish to awaken was quite different; it was Venus athena—"the representative of woman.

Religious ceremonies are rare. One—that representing Yehaw-melek before the 'Lady of Gebal'—has already been referred to. Another—a mere fragment—seems to be simply a mural decoration.\(^10\)

\(^{1}\) *CIS*. Paris: tom. i. tab. i. \(^{2}\) Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, pl. 23.

\(^{3}\) Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, pl. 26. \(^{4}\) Ib. fig. 25, described above.

\(^{5}\) Bull. de l'A.S.B., xxvi. 1876, p. 383.


\(^{7}\) *Gazette archéologique*, t. vii. pl. xvii.; *Phénicie*, fig. 588.

\(^{8}\) Perrot-Chipiez, *Phénicie*, pl. 267.

\(^{9}\) Bull. des f. d. xlii. 1877, pl. 898-901. \(^{10}\) Ibid. f. 877 and 148.

\(^{11}\) Ibid. figs. 875, 879, 880. A better specimen, however, is that in *Architectura Numismatica*, No. 20.\(^{12}\) *Phénicie*, fig. 391.

\(^{12}\) Bull. des f. d. xlii. 1877, pl. 882.
It was found in the neighbourhood of Tyre, not far from Adlun, and represents a personage, seated on a throne, holding in the left hand an object which cannot now be determined. Before him is a candelabrum or stand surmounted by a pan in which a flame is seen, whilst beside the throne or seat is a head with Egyptian head-dress, evidently part of a statue-supporter. The border-ornament recalls some of the designs of Assyria. This piece is extremely good, and shows what the true Phoenicians were capable of. Of an entirely different style is the statue of the Sacrificer, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.* This shows a beardless man, with plump cheeks (perhaps a eunuch, as the Babylonian priests seem sometimes to have been), carrying a ram for sacrifice upon his shoulders, the feet, which come down in front, being held tightly and determinedly with both his hands. The style is that of the artists of Cyprus.

Greatly affected by the religion of the nations around, the Phoenicians absorbed from them ideas which they carried beyond the limits of their own domain. Strangely susceptible, they in like manner were deeply influenced by the religious art of their neighbours, which, when they migrated, they carried to other lands and modified. A series of different styles was the result, and the task of studying and understanding these is a long and difficult one. Nevertheless, it is a branch of archaeology of considerable importance, though it must be admitted that the material from the various spheres of Phoenician influence is generally insufficient for a complete picture to be gained. The destruction of their temples and divine emblems and statues in Western Asia adds to the difficulty of the study; but the remains, such as they are, have a value quite their own, and reflect the religious feelings of a strong people who accomplished important work in their time. T. G. FINCHES.

ART (Shinto).—The genius of Shinto, like that of Islam, is adverse to the development of the arts of painting and sculpture. With few exceptions, no idols or paintings of the gods are to be seen in Shinto shrines. The deity is represented by a mirror, sword, stone, or other object, which is shut up in a box, and is never seen by the worshipper. In many cases the priest himself does not know what the box contains. In pre-historic times the practice of casting up a row of terra-cotta figures of men and animals round the tombs of Mikkado, in substitution for an older custom of burying the servants of the deceased and other victims up to the neck, and leaving them to die and be devoured by dogs and crows. Several of these figures have been preserved in the Imperial Museum at Tokyo, and there is one in the Gowland Collection of the British Museum. They are of an extremely rude and primitive workmanship. This practice, however, does not appear to have given rise in Shinto mythology to any case of worship directly associated with Shinto, which abhorred all connexion with death. In more modern times there is a custom of expressing gratitude to the Kami for answered prayer by making evoto or shrine offerings of pious pictures representing miraculous escapes from shipwreck, etc. Several of the more important shrines have galleries for the reception of such mementoes. They have no great importance in the history of Japanese art. Such galleries are called emado, or picture-horse hall, one of the most common pictures being that of a horse—in substitution for the real living horse, which is a favourite Shinto offering. The ‘seven gods of good fortune’ are a common subject for the Japanese artist, but here we are dealing with quite a modern development. Nearly all of these deities, though called Kami, are of Buddhist origin, and in their portraiture foreign influence is easily traceable. At the present day Shinte myth is not infrequently resorted to for subjects by the Japanese artist, more especially by the book-illustrator; and wood engravings, of no great artistic value, representing the gods are sold to the pilgrims to Shinto shrines for mementoes. LITERATURE.—W. Anderson, Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Pictures in the British Museum, London, 1886; Hear, Joly, Legend in Japanese Art, London, 1887.

W. G. ASTON.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE (Teutonic).—The antiquities from Northern Europe give evidence of a high artistic development from the Stone Age downwards, but few finds of earlier date from the Iron Age can with any certainty be connected with the religious life of their owners. Of the heathen period there are no architectural remains except the graves, and the structural forms of these do not appear to have had any definite relation to the religious beliefs of the different periods to which they belong. Sacred buildings of any kind came late into use among the Teutonic races, and the scanty knowledge we possess of their temples is derived entirely from literary sources, and refers only to the last few centuries of heathendom.

1. In the Stone Age the antiquities as a whole show a remarkably high development of art. The elaborate finish of the finest examples in both pottery and weapons may imply that they were not intended for ordinary purposes, but were reserved for religious ceremonies. Many of the axes found are obviously not made for use. Some are too thin, others too small, others have shaft holes only large enough to admit a cord, and miniature axes of amber are also common. All these are doubtless votive offerings of some sort, in all probability dedicated to the god of thunder.

2. The Bronze Age in the North is also distinguished by the artistic skill of its productions, but foreign influences may now be recognized. At first the types resemble those found in the Aegean area, and the spirals and zigzag lines so common in Mycenaean art are a frequent form of ornamentation. The most notable relic of this period is the ‘disc and horse of the sun’ from Norrland, Denmark, usually dated about B.C. 1000. It consists of a round bronze plate mounted on wheels and drawn by a horse also on wheels, and is, no doubt, intended to symbolize the sun’s passage across the heavens. The bronze disc is overlaid with gold and ornamented with spirals, and the figure of the horse strongly recalls the animals of the Dyonisian style of Greece.

At a later period of the Bronze Age there are evidences of Etruscan influences in the art, and many objects have been found that are clearly imported from Etruria. Among those of native character is a class of pyxides which seem too precious for private purposes, and were probably dedicated to religious uses. Such are the eleven gold vessels with long handles that were found at Römminge, carefully placed inside a large bronze vase, and the two gold bowls with similar long handles, terminating in horse’s heads, found with a couple of smaller gold bowls in Seeland. Other objects certainly connected with the worship of the gods are the little bronze cars on four wheels, apparently made to carry large sacrificial vessels, from Sweden, Denmark, and North Germany.

Religious symbols were frequently used in the ornamentation of the Bronze Age. The wheel cross, the symbol of the sun, occurs first in the Stone Age, and is found on many of the earlier objects of bronze. It is later replaced by the...
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Swastika, and the triskele also appears, both of which symbols are common to all the Aryan races, and are universally agreed to have a religious significance. These same sacred signs are seen on the rock carvings from Behistun and elsewhere, which belong to this period. The purpose of these carvings is not clear; they consist of geometrical figures, ships, weapons, and other objects, animals and persons, and it seems probable that at least some of these represent the gods and their attributes.

In the first centuries after the introduction of iron the grave finds are scanty, and there is a scarcity of gold objects. This is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that the tribes of the North were at this time subjected to a strong Celtic influence, and it was the universal custom among the Celts to bury little else with the dead than their mere personal equipment. This Celtic influence introduced foreign elements into the style of the art, but was soon almost entirely supplanted by the spread of the classical art, to a large extent as a result of the Roman conquests in Central Europe. Many of the finest antiquities from the graves and the bog deposits belonging to the first four centuries of the Christian era are unmistakably of Roman workmanship.

The most important of the native works of this earlier Iron Age appear to be connected with religion. Of these the earliest are the two four-wheeled chariots with long shafts, found in a bog at Deilg in Jutland. They are of oak made of ashwood, and the sides, shaft, and frame are richly adorned with bronze-work. The *swastika* is among the ornaments used. These cars are supposed to have been employed in religious ceremonies, and possibly to have been sacred, like the bull, of the gods, such as are mentioned later in the sagas. Fragments of a similar one, however, which had evidently been burnt, were found inside a large bronze vessel in a grave at Fynen, so that, in this case at least, the car seems to have been given not to the gods, but to the dead man for his use in a future life. Cars have been found under similar circumstances in Celtic graves in France and the Rhine country, so that the peculiar dispossession of the Fynen car may be due to imitation of a foreign custom.

Somewhat later in date, and showing a mixture of Celtic and Roman influences, is the beautiful silver bowl from Gundestrup in Jutland. This was, no doubt, a sacred vessel, like the gold bowls of the age already referred to; and we may compare in this connexion the statement of Strabo (p. 293), that the Cimbri sent their 'hollow bowl' to Augustus. Other bowls of similar shape to the Gundestrup bowl have been found, but although it was in all probability made in the North, it is quite un-Northern in both style and subject. The subjects are drawn partly from classical art (there is, for example, an obvious imitation of Hercules and the Nemean lion), and partly from Celtic sources, as the representation of the Gallic god Cernunos, with his stag-horns, ring, and serpent.

To the close of the Roman period, i.e., to the 4th century A.D., belong what are perhaps the finest of all the Northern antiquities—the two magnificent gold plates from Galgumma in Jutland. It is supposed that they were used as trumpets in religious services, and parallel instances can be quoted from many peoples of antiquity. Both the horns are of solid gold, and decorated with bands of carved figures; one has runes around the top, but these give only the maker's name. Both were incomplete when found. The significance of the figures upon them is not certain; various explanations have been given, and it seems probable that they have a mythological meaning, and refer to legends of the gods.

5. The later centuries of heathendom in the North may be divided into two periods: (a) a time very rich in gold ornaments of every kind, owing to the vast quantities of gold obtained from Byzantium; (b) the age of the Vikings, which saw the splendid profusion of silver ornaments to be seen in the museums of Copenhagen and Stockholm.

(a) In the first of these periods, i.e., from the 4th to the 6th century, A.D., the only objects that appear to have any close connexion with religion are the gold bracteates. These were worn as pendants and necklaces, and were originally copies of Roman coins of the 4th cent., although the types soon became greatly developed and the later bracteates appear to have a religious significance. The sacred symbols of the *swastika* and triskele appear on many of them, and when placed beside a human head may imply that a god is represented. The most common device is a head of a four-footed animal, and in some cases the latter seems to have a pointed beard and to be intended for a goat, an animal sacred to Thor. On others Odin is possibly to be identified, surrounded by snakes, or riding on his horse Sleipnir, with a sword in his right hand and a spear in his left, and fighting against the Midgard serpent. Other bracteates have interlacing designs ending in animal forms—which shows that the beautiful animal ornamentation, which ended later, was still in use at this time. This peculiar style of decoration, so characteristic of the later Northern art, seems not to have arisen from a desire to represent the animals sacred to the gods, but to be derived from creatures unfamiliar to the North, namely, the lions and griffins of classical art.

(b) When we reach the second, or Viking, period of the later Iron Age, we have evidence from literature, as well as from antiquities, of religion in its more secret aspect. Of the antiquities, the most important are the runic stones that were set up over the graves. On some of these are figures which appear to depict the gods; for example, a stone from Tjängvide shows a figure riding on a horse with eight legs, and probably intended for Odin, and another, the Sands stone there are three figures in a special panel, which have been interpreted as the three chief gods, Thor, Odin, and Frey. On many of these stones Thor is invoked in the runes, and his hammer is carved to consecrate and protect the grave. Little silver pendants in the form of hammers have been found, and were doubtless worn as amulets, but these do not appear until the 10th c., and were probably due to the influence of the cross-wearing Christians.

Under the heathen amulets may be reckoned the figure of a boar, which was frequently placed on the crest of the helmet for protection in battle. This custom is referred to by Tacitus (Germania, 45), and there are several allusions to it in Beowulf (e.g., 303, 1118). It should presumably be connected with the golden boars of Frey and Freya mentioned in the sagas.

Two warriors wearing helmets surmounted by figures of boars are represented on one of four small iron plates from a cairn in Oland. That these plates were used to adorn helmets is evident from the similar bronze plates on the helmets from Vendel. The examples from Oland, as well as the majority of those from Vendel, are supposed to portray scenes of Scandinavian mythology. Tha-
one of the Vendel plates shows a cavalier armed with shield and spear, preceded and followed by a bird, and attacking a serpent; this is interpreted as Odin with his ravens Hugin and Muninn, and may be compared with the gold bracteate described above.

Regarding actual idols our only information is derived from literary sources. From the sagas we gather that the figures of gods set up in the temples were life-size, made of wood, and richly adorned with gold and silver. Thus in Olaf Tryggvason's saga, when Gunnar fought with the image of Frey and drove out the fiend inhabiting the idol, 'nothing remained but the mere stock of a tree,' and Gunnar, dressing himself in Frey's apparel, was accepted by the people as the god. Again, in the saga of Olaf the Saint a figure of Thor is described as 'a huge man's image gleaning with gold and silver . . . he bore the likeness of Thor, and had a hammer in his hand . . . he was hollow within, and had a great stand on which he stood when he came out.'

Other images are described as wearing bracelets, necklaces, and similar ornaments. The different gods seem usually to have been invested with their own peculiar attributes—Thor with his hammer or with sceptre as chief god, and Odin armed with sword and spear.

We also hear of smaller figures of the gods, such as the image of Frey which Ingimund carried in his pocket, and the ivory image of Thor which Halfred was accused of secretly carrying in his purse.

6. Turning to the heathen architecture, what knowledge we possess of the temples is gleaned from the literature of the North. Until the last few centuries of heathendom, the Teutonic races appear to have worshipped in the open air, Tacitus (op. cit. 9) saying: 'The Germans deem it inconsistent with the majesty of their gods to confine them within walls.' The temples that we hear of in the sagas apparently consisted of two parts; an oblong hall, the langhus, with an ape-shaped building, the ofhus, at one end. It is possible that these two parts were originally separate, and that the round form of the ofhus is due to its having taken the place of the sacred tree that was, in earlier times, the centre of worship. In this case the langhus would represent the dwelling of the chief (who officiated as priest) beside the tree. This langhus appears to have been copied directly from the simplest form of dwelling-house, and was used for the sacrificial feasts, but possessed no great sanctity. The ofhus was the sanctuary proper, and contained the images of the gods, among whom Thor always occupied the chief place. Here also were the altar with the oath ring, the blood kettle, and the perpetual fire.

The temples were almost always constructed of wood, but the exterior as well as the interior was doubtless often ornamented. Adam of Bremen describes the chief temple of Sweden, that at Upsala, as a magnificent gilded structure. When Christianity finally drove out the old superstitions from the North, the temples were in most cases pulled down and destroyed; but the sanctity of the sites remained, and many Christian churches still mark the spots where the heathen gods were originally worshipped.


C. J. GASKELL.
ILLUSTRATIONS
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (CHRISTIAN)

Fig. 1. From the Lindisfarne Gospels, Anglo-Saxon, Cir. 700 A.D.

Fig. 2. From the Missal of KingEthelred, 1065.
FIG. 3. FROM THE PSALTER OF ISABELLA OF FRANCE, SISTER OF ST. LOUIS. PARIS, CIR. 1260-70.

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FIG. 4. FROM ODO OF ASTI’S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. ITALIAN. CIR. 1125 A.D.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (CHRISTIAN)

FIG. 5. FROM A 'PSALTER OF ST. JEROME' AND PRAYERS, WRITTEN AT NAPLES IN 1481 FOR POPE SIXTUS IV.

Fig. 7. From a Vulgate Bible in the British Museum (L.D.L.) written in England in the second half of the 13th century.

Fig. 8. From an Apocalypse at the Bodleian Library, written in England for Edward I. towards the end of the 13th century.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART IN MANUSCRIPTS (CHRISTIAN)

Fig. 11. From the Book of Hours of Alberto Pichont de Cortona, 13th Century.

Fig. 9. From a Tale Booklet at the British Museum (Harley MS. 1527), French, Middle of the 13th Century.
Fig. 10. From the Ormesby Psalter at the Bodleian Library (MS. Douce 366).
East Anglian, cir. 1300 A.D.
ILLUSTRATIONS TO ART (EGYPTIAN)

FIG. 1. SACRIFICE.

FIG. 2. OFFERING.

FIG. 3. LAYING ON OF HANDS.

FIG. 4. PURIFICATION.

FIG. 5. SACRED BOAT OF A GOD UPON ITS STAND.
FIG. 1. FRESCO ON THE INNER FRONT WALL OF QUSAIR 'AMRA.
FIG. 2. KAIRWAN INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE.

FIG. 3. ABU-DILIF (MESOPOTAMIA). ARCHES AND MINARET OF AN OLD MOSQUE.
FIG. 4. KAIRWAN. MINBAR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE.
FIG. 5. CAIRO. FAÇADE OF THE AL-AQMAR MOSQUE.

FIG. 6. BERLIN: KAISER FRIEDRICH MUSEUM. WOODEN TABLET, 1125 A.D.
FIG. 7. CAIRO. TOMBS OF THE MAMLUKS.

FIG. 8. CAIRO. MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASAN, 1356-1359 A.D.
FIG. 11. GRANADA. ALHAMBRA. COURT OF THE LIONS.

THE END OF VOL. 1.